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# CLASSICAL SCULPTURE

By

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# LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A.B.	Arndt and Bruckmann, <i>Griechische und römische Porträts</i> .
A.ŷ.A.	<i>American Journal of Archæology</i> . Boston, Baltimore, etc.
A.R.	Kjellberg, <i>Studien zu den attischen Reliefs des v. Jahrhunderts</i> . 1926.
Arch. Anz.	<i>Archäologischer Anzeiger</i> . (Issued with <i>Jahrb.</i> ) *
Ath. Mitt.	<i>Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung</i> . Athens.
B.C.H.	<i>Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique</i> . Paris and Athens.
Boll. d'Arte	<i>Bolletino d'Arte</i> . Rome.
Br.Br.	Brunn, Arndt and Bruckmann, <i>Denkmäler griechischer und römischer Skulptur</i> . (No text to Pls. 1-500.)
B.S.A.	<i>Annual of the British School at Athens</i> . London.
B.S.R.	<i>Papers of the British School of Rome</i> . London.
Bull. Comm.	<i>Bulletino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale</i> . Rome.
Bulle	Bulle, <i>Der schöne Mensch im Altertum</i> . 2nd edn., 1922.
C.A.H. Plates	<i>Cambridge Ancient History, Volume of Plates</i> .
D.	Poulsen, <i>Delphi</i> . Translated by Richards, 1920.
Einz.	Arndt and Amelung, <i>Einzelaufnahmen (Einzelverkauf)</i> .
Hekler	Hekler, <i>Portrait Art of the Greeks and Romans (Bildniskunst)</i> . 1912.
Helbig	Helbig and Amelung, <i>Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen in Rom</i> . 3rd edn., 1912-13.
Jahrb.	<i>Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts</i> . Berlin.
Jahresh.	<i>Jahreshefte des österreichischen archäologischen Instituts</i> . Vienna.
J.H.S.	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i> . London.
J.R.S.	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i> . London.
L.G.S.	Lawrence, <i>Later Greek Sculpture</i> . 1927.

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<i>M.</i>	Furtwängler, <i>Masterpieces of Greek Sculpture</i> . Translated by Sellers. 1895.
<i>Mon. Ant.</i>	<i>Monumenti Antichi, Accademia dei Lincei</i> . Rome.
<i>Mon. Piot</i>	<i>Fondation Piot, Monuments et Memoires, Académie des Inscriptions</i> . Paris.
<i>N.C.G.</i>	Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen.
<i>N.C.P.</i>	Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, <i>Numismatic Commen- tary on Pausanias</i> . ( <i>J.H.S.</i> , 1885-87; also re- printed separately.)
<i>O.</i>	Poulsen, <i>Der Orient und die frühgriechischen Kunst</i> . 1912.
<i>Overbeck</i>	Overbeck, <i>Die antiken Schriftquellen zur Geschichte der Künste</i> . 1868.
<i>Rev. Arch.</i>	<i>Revue Archéologique</i> . Paris.
<i>Röm. Mitt.</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung</i> . Rome.
<i>Strong</i>	Strong, <i>La Scultura Romana</i> . 1923, 1926.
<i>Z.</i>	Langlotz, <i>Zur Zeitbestimmung der strengrotfiguren Vasenmalerei und der gleichzeitigen Plastik</i> . 1920.

The National Museum at Athens is frequently quoted as 'Athens,' the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek as 'Copenhagen,' the British Museum as 'London,' the Metropolitan Museum as 'New York,' the Louvre as 'Paris.' The following collections at Rome are mentioned without the name of the city, some with abbreviated titles - Villa Albani, Barracco Museum, Capitoline Museum, Palazzo dei Conservatori, Profane Museum of the Lateran, National Museum of the Terme, Vatican Museum.

## P R E F A C E

THE aim of this book is to provide an up-to-date statement of what is known on pagan Greek and Roman sculpture; it endeavours to be comprehensive, but gives most of what space it can afford to facts that lie outside the sphere of controversy. The inclusion of a proportion of unprovable theories was inevitable, but at least they receive no prominence and their dubious character is scrupulously revealed by the liberal use of such qualifications as 'probably,' 'possibly' and 'perhaps.' Terracotta work, even of life-size, has been excluded, as has Etruscan art in its entirety. Æsthetic discussion, on the merits or failings of ancient art, likewise finds no place in the design.

The expression of novel views, obviously undesirable in a book of this nature, proved unavoidable in dealing with certain minor points; but the author never ventured on any approach to originality without receiving the verbal approval of at least one colleague, and in every case the alternative opinions are set forth. Most of the sources of information have been recognized in the bibliography or the footnotes. But although the latter may give a wider range of references than is needed in a students' textbook, they have been severely limited as regards their individual length, and, when feasible, each mentions only one recent discussion and one or two illustrations; for preference I quote general books rather than articles, English or French works rather than German or Italian, and disregard publications in less familiar languages. I must therefore acknowledge in this place my obligations to the Danish catalogue of the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, by Drs. Jacobsen and Poulsen, and to papers in Dutch and Latin by my friend, Prof. G. A. S. Snijder of Amsterdam University.

Some lesser points require explanation or apology. As a rule the apportioning of illustrations to sections depends upon the degree of importance conventionally assigned to each period, but the share of the Elgin marbles has been skimped because in this instance any person who so desires can obtain a set of photographs easily and cheaply (from the British Museum). In the chapter-headings, consistency gives way to expediency; moreover some embody catch-words too brief to be wholly accurate: but a map of small scale guides

## PREFACE

the stranger better than none at all. To avoid pedantry there occur exceptions to the rule that Greek names should pass into a latinized spelling (e.g. Pergamon, Alopeke): the names of deities take Greek forms in the Hellenic and Hellenistic periods, Latin forms under the empire. Finally, when a political event requires frequent mention, a widely accepted date is printed without question if the possible error is too slight to affect the argument; this applies to the fall of Sardis and the battle of Marathon.

Chapters III, VI, and VII, with smaller sections, are the work of my wife, B. I. Lawrence, who has, too, revised the whole text. The drawings reproduced in Figs 1-27 were executed by Miss Mary Parker, who lavished care even on the least worthy objects. Messrs. Macmillan and Co. kindly allowed me to quote passages of Pausanias in the translation of Sir J. G. Frazer.

Mr. Sidney Smith read the manuscript of Chapter VIII and gave me much help, here and elsewhere, from his standpoint of an Orientalist. Without the kindness and knowledge of Mr. F. Wise, of the Hellenic Society, the selection of photographs would have proved a more difficult and disappointing task. For photographs, and for leave to publish them - in several instances for the first time - I am indebted to Dr. Eilmann of the German Institute at Athens, the Chief Secretary of the Berlin Museums, Dr. P. Ducati of the Civic Museum at Bologna, Dr. L. D. Caskey of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, Miss M. Sands of the Fogg Art Museum of Harvard University, Dr. C. F. Kelly of the Art Institute of Chicago, Macridy Bey of the Constantinople Museum, Mrs. Brunckhorst of the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Dr. Schröder of the Albertinum at Dresden, Mr. H. B. Walters of the British Museum, Mr. John Penoyre of the Hellenic Society, Dr. Paul Wolters of the Munich Glyptothek, Miss G. M. A. Richter of the Metropolitan Museum, Prof. Rollin H. Tanner of the Archaeological Institute of America, the late Dr. G. B. Gordon of the University Museum at Philadelphia, Dr. L. Earle Rowe of the Rhode Island School of Design at Providence. Plates of the *Antike Denkmäler* have been reproduced by courtesy of the Archaeological Institute of the German Reich.

A. W. L.

LONDON,  
July, 1928

# CLASSICAL SCULPTURE



## CHAPTER I

### BASES OF KNOWLEDGE

#### § 1. *Literary Sources*

THE history of classical art was never written in antiquity, and there exists no treatise on an artistic subject written by a first-hand authority. The only large body of information is preserved in the *Natural History* of the elder Pliny, who died in A.D. 79 in the great eruption of Vesuvius. His encyclopædic work, a compilation of older sources cemented with a little original matter, treats of sculpture in marble and bronze in two sections, appended to a scientific discussion of stones and metals, for his own knowledge would not have carried him far. Pliny's bibliography acknowledges the earlier authors upon whom he drew: apart from Varro, a Roman encyclopædist of the time of Cæsar, and Mucianus, who wrote an account of the province of Asia which he governed in Nero's reign, they were all Greeks of the Hellenistic period.

The oldest of them, Menæchmus, was himself a sculptor, though of small repute; he wrote on artists and on sculpture, and may be identical with the 'Manæchmus' whom Suidas describes as 'a Sicyonian historian, who lived under Alexander's successors.' Duris of Samos, quoted as the authority for an anecdote concerning Lysippus, was a member of the Aristotelian school early in the third century. More valuable was Xenocrates, a sculptor trained by Euthykrates, son of Lysippus, or by his pupil Tisicrates; his works dealt with both sculpture and painting. A reference to a picture 'not cited by Xenocrates or even by Antigonus' proves that these authors included lists of artists' works. Antigonus, who appears too as a sculptor employed upon the Pergamene dedications of the later third century, may be identical with Antigonus of Carystus, author of the lives of philosophers and of a collection of paradoxes. The traveller Heliodorus, whose account of the monuments of Athens was used by Pliny, was among the first to adopt this form of literature, of which many other instances existed in antiquity: thus Polemon of Troy described the sanctuaries of greatest artistic interest (the Acropolis at Athens, Delphi and possibly Olympia), paying special attention to inscriptions as a source of information; his *Exposure of Adæus and*



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*Antigonus* no doubt attacked these two authors on the ground of inaccuracy. The most comprehensive of such books seem to have been the five volumes on *Famous Works throughout the World*, compiled by the sculptor Pasiteles in the first century B.C.

Pliny constructed the artistic sections of his *Natural History* in the form of a list of artists and their works, adding occasional criticisms from the æsthetic standpoint. The exact meaning of these passages is hard to define, for when Greek abstractions have been converted into Latin, translation into a modern language presents many difficulties; an occasional misleading statement, the true significance of which is now uncertain, can be traced to Pliny's misinterpretations of his authorities. The names of certain statues and other terms appear in Greek, because no Latin equivalent existed, and these words have frequently been misspelled and rendered unrecognizable by the various ignorant clerks who copied and recopied the manuscripts through many centuries.

Further, the absence of any thread of thought hindered each copyist from correcting the ordinary slips of the pen introduced by his predecessor, and the text has accordingly become corrupt in many passages. But even at the time of publication this enormous book must have contained a large number of slips which had escaped the notice of the author himself. The inclusion among the works of Praxiteles (who flourished in 364 according to Pliny's own statement) of a group of Tyrannicides taken to Persia in 480, is most easily explained as the result of a secretary placing this particular note in the wrong context during the composition of the book.

In Pliny's chronological table of artists<sup>1</sup> each man is said to have flourished (*floruit*) in one particular Olympiad (the period of four years that elapsed between the Olympic festivals). The dates have been selected on a variety of grounds, either by some famous work, or by a historical personage connected with the artist, or by another artist with whom he came into contact at some period of his life. For example, seven sculptors are mentioned with Lysippus, who himself, as a contemporary of Alexander the Great, receives the date 328-324; in the case of Praxiteles the Olympiad quoted, 364-360, may refer to his most celebrated work, the Aphrodite of Cnidus, or may be derived from the picture of the battle of Mantinea (362)

<sup>1</sup> H. Stuart Jones, *Ancient Writers on Greek Sculpture*, p. xxxv.

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by Euphranor, who follows next upon the list. The value to be attached to the dates varies in every case, according to the ground upon which they were chosen, or the reliability of the sources; some are undoubtedly erroneous, and some surely vague, while others, such as the last instance, would possess considerable importance, were it possible to decide their precise meaning and degree of trustworthiness. The names have in certain cases been misspelled.

To print the list as it stands would be misleading, except it were accompanied by a lengthy commentary; but the dates of individual sculptors derived therefrom have usually required some mention in their context. It should be noted that the table breaks off at 296 with the words: 'Then art ceased and revived again in the Olympiad 156,' a date equivalent to 156 B.C. This curious entry perhaps results from the lack of any prominent artist in Greece itself during the third century, when the centre of activity had shifted to Asia Minor. As an instance of Pliny's limitations the passage has great interest; as information it possesses no value whatever.

The same may be said of the accounts of 'inventions,' which Pliny gives lavishly, in common with the other authors of antiquity. Thus Daedalus was the first to separate the legs of statues and to open their eyes; Dibutades of Sicyon invented the bas-relief, the first specimen of which was kept in a sanctuary at Corinth; Glaucus of Chios discovered how to weld metals, Rhoecus and Theodorus of Samos how to cast; Pythagoras of Rhegium was the first to represent the veins, Cimon of Cleonae, to represent the folds of drapery, Polygnotus, to paint transparent drapery. Even the statements about proportions, a subject in which some of Pliny's authorities took particular interest (presumably Xenocrates, from his Lysippic training), cannot be implicitly trusted: Lysippic proportions were not the novelty which they would seem, for they are found on vase-paintings of the fifth century.

Stories of inventions are even found in Pausanias, the most important of all ancient authors to the historian of art. A Greek of Asia Minor, his lengthy *Description of Greece* was written towards the middle of the second century A.D.; the book has survived in its entirety and contains a vast amount of useful information, best appreciated in the monumental edition by Sir J. G. Frazer (6 vols., London, 1898), where a translation is accompanied by a very detailed com-

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mentary drawn from all available sources. The numerous extracts (usually in Frazer's version) which have been strewn throughout this book will convey a fair idea of the merits of Pausanias. It should be added that belief in his good faith remains unshaken in spite of the questioning of some modern seekers of notoriety. In the few instances in which Pausanias can be proved in error his mistake appears to be an honourable slip; he had obviously visited the places which he describes, though he doubtless corrected his statements by previous authors. A large proportion of his statements were derived from the stories of local guides, and here he was, of course, peculiarly liable to error.

Pausanias had a preference for archaic sculpture, but he seldom leaves the path of fact to indulge in criticisms of style. When such occur in Pliny or in the Roman essayists, Cicero and Quintilian, they seldom venture beyond superficial generalities concerned especially with proportions and naturalism, which have been abstracted from some earlier author.<sup>1</sup> These judgements are quoted in their context, if worth it. The one critic whose remarks show any true appreciation of style is Lucian, a Syrian Greek, contemporary with Pausanias, who devoted an essay, *The Images*, to the selection of features from various female statues to form an ideal beauty, while his other writings contain frequent allusions to works of art. He had indeed begun life by a brief apprenticeship to a sculptor, if we may believe his story, *The Dream*. Whether truth or fiction, this essay contains much that is interesting, showing the low social status of the sculptor and the hereditary nature of his trade; even in the age of Pericles the first condition holds good and in Roman times his position was most mean, while the second condition prevails at every period of antiquity - the family of Canachus were artists for six generations,<sup>2</sup> and the Attic family of Polycleus worked during most of the Hellenistic Age.<sup>3</sup> To the Greeks and Romans, art was a handicraft rather than an inspiration or *lux naturæ*, granted without precedent to one member of a family.

'After I had given over going to school,' says Lucian, 'and was grown to be a stripling of some good stature, my father advised with

<sup>1</sup> Stuart Jones, *Ancient Writers*, pp. xxix-xxxiv.

<sup>2</sup> Pausanias, vi, 9, 1.

<sup>3</sup> Picard, *Sculpture Antique*, II, p. 269.

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his friends, what it were best for him to breed me to: and the opinion of most was that to make me a scholar the labour would be long, the charge great, and would require a plentiful purse: whereas our means were poor, and would soon stand in need of speedy supply; but if he would set me to learn some manual art or other, I should quickly get by my trade enough to serve my own turn, and never be troublesome for my diet at home. . . . This being concluded upon, we began to consult again what trade was soonest learned and most befitting a freeman. . . . With that some began to recommend one trade, some another, as every man's fancy or experience led him, but my father casting his eyes upon my uncle (for my uncle by my mother's side was there, an excellent workman in stone, and held to be one of the best statuaries in all the country), By no means, he said, can I endure that any other art should take place as long as you are in presence: take him therefore to you and teach him to be a skilful workman in stones, how to joint them together neatly and to fashion his statues cunningly.' He was not successful as an aspirant in the trade of sculptor, and broke a slab of marble for which he was beaten by his uncle. That night he had a dream in which there appeared to him: 'A sturdy dame, with her hair ill-favouredly dressed up, and her hands overgrown with a hard skin, her garment was tucked up about her, all full of lime and mortar, for all the world such a one as my uncle when he was about his work . . . : and that sturdy drudge began with me in this manner. I, sweet boy, am that art of carving to which you professed yourself an apprentice yesterday, a trade familiar to you and tied to you by succession. . . . Disdain not my apparel, for such beginnings had Pheidias that carved Zeus, and Polycleitus who made the Image of Hera, and the renowned Myron and the admired Praxiteles, who are now honoured as if they were gods.' The gulf between the respect paid to the works of the long-dead sculptors and the degradation of their successors turned Lucian from such a trade.

### § 2. *Other Documents*

Inscriptions have long continued to supply the greatest aid to the classical archæologist in his task of confirming the accuracy, or supplementing the information of his literary authorities. Of all classes of inscriptions the signature is that which proves most useful,

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although it was customary to append the signature only from 500-100 B.C. The signature may still be read upon the base of many a statue that has long since found its way to the lime-kiln or the foundry; often the dedicator's words provide some clue to the date; at the worst the shape of the letters forms a rough guide to their age, although precise datings, such as are frequently proposed on this ground, are not always upheld by the best epigraphists, who tend to allow a wide margin of error. Local variations in the alphabet and in dialect grow steadily less with time, but in Hellenic times often betray the period and nationality of the writer.

A small proportion of extant inscriptions had been subjected to recutting, to sharpen the lettering worn by a few centuries of exposure, and the workman naturally modernized the form of the letters: conversely a new inscription was sometimes written in old-fashioned lettering, especially in Roman times. In rare cases false signatures have been placed upon copies to show the name of the sculptor responsible for the original, and the name has been sometimes selected arbitrarily without reference to fact, in Roman or more recent times: such is the simplest explanation of the *OPUS FIDIE* and *OPUS PRAXITELIS* cut upon two colossal statues on the Capitol. Deliberate forgeries, attempts to enhance the value of a sculpture by adding the name of a famous artist, have also been noted; these are not common, but occurred both in antiquity and in modern times.

The inscriptions of public bodies, such as the accounts of the Building Commission at Athens or Epidaurus, supply occasional items of information on the sculptures of temples, but these long texts have usually been pieced together from fragments, and their reconstructed forms are open to doubt. The single papyrus fragment of any importance, that supposed to deal with the trial of Pheidias, contains more gaps than letters.

### § 3. *Help from the Minor Arts*

The coins of the Hellenic period had, as a rule, little connection with sculpture, though the figures thereon may sometimes imitate the local statues: for instance, the head of Hera on the Argive issues may reflect the head of Polycleitus' statue, the Helios of Rhodian designers must have resembled the famous colossus of the god.

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Demetrius Poliorcetes, at the commencement of the third century, has the rare distinction of having struck coins that depict two statues known at the present day, a Poseidon attributed to Lysippus and (apparently) the Victory of Samothrace. The reproduction of famous statues on coins grew vastly more frequent under the Roman Empire, when Greece was living on her reputation. Usually the coin had been struck by the authorities of a small district and illustrated one of the local treasures, which can frequently be identified with the help of Pausanias.<sup>1</sup> In rarer cases a statue might be adopted as the coin-type of some distant city, in which case its identity remains unknown in the absence of other information.

Coinage maintained a higher æsthetic level in antiquity than in modern times, and the number of currencies was multiplied because each city insisted on supplying its requirements from its own mint. As evidence for the gradual development of art, coins have great value, being plentiful, intact, and usually dated within narrow limits. Further, they reveal the changes of fashion in such points as hair-dressing, by which means it has been possible to assign Roman portrait busts to their correct age. This criterion has, however, been treated as too definite, for allowance must always be made for personal taste which might cling to a mode already discarded in the most advanced circles: thus the tall, curled wig of Flavian ladies outlived another generation in North Africa, to judge from the reliefs from a Mausoleum built of Hadrianic bricks.<sup>2</sup> Moreover the simultaneous popularity of two distinct fashions cannot always be traced from coins: the tall wig, and the artificial waves flowing from a centre parting, flourished side by side under the Flavians.<sup>3</sup>

Carved gems, though of finer detail than coins, have less historical value because their exact date can seldom be discovered. On the other hand the development of vase-painting has now been studied to the point which admits of a margin of error of no more than ten or twenty years, and from the close correspondence between sculpture and painting in archaic times a comparison with vases will some-

<sup>1</sup> This is the theme of Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner, *Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias*.

<sup>2</sup> Delattre, *Musée Lavigerie*, p. 39, pl. ix.

<sup>3</sup> Hekler, 237a, b; cf. his article, *Jahresh.*, xxi-ii, 1922-4, p. 186

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times determine the age of a statue or relief. Statuettes of terracotta and bronze also have their uses, because of their multiplicity, especially in tracing the evolution of some particular type or to reveal peculiarities of local workmanship, which sometimes stray into larger sculpture but cannot be safely attributed to their correct district without the help of many examples.

### § 4. *The Results of Excavation*

The attempt to date objects by the position in which they were discovered is seldom justifiable on a classical site, even when the excavation has been carefully conducted – a rare occurrence in Greece. The Acropolis at Athens was believed to provide an exception, for after the Persian destruction of its monuments in 480 the Greeks extended the area enclosed within walls and levelled the surface with the rubbish left by the sack; but this *Perserschutt*, as the Germans call it, was not distinguished by the excavators from the later material, and was even thought to include a head of approximately 450 (Pl. 44a). On the other hand, the Wall of Themistocles, built immediately after the Persian War, supplies a definite limit of date for the objects incorporated in its original masonry, although the section in which some carved bases were found (Pl. 16), is no longer considered Themistoclean. In point of fact the dating of Greek masonry cannot be effected within narrow limits, and no trust should be placed in the dogmatic assertions that architectural sculptures must be ascribed to a certain decade because of the character of the building (such arguments are used upon the Ægina pediments and the Athenian Treasury at Delphi).

When objects are unearthed beneath the foundations of a building, this generally implies their priority (thus inscribed blocks determine the age of the temple of Zeus at Olympia, and the objects from the first Artemisium at Ephesus are dated as early as the building): but excavation is often a matter of guess-work and the reports are not infallible.

Sometimes the date of a building is known and sculptures found within it are therefore presumed with good reason to be later; this conclusion need not, of course, be automatic, but usually has satisfactory results, as with the excellent Aphrodite from Cyrene, which stood in a temple of the late Hellenistic period, or with the bronze

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Victory which stood in a Flavian temple at Brescia. Specialists can sometimes date the construction of a Roman tomb within one emperor's reign by the bricks employed; it is not essential, of course, that all the portraits contained in a family grave should belong to the first generation. The enormous villa built by Hadrian in the neighbourhood of Tivoli has proved of great importance for the study of sculpture, for its ruins have yielded hundreds of statues, chiefly copies of Greek works. It is, however, scarcely possible that all these were produced in the years 123-138, the period of the construction and of Hadrian's own occupation: he probably collected older sculptures in addition to ordering new ones, moreover the villa was inhabited after his death and some portraits at any rate were placed in it by a later emperor.<sup>1</sup> The contents cannot therefore be ascribed to Hadrian's reign except on the evidence of their own style.

In dealing with individual finds it must be remembered that propinquity does not unquestionably imply an original connection. Heavy objects move from one end of a site to another for no apparent reason. At Olympia some heads of griffins belonging to a tripod were found 200 yards apart, perhaps as the result of floods; and an extraordinary instance of migration in recent times is given by an inscribed slab, two feet square, which was seen by a traveller in a church at Athens, and later by a second traveller at a spot nine miles distant (*Corpus*, 2910). When a statue has been found in proximity to a base upon which it might have stood, the relationship has often been accepted at the moment but afterwards denied. The exploration of ancient sites during the Middle Ages, in search of bronze – an extremely valuable metal at that time – or of marble, which could be converted into lime, continued for centuries in a desultory way, not only causing the loss of innumerable sculptures, but also disturbing the soil. Even on a site hitherto untouched, an object has frequently been moved from its original position, and only when an average can be established is certainty obtained; the writer once excavated a piece of virgin soil in Macedonia which yielded a Roman coin at the depth of one foot and a British Army button at three feet. Accordingly the presence of coins or other datable material is not an infallible aid to the student, who is misled, too, by the cir-

<sup>1</sup> Lippold, *Kopien*, p. 81.



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cumstance that fragments of several statues or of sculptures from several buildings can be mixed together by natural agency.

It is customary to lament the carelessness of excavators in previous generations, but in few instances need their inexpensive, slap-dash methods be regretted by those whose concern lies only with classical sculpture.

### § 5. *Internal Evidence*

With the majority of ancient sculptures style forms the one remaining criterion of date, and where external evidence seems to exist the test of style enables the archæologist to gauge its applicability. The conventions of artists were subject to frequent modifications, easily recognized by the practised eye, which judges the degree of stiffness in the pose, of smoothness in the surface, of naturalism in the treatment of the muscular system or the drapery or such details as the eyes, hair and ears: even the distance between the breasts in female figures has been adduced as a criterion of age.<sup>1</sup> The change in ideals from generation to generation extended, too, to vaguer regions – the emotional content or ‘feeling’ of the work, the composition of figures or groups. These criteria become more liable to failure after the mid-fourth century or so, when personal taste and ability had more scope. Moreover it is rash to assume that a preference at any period, for an expression of intense emotion or for a well-knit or loosely designed composition, involves the adherence of every work of that period to those habits: the hypothesis that denies the possibility of free will has proved unreliable when applied to the modern world (a notorious instance is the difference in composition between Correggio and other painters of the Renaissance), but its falsehood cannot be demonstrated from our imperfect knowledge of ancient art. The principle has been adopted by certain scholars as a means of dating ancient sculpture even at its least hide-bound periods, and their conclusions are doubtless correct in many cases, yet should never be regarded as final if they cannot be corroborated on other grounds. The dogma that Greek art developed on exactly the same lines as that of the Renaissance has also been used for dating Hellenistic and Roman sculptures: but the dogma itself is generally considered untrue.

<sup>1</sup> Reinach, *Revue des Etudes grecques*, xxi, 1908, p. 13.

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Stylistic dating is complicated by the fact that several schools could exist simultaneously, either at the same centre or in various districts. Local schools, consisting in most cases of artists of no great merit, had conservative habits and sometimes clung to mannerisms which had elsewhere been superseded by a previous generation. But even in the Athens of Pericles, where art moved so rapidly, the sculptors employed side by side on public monuments differed in their work to an extent which might represent an interval of twenty years. Every date which rests purely on stylistic evidence should always be allowed a margin of error, varying from ten years in the case of a few of the best sculptures of the Hellenic period, to a century in the case of mediocre work of the Roman age, while thoroughly poor sculpture may range between Alexander and the Antonines (e.g. the extraordinary head of Earth from Thessaly, which would be undatable without its Hellenistic inscription).<sup>1</sup> Of course, once past the period in which naturalism had not obtained full sway, the stylistic dating of ideal subjects can derive no help from conventional methods of representing details or actions, which otherwise form such valuable evidence. Fortunately sculptors' technique altered most noticeably in later times. The Roman treatment of the eye supplies the most useful criterion, and the next place is held by the use of the drill in the hair at the same period.

Attempts to assign plinths of certain types to certain periods cannot be described as convincing. Archaic statues were sunk into straight-sided blocks or masonry platforms, but the variety of form observed in the bases of small bronzes and terracottas preaches caution in assuming that this simple shape was invariably used in the fifth and fourth centuries, still less in Hellenistic times. Lippold<sup>2</sup> believes that plinths with moulded sides were scarcely used before the second century A.D. — the earliest dated example belongs to a Flavian statue (Pl. 136b) — but his evidence is too unsatisfactory to justify the conclusions.

The shape of the bust forms a valuable aid to the chronology of Roman portraiture. The modelling of the oldest busts ceases at the base of the neck, but under the Empire the area grows steadily larger, finally reaching the waist. The illustrations of this book give a fair

<sup>1</sup> Constantinople, No. 609; *Rev. Arch.*, 1899, i, p. 329, pl. xii.

<sup>2</sup> *Kopien*, chap. viii.

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idea of the various stages of the process; special studies have been devoted to the subject by Bienkowski,<sup>1</sup> and more recently by Hekler.<sup>2</sup>

Fashions in dress altered little in the ancient world: here it need only be said that the girdle of Greek women slips gradually up from the waist to just below the breasts at the middle of the fourth century B.C., and that Roman senators started to wear their togas in a different manner in the Constantinian age.<sup>3</sup>

To the Roman hairdresser's rapid succession of new creations, the Greek and Hellenistic periods can show no parallel; in the sixth century B.C. both sexes wore their hair long and unconfined, subsequently men fastened it in a bandeau or tied it in plaits round the head, and, later still, cut it short, while women made up a bun at the back; from the early fourth century onwards, women's skulls are often corrugated by a series of strands pulled taut from the forehead to the bun (the so-called *Melon-coiffeur*). Kings and emperors occasionally introduced new vogues for men – thus Alexander's inability to grow a beard, ended the reign of the beard and moustache (only barbarians wore a moustache separately), and Hadrian popularized beards in Rome.

All points of this nature have their uses, but more often the analysis of details and a general sense of style have to decide chronological problems without much external assistance, and on the whole their results are only open to serious question in sculpture later than the fourth century. Much work still remains to be done on Hellenistic and Roman art before the sculptures of those periods can be dated with a margin of error of less than a generation.

Attributions to individual artists are usually tested by comparison of his other supposed works in the pose and proportions, and in details, especially the shape of the skull and face, the eyes, ears and hair; where drapery exists it supplies a fair criterion. But since most attributions are carried out with the help of copies of doubtful reliability, unanimity is rarely found among those who attempt them.

<sup>1</sup> *Geschichte der antiken Bustenform*, in *Transactions of the Cracow Academy*, 1894.

<sup>2</sup> *Jahresh.*, xxi-ii, 1922-4, p. 186.

<sup>3</sup> See Pls. 154, 156b.

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THE Greeks were the first to add an intellectual motive to the preoccupation with natural phenomena common to all peoples; their interest was not only religious, dependent on immediate consequences to the human race and expressed in magical rites, but reasoned, dependent on curiosity and expressed in unawed study. This free curiosity is responsible for the difference between classical European art and that of the older civilizations; magical utility ceased to be the sole or chief motive for creation; hence art never became static, acquiescent in conventional perfection, but to the end experimented and enlarged its range of subject until it passed into mediaeval European art. Observation was closer and more disinterested, therefore the naturalistic element insistently encroached upon the formal element; in this fact lies the greatest significance of classical art. A matter which aided this development was the use of bronze by the Greeks, who could therefore model more easily and freely than the Egyptians or Asiatics, who employed hard stones.

After some blundering the Greeks achieved the *Kouros* type, formerly known as the 'Apollo' type, early in the sixth century, and henceforward the representation of the nude male body is the great love of Greek artists, and its evolution their best achievement. In Egyptian art nude bodies of both sexes are found, but in general their treatment is extremely conventional, for likeness to nature was demanded only in the head; in Asia the nude occurs but rarely, being considered a subject unworthy of art. Minoan figures are, with a few exceptions, caricatures. In stance, bilateral symmetry, and physical characteristics, the *kouros* is obviously of Egyptian derivation. The Greeks, however, were serious in the study of their subject and began by adding to the framework of the Egyptian figure more detailed, if conventional, engravings of surface markings, such as muscles or veins, which are already sketched in the Delphi Twins (Pl. 5a).

Early in the following century the Strangford Apollo (Pl. 41a) concludes the series of *kouros* statues: the attitude and the bilateral

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symmetry alone remain the same; in individual portions of the body, the details at the base of the neck are no longer shirked, the markings of the epigastrium and the muscles of the knees are more naturalistically rendered; but – a fact of more importance still in the development of sculpture – the artist has almost reached the conception of the body as a structure, not as a mere object composed of lines and planes. A few years later the sculptors of the *Tyrannicides* (Pl. 25), of the youth from the Acropolis<sup>1</sup> and the *Apollo* (Pl. 36) of the Olympia pediments were fully aware of this truth. The bilateral symmetry of the old stance, where the weight was equally distributed on each leg, has vanished: the simple frontal aspect, in which the figure looked flat, like a relief out of its background, has been superseded by a solid and contoured representation. It remained only to perfect the knowledge of that structure and its proportions.

Proportion is the quality which redeems a naturalistic art, preventing it from becoming merely representational, and to its study, rather than that of anatomy, the masters of the fifth century devoted themselves. Polycleitus embodied this ideal in a statue (Pl. 61), and a treatise, though which came first it is impossible to assert. The treatise, which is lost, seems to have insisted that proportion was no matter of individual taste or chance, but dependent upon mathematical laws which could only be broken at the expense of formal beauty. From the belief in proportion and from a general observation of many athletes rather of one particular model, grew the so-called idealism of fifth-century sculpture: it was in fact a discriminating and selective naturalism.

So far one may say that Greeks retained to a large extent the advantages of Oriental formalism, adding also those derived from an essential knowledge of the body. But during the fourth century conditions arose which lightened the difficulties of the artist, giving him a freedom unparalleled in any previous civilization; on the other hand each individual became more dependent upon his own judgment. Scientific knowledge of the body was advanced; according to Xenophon, writing at the beginning of the fourth century, it was then customary for painters to use living models, and probably sculptors already availed themselves of such an obvious aid to their work;

<sup>1</sup> *C. A. H.*, *Plates*, II, 34a.

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furthermore, it is likely that there is foundation in Pliny's remark<sup>1</sup> that after Lysistratus, the brother of Lysippus, no statue was made without a clay model. Both customs necessarily encouraged naturalism at the expense of idealism. Moreover, the Lysippic conception of rhythm rather than proportion as the principle of beauty – a quality dependent on no definite formula but a lucky combination of line and actions – opened the way to greater mistakes than was possible under the older conception. Another cause of the increase of naturalism may have been the introduction of the female nude as a study for art, and since the great masters of the fifth century draped their female statues, it is unlikely that any canon existed; the living model and the taste of the sculptor governed the style of the statue, and this condition was soon extended to male statuary. The result was certainly a loss of formal beauty, but a gain in experiment, variety, technique and expression of emotion. At the opening of the Pergamene Age neither conventions nor ideals checked the naturalism inherent in Greek sculpture in the round: the Dying Gaul and the Altar of Pergamon, the Venus of Milo (one of the few works fit to be observed from all positions), and the Laocoon, represent the work of an unfettered age. With these the development of the nude male figure ends. The Romans, like the Orientals, preferred relief and portraiture, in which the body was unimportant compared with the head; the Greeks apparently lost their interest in the nude. Thus the representation of the nude male, having been ruled in three successive stages by symmetry (actual balancing and correspondence of parts), proportion (fine arrangement of parts according to formulæ, without actual balance or correspondence) and rhythm (a lucky combination of lines and movements), now ceased to have any significance.

Drapery was an unimportant factor in Asiatic and Egyptian art: in Greek art its treatment followed the same rules and tendencies as that of the nude body. At first schematic, as in the elaborate Ionian dress of the *korai* from the Acropolis (Pls. 14, 15), it acquired a dignified and stylized naturalism in the heavier, simpler Doric dress of the mid-fifth century. But from that time onwards, there multiply tricks of technique, whose function is to render drapery more naturalistic; in the Nike of Pæonius (Pl. 68), or the Nereid Monu-

<sup>1</sup> Overbeck, 1514.

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ment (Pl. 76a), it is clinging and transparent; in the Nike of Samothrace (Pl. 101) it blows freely in the wind; in a series of female statues from Asia Minor and the islands, the folds of the chiton are visible beneath the linen himation (Pl. 112b). The Romans hover between the established naturalistic rendering and a newer method of impressionism, which usually merely concealed careless execution (Pls. 127, 156b, 159). The part played by drapery in the composition of a statue, group or relief, is integral as it never was in Asia or in Egypt.

Sculpture in relief offers problems of perspective and spacing which illustrate admirably the refusal of the Greeks and Romans to remain stationary in their technique: again the trend lay towards a greater naturalism. Except in archaistic works (Pl. 119b), the repetition of figures in the same attitude, one behind the other, was seldom practised in classical sculpture, although regular in Asia and Egypt. The Asiatic trick of placing two identical figures confronting one another is, however, common in archaic Greek art; it was a trick which satisfied that craving for symmetry which archaic artists inherited from the Geometric Age. The tyranny of symmetry ceased about the time of the Persian wars; afterwards groups were not scrupulously balanced, though a moderate degree of balance was maintained.

The distribution of figures at different levels, to indicate that some are further away in perspective, was common in Asia for thousands of years, from the time of Naramsin,<sup>1</sup> but rarer in Egypt, except in the formal manner of the framed registers, ranged one above the other.<sup>2</sup> In early classical reliefs simpler scenes are depicted, in which the figures are all the same distance from the front of the field and their feet may therefore be placed on the same line (Pl. 6b); in Greek painting, on the other hand, the Asiatic convention was adopted soon after the Persian wars, by Polygnotus and others. In a relief, however, in which figures overlap, and are not equidistant, the hindmost figure is cut in the lowest relief, but may stand on the same line (Pls. 13, 28). This close placing of figures in a several-plane relief was not favoured in the East, except where the attitudes were almost identical;<sup>3</sup> thus in Egypt a row of donkeys was sometimes carved one on top of the other so that a forest of legs stretched

<sup>1</sup> *C. A. H.*, *Plates*, I, 52a.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 126, 134.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 150.

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away to infinity. Questions of spacing and perspective, however, belong rather to the discussion of the Roman contribution to the art of relief, for the necessity to accommodate the crowd, unknown in Greek sculpture, made them become of paramount importance to the artist of Roman times.

The rounding of figures in low relief was not practised in the East in the first millennium, except that in the rare cases of faces shown in full front a slight projection of the nose and mouth was unavoidable.<sup>1</sup> Most of the full-face reliefs, whether Assyrian or Egyptian, resemble bisected statues.<sup>2</sup> Neither were the figures rounded in archaic Greek reliefs; this was a fifth-century innovation of the greatest importance in the history of the art, for it meant a great stride in the naturalistic direction. The height of Greek reliefs was from the first greater than Oriental, but even on reliefs of such great height as the Corfu pediment (Fig. 19), the figures offer a flat surface with hardly a suggestion of contour.

The difference in height may explain the early disappearance of the profile convention in Greece. Frontal views were always of more frequent occurrence than in the East (e.g. the Gorgon of Corfu and the heads of the Prusias horsemen, Fig. 22), and are sometimes found even in paintings;<sup>3</sup> on a seventh-century geometric potsherd of Boeotian make the entire figure is frontal. Frequently the early relief was formed, as in the Mycenæ bust (Pl. 2a), by a figure in the round emerging half out of the background – an identical method is found in the Assyrian representation of monsters. But when archaic Greek reliefs were so low as to render moulding impossible, the Asiatic convention was followed in the main, with the eyes full, the face in profile, the waist and legs in profile, the shoulders more inclined to a profile than to a frontal view. The beard, on the other hand, was represented in profile like the face, not in full, as in Assyrian and Persian work of before 500; after 500 Persian artists learnt of the possibility of the profile view, adopting it for the first time in the palace of Darius at Persepolis. The profile beard always prevailed in Egypt, where however the shoulders were given full-face.

In the difficult problem of how to represent tridimensional objects

<sup>1</sup> *C. A. II., Plates, I, 152c.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid., I, 146.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid., I, 196a.*



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on a flat surface, the Greeks at first made a selection of the conventional solutions offered to them, but from these they gradually moved away. At the end of the purely Greek period, the individual figures are rendered naturally; a figure intended to be in profile is entirely in profile; that obstacle of the lack of line in the full face, and of the confusion of line in the profile shoulder, which baffled the Orientals because they were not interested in overcoming it, was overcome by the Greeks. For the conventional representations of certain actions, such as running (Fig. 19), were substituted naturalistic methods. In painting the same advances were made, and probably before they occurred in stone. But the background, the unused space on the stone (or, in painting, the wall or pot), is still a flat opposing surface, against which the figures are huddled in high relief or outlined in low relief.

To the end the Greeks remained interested pre-eminently in figures, and in the Hellenic period the scenes of reliefs were always fairly simple, consisting of a few human figures without landscape. Single figures, on the other hand, had not much significance in the reliefs of the early Roman Empire, but the experiments in composition were hitherto unparalleled, and here painting led the way. An illusion of depth is given to the background by the system of undercutting the outline of objects represented in low relief, so that a shadow is cast all round it. Landscapes and scenes of country life appealed to the Latin mind and the technique of relief sculpture was developed to suit its requirements. Together with this illusion of depth is some attempt to master perspective, to correlate figures, buildings, and natural surroundings, each shown in the size suitable to the picture, not in its proper size in actual fact. In stone reliefs, except on a simple plan, human beings overtop buildings and trees even when those objects are nearer to the view; illusionism is only carried far in small stucco works, such as those from the Farnesina palace.<sup>1</sup> Perfect illusionism should be understood as naturalistic rendering carried to the minutest detail of perspective; and, as the Romans discovered, the task is impossible in any of the stiff mediums available to the sculptor.

They abandoned the attempt after the Flavian dynasty. But their experiments in perspective make that period one of the most illu-

<sup>1</sup> *L. G. S.*, pl. 86*b*.

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minating in pagan art. Those emperors had none of the exaggerated admiration for Hellenism which possessed Hadrian and to some extent Augustus, therefore the Romans were left to their own devices to a greater degree than before or after. But in their best essays, on the Arch of Titus, more of failure than success can be detected, and in a relief from the tomb of the Haterii (Pl. 139), the breakdown is catastrophic; there is evidently some attempt to draw the building in perspective, which is hindered by a desire to show the narrow end, which is turned away, as completely as the side; in fact the artist included all his objects of interest and the figures engaged upon their multifarious duties at the cost of considerations of perspective, very much in the manner of the Egyptian or Asiatic. In Trajan's column the reaction against experiments is foreshadowed; only the skilful massing of the companies of men and the illusion of depth are retained, where in a relief of Greek inspiration the figures would have been drawn out in thinner lines against an uncompromising, flat background.

The recrudescence of Greek ideals under Hadrian gave sculpture a more level but academic quality, and when it was once more released experiments followed other paths: the revolution which was to finish in Byzantinism is in progress. Representation became more impressionistic, less correct but more lively and even spiritual – for the intentions of the artist can be traced even through his incompetence – until in the Constantinian slabs in the Arch of Constantine, we have a prophecy of mediaeval groups of Christ seated among his apostles (Pl. 159). There is none of the feeling for texture visible in Greek sculpture; flesh and drapery might be of the same material, but the expression of the veneration for the emperor, who gazes out of the field with the frontality of a cult-image, is far more convincing than in preceding groups of a similar subject. It is a fitting example to choose for the conclusion of the series of classical reliefs.

In portraiture, the third subject of classical sculpture, there existed a great variety of ideals, chiefly common to the older civilizations, but of course in their expression they bear the characteristics of other branches of classical sculpture. Thus the Assyrian statue of Ashurnasirpal <sup>1</sup> is intended to convey an impression of the perfect

<sup>1</sup> *C. A. H.*, *Plates*, I, 214.

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ruler, and the head of Pericles (Pl. 57*b*) the conception of the ideal statesman; their intention is more abstract than the idealized imitation of the individual features seen in portraits of Alexander or Hellenistic kings and to a far greater extent in Roman emperors. In the forceful statues of Hellenistic kings or the dignified statues of emperors, the inference is that the qualities of the ruler are embodied by this individual, that he himself is the perfect ruler; it is the concentration of qualities in a person, the idealization of the individual with this aim in view, which gives the statue from Prima Porta (Pl. 124) its power: and it may stand as a typical instance of the portrait of a Roman emperor. When, as frequently happens, members of the emperor's entourage or of higher society are portrayed with features resembling those of the Emperor or Empress of the time, this is merely the imposition of a fashion in features.

As the Pericles expressed the conception of the statesman, with none of the idiosyncrasies of the real man, so in their portraits of commoners the Greeks were content with ideal types recognizable as philosophers, poets or what not, or merely as cultured gentlemen and ladies. Neither the Assyrians nor the Greeks regarded the portrait as primarily a likeness of some individual, as did the Egyptians and the Romans. As far as their training, and the very hard stones which formed their medium, allowed them, the Egyptians copied individual features so that the ghost might recognize its body after death. The Romans, like the Greeks, required realistic portraits for funerary and honorary purposes, but unlike the Greeks, they demanded that these should possess uncompromising truth to nature; they also used death-masks and images of wax. In these very realistic portraits the interest is purely in the persons whose remarkable features these works perpetuate with such minuteness; the formalism and impressionism, the latter perhaps due to incompetence to a certain extent, which invaded other branches of sculpture, do not appear in portraiture until the Constantinian Age (Pl. 160); it was the last stronghold of the attempt at photographic correctness to which classical sculpture inevitably descended.

Impressionism is in reality the consequence of naturalism, although its technique is so different. Instead of minute care and exact rendering, a rapid stroke gives a mere suggestion of the reproduced object or scene. No matter how incorrect or incomplete the

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actual drawing, it is enough if it holds the eye until the mind identifies the subject.

Formalism, too, with the turn of the wheel, becomes the consequence of naturalism. Classical sculpture at the close of its history hovered between this renunciation of everything except liveliness and spirit which prevailed in the West, and a conscious return to the formalism of archaic art which finally conquered in the East. The possibilities of naturalism were exhausted and it had at last proved sickening; moreover the predominance of the rational over the religious interest in nature is once more disappearing, and the body is held in shame by Christianity. Tolerable analogies to the development of classical sculpture may be traced in the history of modern art, especially in painting from the time of Giotto onwards, the present age corresponding to the Byzantine.

### CHAPTER III

## THE PURPOSES AND CONTENT OF CLASSICAL SCULPTURE

THERE is a general and natural belief that deities cannot express themselves except through a material medium, and on his side the worshipper needs a material image through which he can convey his wishes or thanks – hence the cult-statue; moreover, in a polytheistic religion the image ensures that the ear of the right god or goddess is gained. A deep-seated conviction holds that by fashioning a likeness of a desired object it will be obtained, by maltreating the likeness of an enemy he will suffer, or by exhibiting hideous images, daemons will be driven away – hence the prophylactic image which is a second common object of primitive and ancient art. Yet some branches of ancient art must have been principally if not wholly decorative, arising from a universal desire to express in matter, to create and perpetuate: even the Egyptians and Assyrians were surely not entirely urged by considerations of magical utility, and the Greeks with their freer outlook were still less so.

The nature of a people's religion must influence art, and an aniconic religion retards its growth, especially if a ban rest upon the representation of the human figure. It is of importance that the Greek gods were anthropomorphic; the Homeric Age seems to have been largely aniconic, entirely so in the cult of Zeus, while fetishes of unwrought stone or wood were used in the cults of other deities. The vivid personality of these gods may be partially responsible for the rise of plastic art in the succeeding ages, although on the other hand the knowledge of art which the Greeks acquired from the older civilizations round them in Asia and Egypt may be responsible for the growth of an iconic religion. Certainly the use of images began in the cults of newer and less important deities like Apollo and Artemis, and spread last to the cult of Zeus; Artemis came from the East but Apollo from the North, which suggests that the invasion began from the side of art.

It is, however, invidious to discuss the opposing claims of art and religion, for a false position is created: in Greece as elsewhere the two are intricately joined, and the anthropomorphic Greek religion

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contributed towards the great artistic achievement of the Greeks, the representation of the nude male.

The religious not only require objects of direct worship in which the decorative element is accidental and unimportant compared with their utility, but also wish to please the deities with fine temples filled with sculptures or paintings in which the decorative element prevails; and artists on their part need a subject and employment. Equally under later conditions the state and art are interdependent; patriotism or the pride of a ruler demands buildings and statues, often under the religious form of offerings to a deity or temples, sometimes in the form of secular monuments of which the decorations record secular deeds. Religion may offer in such cases an excuse and a subject; somewhat vainglorious patriotism the impulse.

Powerful stimuli existed almost throughout the history of classical sculpture. In the sixth century Peisistratus attracted artists and encouraged art in Athens, but the rule of his house was short and a far greater impulse was given by the sanctuaries of Delphi and Olympia, because the Games held in their precincts appealed to patriotic and personal pride. A rich Treasury reflected glory on the city which dedicated it; the Treasury was primarily a temple, although no cult-statue was within, giving its owners a stake in the sanctuary, just as the possession of a chapel in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre gives a stake to the sect that holds it; offerings were placed inside, sometimes of great value, but in no proper sense was the building a Treasury. Athlete statues and chariot groups abounded on these sites, and in the course of time the athletic ideal became freed of the religious.

After the Persian wars Athens was instinct with patriotism. In the grandiose conceptions of Pericles, the ideal of Panhellenism was linked with Athens; his ambition was to make his city a worthy capital for the whole Greek world. Religion often colours motives of which the substance is patriotism or ambition, and this is the case in Pericles' scheme for the beautifying of the Acropolis. Later, in the decay of the city-state system, new temples had mere local importance and were built on a smaller scale; great temples like that of Apollo at Phigaleia, the Argive Heræum, and the temples at Epidaurus and Tegea, were the last to possess important sculptures. Sparta and Thebes became the strongest states in Greece, but their

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comparative indifference to art preserved their cities' old insignificance. Huge tombs in Asia Minor, like the Mausoleum and Nereid Monument, gave the greatest opportunities to the sculptor. Technique, however, was too undeveloped for sculptors to feel the need for large monuments; Praxiteles, Scopas and Lysippus gave their time to its perfection, aiming not only at correct anatomy but the effect of life itself. As the lady in the *Mime* of Herodas (in the early third century) remarked, 'Aye, in time men will be putting life itself into stone.' The Pergamon kingdom was the next great centre of art and paradise of artists, and with its decay came an age of dilettantism in which portraiture alone was alive. Lastly the Roman empire, by providing a new motive and large monuments, rescued art from the archaistic prettiness, and insipid or hideous naturalism, to which independence upon rich individuals had levelled it. For not only is a subject essential, but it must be one of public and communal nature such as a religion or a state supplies.

In the case of the cult-statue the relationship between religion and art is most simple, and one in which the artist is at a disadvantage. The most famous artists were employed but might be ordered to reproduce a revered and uncouth image; thus Onatas of Ægina was requested to make a new horse-headed Demeter for a sanctuary near Phigaleia, and the dream which he claimed to have received from the goddess may have been a covering for modifications in favour of a more æsthetic image. Statues of this nature are generally colossal and often of unprepossessing material, the head and feet only being of marble and the body of wood; few undoubted cult-statues remain, compared with the number that must have existed, and it is possible that many existing heads of gods are really the heads of cult-statues of which the wooden bodies have perished. The figure was loaded with attributes, sometimes draped in actual garments: the beauty of the statue was subordinated to the utility of the image. If Pausanias may be taken as a normal person of his times, it will be realized how much more the religious valued the ancient wooden *xoana* that have now disappeared, or sacred but unwrought tree-trunks or stones, than the more beautiful statues by later artists; these on the whole inspired more admiration than reverence, as works of art, images not useful or helpful. The view that the Parthenon and Athena Parthenos were merely show-pieces

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is incorrect, but it is true that the old wooden *xoanon* of Athena still held greater religious importance, and for it the peplos was woven every four years.

It seems logical to assume that the cult-statue, at any rate until the end of the fifth century, was a clog upon that trend towards naturalism which classical art took. A certain diffidence was felt in the representation of a deity. Even the Olympian Zeus and the Athena Parthenos, impressive as they appear to have been to all eye-witnesses, sound from their descriptions pedantic works. The restraint felt in cult-images does not seem to have extended in any degree to other representations of gods and goddesses, such as statues for shrines or any other parts of temples, or decorative reliefs of bases, or architectural sculptures, except in the Ægina pediments where a figure of Athena is more like a *xoanon* than a living goddess; generally the deities are distinguished only by their serene countenances and superior height. By the time of Praxiteles the principles of naturalism are everywhere triumphant, they are unchallenged in the Cnidian Aphrodite. Very often when a new statue replaces an old and revered image it leans upon a small replica of its archaic predecessor. Figures of deities form a large proportion of the total of classical sculpture; they were required for various public places – the market-place always held statues of a number of deities, figures of Hermes or Apollo were set up at cross-roads, and of Pan in fields; they were needed for domestic shrines, – to ward off sudden death images of Hermes were kept in sleeping rooms, Aphrodites stood in marriage-chambers and Athenas in libraries.

Architectural sculptures were primarily intended for the spectator, although upon religious edifices. Here the anthropomorphic character of Greek religion, the number of its gods and the wealth of its mythology were invaluable. The sculptured parts of a temple or Treasury lent themselves to mythological representations. The frieze, a continuous band, is suitable for a narrative or procession. On the metopes battle scenes of an Amazonomachy or Gigantomachy are usually displayed, for they divide easily into groups of two or three figures, and so suit the form of the metope.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Above the architecture of a Doric temple is a row of slabs, in which the triglyphs, streaked three times in survival of the beam end from which the Doric temple developed, alternate with the metopes, sunk panels which



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The shape of the pediments invites a well-knit, centred composition. The acroteria, set at the two corners and at the peak of the gable, are in a position especially suitable to flying figures such as Victories.

Since Roman religion was mainly aniconic and ritualistic, even the greater buildings are of secular import, erected for the glorification of the empire and its ruler, recording in their sculptures his deeds; the figures of gods appear but rarely and then insignificantly, although scenes of sacrifice conducted by an emperor or an official occur on every monument of consequence. The religion of Isis, however, and other Oriental cults inspired a considerable art. Scenes of apotheosis are common and temples were built to deified emperors.

Without entering upon the difficult question of the status of the dead, and the degree of symbolism in funerary monuments, these may be safely quoted as another fruitful source of sculpture. The Athenian cemetery at the Dipylon was covered with earth by Sulla, in piling up the mound over which he entered the city; the gravestones remained covered for centuries, and for that reason are numerous. For the most part they bear pleasant scenes of family life, farewells unmarked by emotional feeling, or the funeral banquet. In Asia Minor only are found monumental tombs like the Harpy Tomb and the Nereid Monument and the Mausoleum. Sarcophagi vary in shape; in Etruria and Rome they are flat-topped bearing a recumbent effigy of the deceased; in the east they take the form of a temple; the decoration of the sides seems to be picked at random from the artists' repertory, so varied are the subjects, but sea-monsters and Bacchic scenes predominate to such an extent, especially in Italy, that they are thought to be symbolic. On Greek sarcophagi the scenes are generally taken from the life and sports of the deceased.

In Greek times the majority of subject-statues of mortals and groups were dedications in gratitude to some deity, yet in spirit as well as in quality these gifts must be distinguished from the petty figurines, sometimes of children, vowed by the uneducated super-

might or might not be sculptured. See restoration of temple (Pl. 9), where, however, the architrave bears a frieze like an Ionic temple: for the origin of metope composition in Geometric vases with painted panels, see Lamm, *Neue Jahrbücher*, xxix, 1912, p. 612.

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stitious in order to gain something from the god. In Hellenistic and Roman times, although new cities were built, which required temples and cult-statues and the other paraphernalia of religious life, objects of secular import alone were made in increasing numbers. The honorary statue, set up sometimes in a person's lifetime by a grateful city or guild, is an example; it is undistinguishable from the funerary statue, and generally the head is a portrait.

Poets, philosophers, dramatists, orators were among the commonest subjects of honorary statues, especially in Greece itself, from the mid-fourth century onwards.

In Hellenistic and Roman periods of little public stimulus, art depended on private individuals; the only serious study was portraiture, and art consisted chiefly of genre figures (such as negro boys, children, animals, old fishermen, scenes from low-life satyrs) which filled the spacious houses and gardens of the rich – even figures of deities, especially of Aphrodite and Eros, were treated almost as genre subjects; statues of poets and philosophers, and copies of old masterpieces abounded. Decorative reliefs like the Neo-Attic were naturally much in demand. In short, from the third century onwards there was a demand for a secular art for private and domestic purposes, which had not existed earlier and which increased steadily until the decline of the empire. Till Hellenistic times almost the only large buildings were temples, but with the rise, especially under the empire, of large secular buildings – libraries, theatres, baths – a new demand for secular sculptures was roused.

## MATERIALS AND METHODS

§ 1. *Stone*

As the early art of the Greeks was derived from Oriental sources, so too its technical equipment was Oriental at its inception, having been learnt from Egyptian, Assyrian or 'Hittite' sculptors of the eighth, seventh and sixth centuries. The sculptors of that age relied above all upon stone for their larger works – stone to any degree of hardness in Egypt, alabaster for preference in Assyria, limestones and basalts in Asia Minor and Syria. Alabaster is sometimes found in the Greek colonies of Egypt and is common in Etruria; but in the Ægean area limestone and marble lay nearest to hand and were therefore adopted from the beginnings. Limestone especially was used at first because its softness facilitated carving for unskilled hands, but marble superseded the inferior stones as soon as sufficient experience had been gained: after the sixth century the use of limestone and sandstone was confined to countries such as Italy, Cyprus or Egypt, where no marble quarries existed.

The coarse limestone (*poros*) of the earliest statues on the Acropolis at Athens was abandoned, soon after the middle of the sixth century, for the local marble of Mount Hymettus and better varieties imported from the Ægean islands, in which finer details could be worked and a more pleasing effect obtained. In the fifth century the Athenians opened the quarries on Pentelicon, another mountain in Attica which contains a great area of white marble; the bluish-tinted Hymettus stone, now used for the pavements of modern Athens, was rapidly superseded, but importation from the islands continued. The marbles from the islands of Paros and Naxos cannot always be distinguished from one another, for the colouring is identical; the Naxian usually is coarser-grained, but each quarry varies, and the finer kinds of Naxian have smaller crystals than the coarser kinds of Parian marble: even in the finest Parian, however, the crystals are clearly visible, and from the intermingling of bright and dull sections according to the lie of each crystal arises a lively, translucent effect very pleasing at a short distance. In Pentelic, on the other hand, the crystals are small, and the general effect is less diversified although

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sparkling. The difference in grain has been aptly expressed by the comparison between lump and castor sugar. A further difference in the effects caused by long exposure to the atmosphere cannot have been so important to the Greeks, but now aids greatly in distinguishing the source of a marble; Parian changes but little, its natural creamy colour darkening to a pale smoky tint, whereas Pentelic contains a sufficient percentage of iron for its dazzling whiteness to turn to that beautiful, rusty gold seen in the ruins of the Parthenon. The Greeks valued Parian more highly than Pentelic because of the diversity of its surface (therefore a Parian head is sometimes found attached to a Pentelic body): but they long continued to use inferior varieties. These were generally quarried either in Naxos, or in the northerly island of Thasos, the produce of which was still exported in Roman times. The Peloponnesians, moreover, worked their own quarries in Arcadia, at a spot now called Dolianà; this marble has a comparatively fine grain and is of a dull white hue which weathers to grey. Scopas' temple at Tegea and the frieze from Phigaleia, now in the British Museum, are composed of this material. The Pergamenes used a rather similar stone.

Carrara marble was scarcely used before the foundation of the Roman empire, when quarries were opened at Luna. Their produce has minute crystals, so that the surface never sparkles like Greek stones, while its dull white colour becomes a dirty black in the course of time. Nevertheless its comparative cheapness led to its adoption for decorative work in Italy, in preference to imported Greek marbles.

Another development, almost confined to the empire, is the use of coloured marbles for sculpture. Although regular in Egypt, this practice was not adopted by the early Greeks; in the Hellenistic age, in districts where good white stone was lacking, some Greek sculptors resorted to coloured materials, the red marble of Laconia and Egyptian granite being among the first to be employed. But in certain instances unusual materials were deliberately selected: there exist in a red marble (*pavonazetto*), copies of a statue of Marsyas, the type of which goes back to the second century B.C. The material of the original may have been copper, or bronze painted red, so that the use of a red marble in copies would have been justified; it was evidently thought that such a colour suited a

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representation of a sunburnt satyr. A legitimate ground for ascribing the use of coloured stones to the Hellenistic Age may be found in the statue of Arsinoë, said to have been cut out of a block of topaz, which stood in the temple built in her honour by Ptolemy II; and in the 'emerald' cult-statue reputed to be by Praxiteles (presumably a younger man of that name<sup>1</sup>); this material may be the plasma, or 'root of emerald,' used in the bust of Agrippina in the British Museum – a stone which is actually a green form of quartz or silica. A parallel to the use of coloured stone occurs in the Serapis of Alexandria, a statue cast in a dark-blue alloy, probably in the third century B.C.; a copy of the head in dark grey stone, now in the Alexandria Museum, was discovered in excavations on the site.

When the cult of Isis gained converts in Italy, statues in the volcanic rocks customary in native Egyptian sculpture (granite, diorite, and fine basalts) were carved by Greeks or Romans for dedication in the temples that arose all over the country. In profane works of a slightly later date, the darker coloured stones were sometimes used in imitation of bronze; a pair of bronze centaurs were thus copied in grey by two Greeks of Asia Minor (Pl. 108*a*), and with them were found, in Hadrian's villa at Tivoli, dark red copies of satyrs. In original sculptures dark stones were used to portray Africans (Pl. 48*a*), or to represent the drapery of a figure when the nude parts were carved in white or differently coloured material. This was especially frequent in figures of barbarians,<sup>2</sup> perhaps because the earliest of such figures stood in conjunction with coloured buildings. There is, however, a baffling notice by Pausanias of a dedication in the Olympium at Athens, 'Persians in Phrygian stone supporting a bronze tripod; both worth seeing.' The material described by the ancients as 'Phrygian stone' is uncertain: it has been taken as a coloured marble, but Julian<sup>3</sup> speaks of it as white and like ice. The group cannot be later than Hadrian, but might well be an early Roman monument commemorating a victory over the Parthians. Nevertheless, Bulle and Lippold have assumed a Pergamene or Syrian king to be the dedicator, and have thereby concluded that the coloured marble type of barbarian is centuries older than any extant example.

<sup>1</sup> Dickins, *B. S. A.*, xxi, 1914-16, p. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Arndt and Amelung, *Einz.*, 502, 503.

<sup>3</sup> Loeb edn., II, p. 431.

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In their methods of carving marble, ancient sculptors did not depend so largely on mechanical aids as do the majority of modern artists. The survival of unfinished statues clearly shows that their work consisted of freehand carving, a laborious method seldom now adopted; the average modern artist (including some of great fame) employs a skilled mason to cut out a figure in marble after a clay model of the same size; this is first measured at all important points, then holes are drilled at the corresponding positions into the block to the requisite depths, and the superfluous marble chipped away. Small clay or plaster models were sent in to competitions and must always have been used in architectural sculptures, in which the marble work was carried out by inferior artists, but the date at which full-size models were first prepared, to be reproduced in stone, cannot be definitely stated; anyhow, the mechanical aids were unimportant compared with those of the present day and very few 'points' were taken, so that the advantages of constructing a full-sized model were not so great. The custom was, however, well established in the first century, when Pausanias remarked that modelling was the mother of sculpture; Pliny says of the same artist that he never carved a statue without first making a model in clay. Arcesilaus, another sculptor of the first century, is said to have commanded a higher price for his clay models than other artists for their finished statues. The use of models, however, does not necessarily postulate modern conditions and carving may not have been left to skilled artisans, although the story that Arcesilaus sold a plaster model for a vase, rather points to such a custom.

At an early period, a comparison between the Greeks and the Egyptians is just: it is generally agreed that Egyptian sculptors never made clay models to be copied into stone by pointing, that carving, not modelling, was always their preoccupation. They first scratched the surface of the blocks into squares, upon which they drew the outline of the figure in accordance with their canon (p. 108); they then cut straight in from the front and one side, level with the outline. This process has been followed in an unfinished statuette from Egypt, of late Greek work,<sup>1</sup> though the number of squares seems to have been much less than was required by Egyptian usage. At least in archaic times, Greeks invariably first cut out the full-face and

<sup>1</sup> *Ath. Mitt.*, xxxi, 1906, p. 55, fig. 1.

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profile, having no doubt drawn the outlines on the block; the rounding off of the figure was then effected towards the close of the work. Moreover, the rough draft of an ancient statue was left considerably larger all round than would ultimately be desired, and the details were added during the lengthy process of whittling down the surface to the final size.

Xenophon, writing shortly after 400 B.C., alludes to the painter's use of living models as though it were a perfectly usual thing, and sculptors must have availed themselves of such an obvious means of assistance. It must however be borne in mind that Greek artists memorized the proportions of the human body according to a system periodically revised as taste changed; the 'canon' of Polycleitus, exemplified in his *Doryphorus* (Pl. 61), was thus modified within a century both by Euphranor and by Lysippus, the latter reducing the size of the head from the Polycleitan one-seventh to one-eighth of the total height, and shortening the torso. When therefore a figure had a simple pose the sculptor could dispense with a model until the last stages of the work, or the average memory would retain all the necessary proportions, if not the details of surface markings; indeed, at all times many figures were apparently carved entirely from memory, to judge from their conventional appearance. A unique familiarity with the human body, gained from the system of nude athletics, prevented obvious errors, though complete reliance upon the memory inevitably resulted in a lack of freshness, and, with architectural sculptures such as the Parthenon frieze, in a monotony which would have been relieved by a less scholastic treatment of the nude.

It has been suggested that Greek carving in relief goes back to a greater antiquity than sculpture in the round; but since no direct evidence exists on the point, and none is likely to emerge, the theory deserves no more than a passing mention. Hypotheses deriving sculpture in relief from primitive carved boards may be treated equally lightly. The oldest remaining reliefs are ivories from Sparta, imitating Asiatic and Geometric prototypes. The resemblance of archaic Greek to Asiatic bas-reliefs, noted in Chapter VIII, is the more remarkable because Egyptian influences are lacking; the figures of an Egyptian relief were more often sunk into the background than raised above it, or were merely outlined on the

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surface, whereas the reliefs of Assyria and Asia Minor were always on two planes, one containing the figures and the other the background. This was the convention to which the Greeks adhered, except in a very few instances of outlined figures in local work: but the figures, always flat in Oriental work, were eventually rounded by the Greeks, an innovation probably suggested by the rounding of high reliefs such as the Mycenæ bust (Pl. 2*a*). This led to a deeper cutting of the details in the figures than was formerly needed, and in more elaborate work must have necessitated the help of clay models, upon which to try the relative depths of the various sections before they were transferred to the stone at the requisite levels.

The custom of antiquity was to apply paint to sculpture, not only to marble but even to bronze, glass or precious stones. Among the masses of archaic Attic sculpture found on the Acropolis, the more delicate statues are sparingly painted, to reveal the valuable marble, but in the earlier architectural groups in coarse limestone the complete surface is covered. It is reasonable therefore to infer that the most ancient Greek sculptors coloured the whole surface, like the Assyrians and Egyptians. The practices of these Orientals differed, in that Assyrian colouring was purely arbitrary, whereas the Egyptians intended at least to suggest the hues of nature, which they could not, however, produce in the primary colours employed. The Greeks finally adhered to the latter custom, although the three-bodied monster of the Acropolis (Pl. 7*b*) wears most unnatural tints, the beard a crude blue, the eyes green, the flesh bright red and the tail variegated. But the female statues show not only a more limited use of paint but a more refined choice of colours, in which red, however, predominates. As a rule the hair, the lips and the iris of the eyes are painted red, black is used for the pupils as well as for the eyebrows and the outlines of the eyelids and iris. The clothing is seldom covered with a flat wash of colour, but embroidered borders and other decorations are added in abundance, while any parts of the chiton visible are washed over with red or green, different colours sometimes being applied to the two ends of the same garment.

The tendency towards limiting the field of colour to the minor portions of the sculpture grows no more decided in the fifth and fourth centuries. The examples dating from the fifth century are



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chiefly gravestones, which have red and blue backgrounds, with a predominant use of red. The importance of colour in the fourth century may be gauged by the fact that the most prized statues of Praxiteles were completed by the celebrated painter, Nicias. He probably chose unobtrusive shades like those of the Alexander Sarcophagus, which displays a much wider range of colour than the Acropolis material. The original colouring can be better realized from the plates of Hamdy and Reinach<sup>1</sup> than from the present appearance of the sarcophagus, which has faded since its removal from the darkness of the tomb to the daylight of the Constantinople Museum. But even when new it was probably less bright than true architectural sculptures, especially friezes, in which the figures were made clearer by colour on the hair and by flat washes over the drapery, against a background of blue or red paint, or black stone in the case of the Erechtheum.

The colouring of a typical figure from the Alexander Sarcophagus will throw light upon the methods of the fourth century and of at least the earlier portion of the Hellenistic Age. Alexander himself has the eyes, lips, hair and boots painted reddish brown; his lion-skin is yellow with brown eyes, the tunic purplish blue, his mantle rose and wine colour; his saddle is yellow with a blue border, the horse's bridle, nostrils and eyelids are reddish brown, other portions of the harness are reddish brown or yellow.

The taste for naturalistic colouring grew with time: thus a head in the British Museum (No. 1597) has yellow hair, pink flesh and black eyebrows, eyelashes and pupils. The late Hellenistic statues of Delos show the same fashion, but the head in question belongs to the empire. At all periods gilt was applied to portions of marble statues, occasionally (especially in later times) to the whole figure; and sometimes marble was painted to resemble bronze.

In the Greek period there occur rare exceptions to the rule that the eyes of statues should be indicated in paint; for in Oriental work the eyes were often inlaid with mother-of-pearl, ivory or semi-precious stones; the pupil was sometimes represented in Egypt by a disc of polished ebony covered with a piece of rock-crystal. In the Moschophorus (Pl. 8) thin discs of stone had apparently been inserted and valuable gems were sometimes used in cult-images of the

<sup>1</sup> *Necropole royale à Sidon.*

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later periods. Instances of enamel fillings occur in the Hellenistic and Roman Ages, in imitation of similar eyes in bronze statues; a hole of greater depth was required for the artificial material than for semi-precious stones.

In the second century A.D. it became common to carve the iris and pupil; the iris being partly covered by the upper eyelid forms a crescent, with the pupil indicated by a deep hollow between the horns (Pls. 146a, 151a). The first attempts at this method, inspired no doubt by the similar treatment of bronzes and terracottas, belong to the Flavian dynasty (heads from the House of the Vettii at Pompei cannot be later than the eruption of A.D. 79); there are occasional Trajanic examples, and after the reign of Hadrian it is exceptional not to find it. At the same period it becomes usual to carve the eyebrows, formerly added by paint, and these two conventions prevail into the Byzantine Age.

A point in which ancient practice contrasts with that of the present day is the circumstance that sculptors did not hesitate to carve a statue in a number of separate pieces, the joints of which were seldom concealed. The head and neck of draped statues usually form a separate piece that fits into a rounded socket, arms and other projecting parts are attached by clamps sunk into the smoothed surfaces. The incomplete state of so many ancient sculptures is largely due to these customs, which are very prevalent in archaic times, less so in the fifth and fourth centuries, after which they again become common. An economy found, chiefly in Egypt and the Ægean islands, during the Hellenistic age, is the use of plaster for the hair: the material was easier worked than marble and its covering of gilt or paint kept it out of sight.

It frequently happens in modern sculpture that the unrelieved whiteness of the surface produces such a glare as to confuse the modelling of the muscles and other details, even when the work stands indoors. Dead whiteness was avoided in ancient sculpture both by paint and by applying beeswax to the surface and rubbing it in with a cloth. The latter process, called *ganosis*, needed constant renewal, so that the exact appearance of a statue so treated will never be known apart from ancient descriptions. But the buttery complexion of the Hermes of Praxiteles serves to suggest the smooth glow obtained by the process, which subdued the glare of the fresh-

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cut marble, while retaining the play of light over the crystals. In the fourth century the custom of polishing the surface was carried to such a degree that the muscles lay merely suggested beneath the gloss. This convention of excessive smoothness, known by the Italian terms *sfumato* or *morbidezza*, developed from Praxitelean methods, and was practised in many localities, being especially popular at Alexandria and in the Ægean islands; the finest extant works are the Boston head from Chios and a Lysippic statuette in Providence.<sup>1</sup> To the hardness characteristic of early imperial sculpture there remain few exceptions, but an era of high polish returned under the Antonines, reaching its zenith in the bust of Commodus (Pl. 151A), where the texture of the material has been so obscured that the surface looks more like ivory or porcelain than marble.

### § 2. *Bronze*

A very large proportion, probably more than half of all ancient statues, were composed of bronze, a metal so valuable in the Middle Ages that few objects made of it escaped the melting pot. Life-size bronzes have rarely come to light, except in Herculaneum or Pompei, where they were deeply buried in lava or ashes. In their fondness for bronze the Greeks differ from the neighbouring peoples. In Egypt the material was only used for statuettes, the only statues from that country, those of King Pepi I and his son, belong to the third millennium B.C.; nothing larger than statuettes has yet been reported from Asia Minor; in Mesopotamia, however, metal statues occur sporadically from 2900 onwards. The technique of the oldest work appears to be identical in Egypt and Babylonia, the heads being cast hollow and the rest composed of hammered plates secured by nails to a wooden core. But the material is more probably pure copper than the alloy of copper and tin which forms bronze.<sup>2</sup> No Assyrian bronzes more than a few inches in height have yet been discovered, but such are known to have existed, and an inscription of Sennacherib, who had colossal figures made for the decoration of his palace at Nineveh, throws light upon their construction; 'with great beams and wooden frameworks for twelve shining (?)

<sup>1</sup> L. G. S., Pls. 6, 11b.

<sup>2</sup> Hall, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, viii, 1922, pp. 247, 250.

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lions, as well as for twelve exalted bull-colossi, complete in form, and twenty-two female colossi . . . according to the command of the god, I fashioned moulds of clay and poured bronze therein, as in casting half-shekel pieces.<sup>1</sup> This method of casting, apparently regarded by the Assyrians as an experiment when applied to large objects, does not differ, so far as is known, from that finally adopted by the Greeks.

But bronze had already been in use among the Greeks for two or three centuries before the introduction, probably in the sixth century, of this system of hollow casting. In the Geometric period, the Greeks had used a most primitive device of joining rods of metal to form a statuette, after which followed the old Oriental method of beating plates of metal into shape and fastening them together into a statue; then came the extravagant practice of solid casting, found on the Asiatic shore of the Mediterranean as well as in Egypt, although in that country figurines were often cast hollow and the core retained. In addition there appeared the technique (and to some extent the style) of bronze reliefs, the prototypes of which were made in Assyria and the Van district of Asia Minor; they were very frequently imitated in the nearer parts of Asia, more probably by the Phœnicians than by any other race. These peoples decorated thin sheets of metal, partly by cutting in the design from the front, partly by hammering it out from the back; the two devices occur together on one object. Thus were formed the shield from Crete (Fig. 11), and that early Ionian work of which authors speak and of which the tripod (Fig. 26), is probably an example. The arrangement of the decoration on the tripod, in stripes one above the other, follows the Assyrian convention, while in the shield the Assyrian style is obvious although filtered through a Phœnician or other intermediary.

The practice of hollow casting once established, its extension to all branches of bronze work soon followed. The essential part of any process of casting lies in the use of a mould, taken from the clay figure, into which the hot metal can be poured; it will be realized that when a core of fireproof material is placed within the mould far less bronze is required.

There are two satisfactory methods of hollow casting, both in-

<sup>1</sup> Sidney Smith, *Nymismatic Chronicle*, 1922, p. 176.

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volving the use of wax. The first, and more cumbersome, is that in which a mould of fine clay is taken from a well-finished model of plaster or clay; the mould is filled with a thin coating of wax and then with a core of clay or fireproof material. The wax is melted and allowed to run out at the lower end of the figure, while at the top the heated metal is poured into the space between the core and mould. Later the crust is removed; the core may be either extracted or retained, in Oriental bronzes it is retained. A remark attributed to Polycleitus, 'when the clay is at the finger-nails the work becomes most difficult,' seems to indicate that he used this process, but the precise meaning is disputable. The second and more satisfactory, but also more advanced, method is to make a clay or plaster model, strengthened by iron or wood, and to cover it with a thin layer of wax, modelled over the surface of the clay or plaster. When the modelling is perfected a second covering of fine clay is laid over the wax, again thin enough to follow the contours beneath it; last, the wax is melted out as before and the liquid bronze poured in to take its place. It will be understood that by having a core which is also a model the metal ~~will~~ be evenly distributed, thus saving expense. The head and limbs were usually cast separately and attached by soldering or riveting.

The statue, when cast, still needed several days' labour, to smooth the surface, and sharpen the modelling where necessary. The light yellow shade of the fresh metal was changed to the required tone by a varnish or paint, whereby flushed or pale cheeks or sunburn could be indicated. Details were sometimes added in other metals, as in Mesopotamian art, the lips and ornaments being supplied in silver or gold, the nipples in copper. The eyes were usually inlaid in glass or enamel as a cheap substitute for the Oriental use of precious or semi-precious stones, to which the Greeks seldom aspired; though the Delphi charioteer has pupils of onyx. The close-lying hairs on the body were engraved upon the bronze after the statue had been cast.

The date at which the Greeks began to cast with the help of wax, laid between the mould and core, is unknown, though the process is attested in the fourth century by the story that Lysistratus, brother of Lysippus, took moulds from the human face to produce thereby a wax mask which he could cast into bronze, incorporated in a

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portrait-statue. The actual 'invention' of casting was attributed to the Samians Rhœcus and Theodorus in the sixth century; most of such stories of inventions have no foundation in fact, but it is possible that these artists were among the first Greeks to adopt the method of hollow casting from the East. It has been suggested that the Assyrians used bitumen where the Greeks used wax; and the method of Egyptian figurines is likewise unknown; the use of wax may therefore have been a Greek improvement.

Literary sources distinguish several varieties of bronze, largely obtained by alterations in the proportions of tin and copper and by the addition of other metals: Corinth was supposed to have made three kinds, in one of which the preponderance of tin and silver gave a light colour; and Myron was supposed to have preferred the alloy of Ægina, while Polycleitus preferred that of Corinth. But although the incompetence of ancient metallurgists has inevitably led to local variations dependent upon the ingredients of the ore, the analyses of chemists have not revealed further local peculiarities.

To their greater dependence on bronze the Greek sculptors owed their emancipation from the stiffness of Oriental art, for a bronze statue could be made to stand in almost any pose without other support than the lead clamps at its base; if needed, lead or stone could be inserted into the interior to maintain the balance. The enormous cost of transport in antiquity made for the greater popularity of bronze: it cost as much as 400 drachmas to move the drum of a column from the Pentelic quarry to Eleusis, and limestone fetched to Delphi from the neighbourhood of Corinth cost ten times as much in transport as at the quarry (expenses of cutting the block, 61 dr.; transport by sea, 224 dr.; transport by land, 420 dr. — this for seven miles of steep gradient). Bronze was more easily moved, especially as the material could be assembled in small quantities; but it was of course expensive. In Hellenistic times a life-size statue of bronze cost half a talent, roughly £120, or \$600; and a statue of twice the normal size was regularly estimated at eight times the normal price, for it required four times as much surface and twice the thickness. Hence the colossus of Rhodes, 105 feet high, cost no less than £80,000, or \$400,000.

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### § 3. *Wood*

To carve in wood is perhaps the most obvious means of artistic expression and was not neglected by the early Greeks, whose favourite varieties were cedar, pine, poplar, cypress, olive or ebony. But the climate of the country, with its stormy winters and rainless summers, does not preserve wood like the perpetually dry air of Egypt, and in fact no example of Greek carving in that medium has been discovered, although works of twice the age have survived in Egypt. It is only from the notices of authors that we learn of crude images shaped from tree-trunks in the archaic period, and these were often dressed in actual clothes.<sup>1</sup> The form and details of many an ancient statue, however, would easily translate into wood (Pls. 1, 2), and the style of the more pretentious wooden statues must have been closely related to the surviving early marbles. But sculpture in unadorned wood did not outlast the sixth century as a living art, although the old wooden cult-images were often long preserved by religious conservatism.

In later times wood frequently formed a groundwork upon which to place more decorative materials, especially gold and ivory (when these were used in conjunction, the former was applied to the drapery and hair, the latter to the nude portions); the hammered plates, too, which composed very early bronzes, must have been nailed on to a wooden framework, and the chryselephantine (gold and ivory) technique might be considered a development from this principle, were it not known to have already flourished in the Oriental kingdoms. The tomb of Tutankhamen yielded several small instances of the combination of the two materials, the most relevant being the figure of an Asiatic captive upon the handle of a ceremonial walking-stick, where the nude extremities are of ivory and the dress is formed of sheet gold inlaid with precious stones. Large works of such valuable material have naturally been broken up centuries ago, but fragments exist at Cairo (No. 724) of a colossal statue carried out in alabaster except for the drapery and hair, which were probably of gilt metal, so that the whole effect would resemble that of chryselephantine work. Again, ivory panels, discovered at the Assyrian capital of Nimrud, but probably of Phœni-

<sup>1</sup> Frazer, *Pausanias*, ii, p. 574.

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cian origin, were partly gilded and partly inlaid with lapis-lazuli; and Solomon is reported to have overlaid with gold an ivory throne, decorated with lions. In Mesopotamia, similar thrones of gold and ivory are recorded, in addition to colossi of bronze and ivory, a statue of the sun-god in gold and lapis-lazuli, and other statues of gold; an attribute, a piece of wood sheathed in gold to represent the lightning, is the one surviving relic of these figures. In Boston is a snake-goddess in gold and ivory from Crete, a work of the Minoan Age,<sup>1</sup> and other Minoan ivories remain. The Greek adoption of such materials for cult-images was therefore no original idea.

Greek carvings in ivory begin at least as early as the seventh century, in the form of crude imitations of small Asiatic models, but it was first applied to statues in the sixth century, if the ancient authorities can be trusted. The construction of a colossal statue necessitated a model on the same scale, upon which could be plotted the exact size and shape of each scrap of gold and ivory or other less precious substances which were to be added; accordingly the workshop of Pheidias at Olympia was (if the building has been rightly identified) a replica of the temple-chamber for which his statue of Zeus was designed. An incomplete statue of the next generation has been described by Pausanias (I, 40, 3). Theocosmus of Megara, an artist employed on the Delphi memorial for the battle of Ægospotami (405), was engaged upon a chryselephantine Zeus at his native city when the outbreak of the Peloponnesian war (432) put an end to its construction. The date is perhaps erroneous; but that is a matter of no importance. The statue, as Pausanias saw it, had a face of ivory and gold, the rest of clay and plaster: behind the temple lay some partly-shaped blocks of wood which were intended to bear the ivory and gold casing of the body. The framework of such statues comprised a scaffolding of some complexity; and the warping of the beams seems to have provided a source of constant danger.

Chryselephantine work was still executed, or it might be more correct to say, was revived, under Hadrian. An ivory face and arm in the Vatican<sup>2</sup> belong to a statue, which was either a poor work of the Pheidian Age or an imitation; from the circumstance that it was

<sup>1</sup> *C. A. H.*, *Plates*, I, 118.

<sup>2</sup> Albizzati, *J. H. S.*, xxxvi, p. 373, pls. viii, ix.



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found at Monte Calvo, near Rome, the latter is more plausible. An ivory fragment of another archaistic statue has also been reported.<sup>1</sup>

Another curious technique was that known as acrolithic, the flesh parts being supplied in marble, the rest in wood. This is comparable to the use of a better variety of marble for the head than for the body of a statue, and arises largely from the same motive – that of economy. The addition of paint to the hair and drapery would remove any disconcerting effect caused by the variation in material.

### § 4. *Terracotta*

In Mesopotamia terracotta (baked clay) was the favourite material for inexpensive statuettes of magical import, but Egyptian taste required the addition of glaze; Minoan glazed figurines have often been discovered, but from the Mycenæan period onwards, glazed objects become exceedingly rare and it was customary to adorn Greek statuettes only with paint. Large statues of this unpromising material, though common in Etruria and Egypt, were rarely made in Greece, though no less an artist than Theocosmus of Megara is recorded to have produced a Zeus of terracotta, and the extant examples represent every period; an interesting case is that of the fifth-century head of Zeus from Olympia, varnished a shiny black to resemble bronze. In the sixth and fifth centuries life-size busts were modelled or cast from moulds in large numbers to be placed in rows along the roofs of buildings, but the majority of these come from the colonies in Italy; the plentiful use of colour brightens the uninteresting clay to a surprising extent.

The remaining classes of Greek terracottas are on a small scale, whether reliefs or in the round, and seldom reach a high standard. The plaques of Locri in South Italy are perhaps the most agreeable of the reliefs. Innumerable statuettes have come to light; the output of Tanagra, a small Bœotian town, is deservedly the most renowned (the industry flourished most between 350 and 250 B.C.), but high-class fabrics were produced also at Taranto (500–250), Sinyrna (350–150), and Myrina, a small town in the territory of Pergamon, where a particularly florid type was evolved (especially second century). Under the Roman Empire an unusually good local variety

<sup>1</sup> Lethaby, *J. H. S.*, xxxvii, 1917, p. 17.

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occurs on the southern shore of the Black Sea, and factories of varied quality exist in other provinces.

The Etruscans utilized terracotta to a far greater extent than other ancient people; as a consequence it had a greater vogue among the Romans, in many respects their heirs, than it ever had among the Greeks. A large collection of Roman statues in terracotta may be seen in the Naples Museum; they can claim very little æsthetic value. But a better class of work is offered in the so-called Campana reliefs, produced in Rome under the early empire for architectural purposes; the plaques were cast in great numbers from moulds and joined together to form friezes. They treat mythological subjects in a purely decorative manner, which has considerable charm and inspired the Adam and Empire designers of the last century. Their colouring is described on p. 342.

The intrinsic value of this class of work is small, and its bearing on the general history of sculpture not sufficient to warrant the inclusion of terracottas in a book of this character; but a brief sketch of terracotta products could scarcely be omitted, because occasional reference to them is necessary for illustration; the abundance and comparative indestructibility of pottery make them an invaluable, if humble, witness to the general progress of art, and they reveal the existence of local schools to a degree unapproached in other mediums.<sup>1</sup>

The remaining mediums used in classical sculpture have no especial bearing upon its history: they include silver, brass, lead, copper, iron, glass, and amber.

<sup>1</sup> Levi, *Terracotte figurate di Napoli*.

## CHAPTER V

### COPIES

THE ancient world was not afflicted with the craze for originality. The Greeks were faithful for a considerable time to the Oriental types which inspired them; thus in the archaic male statues representing Apollo or athletes, a stiff pose, with the hands hanging downward and one foot advanced, long remains recognizably Egyptian, being faithfully reproduced by sculptor after sculptor, each limiting himself to improving the details so far as he was able. Later, however, arose the conditions which characterize all classical art; a greater artist set the type for each deity or class of person, and drew canons for the proportions of the human figure, and his lead was unashamedly followed by lesser artists. But neither they nor the intelligent eclectics of the late Hellenistic Age can be strictly termed copyists, any more than the primitive artists who painted the Madonna and Child without divergence from the traditional design. It was not until the establishment of the empire that genuine copying took place on a large scale, when men were executing orders for patrons; to this age belong almost exclusively the copies of celebrated statues, like the Athena Parthenos or the Cnidian Aphrodite, few of which have themselves been preserved. In the absence of the originals such copies acquire a value far exceeding their artistic merit; as it happens, there survives but one original definitely known to have come from the hand of a famous sculptor of antiquity, and the present knowledge of the great masters is based almost exclusively upon copies of their work—in the case of statues, copies executed under the empire; in the case of architectural sculptures, contemporary reproductions from their more or less cursory designs. Under these circumstances, a knowledge of the methods and limitations of the copyist becomes essential to the study of ancient art.<sup>1</sup>

The problem is complicated at the outset by the fact that an artist himself sometimes carried out replicas of his own works, no doubt emending the first design where he felt capable of improving on it. Probably, too, a custom of the Renaissance existed in Greece, by

<sup>1</sup> The last book devoted to the subject is Lippold, *Kopien und Umbildungen griechischer Statuen*, Munich, 1923.

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which the artist's pupils were entrusted with the execution of his ideas from his rough sketches, only the last touches coming from the Master's own hands; by this system duplication could be readily effected, with or without slight variations. The existence of two forms of the Hope Athena should perhaps be so explained (p. 205). As a matter of fact a large proportion of so-called originals in architectural sculpture of the Hellenic period could with equal justice be described as contemporary copies from the more or less detailed designs of the Master. Small models or sketches were converted into marble on the larger scale by inferior workmen, for the details would be imperceptible at the height of a roof. This practice results in such great discrepancies between the various sections of architectural sculptures, that it has been supposed that their execution continued over a long period. Thus Blümel allowed forty years for the completion of the small frieze of the temple of Victory at Athens; but two fragments, which he considered to be among the earliest and the latest parts, were shown by later investigation to belong to the same slab, and the stylistic divergences must be due to the sculptors who carried out the design.

Portraits were sometimes set up in several places, even in Greek times the duplicates being presumably made in the same workshop if erected simultaneously, but imitations of doubtful truthfulness if put up later. The Agias may serve as an instance, it is uncertain of which class; of interest too is an inscription in the Louvre, dating early in the second century B.C.,<sup>1</sup> in which the Ionian and Hellenistic Guild of Bacchic Artists (musicians and actors) decrees that there portraits of one of the officers shall be placed in his honour at Teos, Delos, and some other spot of his own selection. Under the empire, portraits of the ruler were needed by the hundred; most of the originals probably remained at Rome, copies being despatched to the provinces and there recopied again and again.

Contemporary copies were also required for religious purposes; an archaic example is afforded by the duplicate Apollos by Canachus, venerated in Thebes and Branchidæ. Moreover, as the appearance of each deity was determined by some famous statue, which sometimes fixed the type for centuries, the votive offerings representing the deity can almost be considered copies, although accuracy was

<sup>1</sup> *Corpus Inscr. Græc.*, 3067.

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not the workman's first aim. The influence of great secular statues can frequently be traced on gravestones, which sometimes coincide in the use of the same athletic figure or group.

The copying of statues purely from motives of æsthetic interest had commenced before the Hellenistic Age. In Venice is preserved a collection of copies or imitations of famous statues, which may have been formed in the Greek period;<sup>1</sup> the work at least is all pre-Roman, even if the statues did not originally belong to a set. The copyists have added touches of their own period, departing from their models with a lack of scruple, which was customary before the Roman reverence for antiquity prevailed. In Hellenistic times there was a divergence between the copies and originals both in style and composition, not only in Pergamon, where art possessed all the means and vigour that royal patronage could give, but also in smaller centres like Delos. The former group has been made the subject of a lengthy study by Dr. G. Krahmer,<sup>2</sup> in which the fact is emphasized that even those statues formerly considered to be true copies of fifth-century works bear most plainly the marks of their age. Indeed, the Hellenistic copyist was inclined to bring his subject to date, in the spirit in which a composer uses an old melody as the theme of his modern composition.

Several Hellenistic copies are illustrated in their context: indubitable examples are the Diadumenus from a second-century house at Delos, which cannot be later than 88 B.C.; the Pericles, with its inscription of the second or first century; the Doryphorus herm signed by Apollonius, son of Archias, member of a family of sculptors from Marathon. The Doryphorus statue at Naples, though found in a gymnasium of the second century, seems to be of later date, especially as the material is Carrara marble, the use of which is unprecedented before the time of Cæsar.

The latest of Hellenistic copies, whether from Pergamon or from Delos, can scarcely be dated after the Mithradatic war of 85 B.C.; there follows a gap before the golden age of copyists opens with the establishment of the Roman empire. In this period, to which few extant copies can be assigned with certainty, fell the activity of Pasiteles, a Greek from S. Italy who received the Roman franchise in 89 B.C. His output was as varied as Cellini's, including plate as well

<sup>1</sup> Lippold, *Kopien*, pp. 9-13.

<sup>2</sup> *Röm. Mitt.*, xl, 1925, p. 67.

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as sculpture in all materials; and his interest in Old Masters is proved by his work in five books entitled *Nobilis Opera in Toto Orbe*. There is no evidence that he himself is responsible for any copies, but a statue <sup>1</sup> signed by his pupil Stephanus was taken from an athlete of the mid-fifth century; yet it is of poorer workmanship than some other extant replicas <sup>2</sup> and cannot perhaps be taken as representative of this distinguished school. The group signed by Menelaus, pupil of Stephanus, <sup>3</sup> is a more striking piece; it contains Orestes and Electra in an attitude rendered peculiarly unreal by the contrast between the overdressed sister and her almost naked brother. Two originally separate figures, of a type not earlier than Alexander, appear to have been adapted arbitrarily to form a group, as in other instances of the same subject or of Orestes and Pylades. This custom may have started in the school of Pasiteles; it is significant that in these other groups a replica of Stephanus' athlete is used as Orestes while the remaining figures recall prototypes of a similar period.<sup>4</sup> It appears that Stephanus and his associates – whether instigated by Pasiteles himself or not – sometimes found their inspiration in fifth-century paintings, for their themes are distinctly pictorial; they carved the figures of their own devising in antique style, reducing, for example, the head of Polycleitus' Doryphorus to match a boy's body, constructed like that of the Idolino. Probably some member of the school is responsible for the 'Spinario' (Pl. 119*a*), a statue combining a fifth-century type of head with a fourth- or third-century type of body, which has, however, been modelled by the copyist to harmonize with the archaic head. Such work might almost be termed original.

Under the early emperors a great market for true copies grew up, especially in Italy. Wealthy Romans liked to surround themselves with reproductions from the Old Masters, the originals being unobtainable to the ordinary purse, if indeed they had not become national property. Such copies were required to be accurate, but the knowledge of the average purchaser did not extend so far as need have quietened the careless copyist. The artistic quality sinks steadily

<sup>1</sup> Helbig, 1846; Br. Br. 301.

<sup>2</sup> Poulsen, *Portraits in English Collections*, p. 21, fig. 24.

<sup>3</sup> Helbig 1314; Br. Br. 309.

<sup>4</sup> Orestes Groups, Br. Br. 30-68.

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from the first century A.D. onwards, apart from a brief revival in the time of Hadrian, which particularly applies to a few copies in dark grey and red marbles, presumably imitating coloured bronzes; two of these are signed by sculptors of Aphrodisias (Pl. 108a). In the Antonine Age copies are produced in enormous numbers, and most are of an exceedingly low standard of work; after the second century the industry ceases to exist.

The degree of accuracy to be expected from these copyists is slight compared with that of the modern copyist, who is generally working under the supervision of the sculptor of the original; he takes many 'points' to ensure mechanical accuracy. The ancient copyist, on the other hand, was working for a patron who probably did not know the original; he took far fewer 'points'; moreover, he could not work in the presence of the original, which usually stood in a sanctuary or public place, and the casts which he used were not made from piece-moulds, by which he could reproduce the figure in plaster in his studio:<sup>1</sup> this process was not employed, and often the copyist had only a cast of the face to assist him. Sometimes he was using a copy which was itself inaccurate, and thus he inevitably moved one stage further from the original. The greater liberty of the ancient copyist added value to his own personality and ability; even though a dull, unimaginative workman might attain more mechanical exactitude, a copyist with true artistic sense and less patience might catch more of the spirit of the original. Only by comparison of several copies of varying merit can their relative value as copies be estimated. Furthermore, in deciding whether one head or statue is a copy of another, it is impossible to insist on the 'lock for lock' dogma, which expects divergence in the expression but absolute agreement on details like the arrangement of the hair, for in the conditions under which copyists were obliged to work it is obvious that a complete correspondence of copy and original could never be effected, though two copies executed simultaneously in the workshop might so correspond to one another.

The material, upon which these copyists and adapters drew, consisted in part of works of art already in Italy (as spoils of war or by purchase), but to at least the same extent of originals still in Greek lands. In the latter case, however, local sculptors had sometimes

<sup>1</sup> Ashmole, *B. S. R.*, x, 1927, p. 4.

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executed one or more copies, that had been sent to Rome and could be reproduced there at second hand. In spite of the numerous originals recorded to have been placed in Rome, most of the identifiable statues of which copies survive stood in Greece, generally at Athens. Furthermore, the prevalent use of Greek marbles in early imperial copies suggests that the industry flourished in the East; Pentelic, Parian and Pergamene were the varieties employed, and both Athens and Pergamon, the sources of two of these marbles, are known to have been engaged in the manufacture of copies. On the other hand, Greek marbles were exported in great quantities, and it may be that Italian copyists studied quality rather than economy and rejected the inferior Luna marble, which was quarried nearer to them. Lippold concludes that statues in Pentelic marble were invariably executed in Athens because, he says, that marble was not exported in the rough like the superior Parian; Athens would then be the chief centre. But this argument fails to convince, since it is more than likely that Pentelic would be exported for the express purpose of competing with the higher-priced Parian marble for the custom of the moderately rich.

The foundries from which bronze copies were issued have not been located; the great numbers of such copies discovered at a villa outside Herculaneum need not have been cast locally, but may have been carried by sea from the Ægean; bronzes formed a large portion of the cargo of two ships sunk, in the first century B.C., one off Anticythera, and the other near Mahdia on the Tunisian coast. A single group of workmen may have executed the Herculaneum statues, for they are mostly of one date, probably within a century of the destruction of the villa in A.D. 79. Some would no doubt be cast with the help in the more crucial portions, such as the face, of moulds made from the original, to which the result would then be almost equal, except that finishing touches had to be given to the bronze by a different hand.

Bronze originals were frequently copied in marble, a cheaper material, but in the process of translation certain difficulties inevitably presented themselves. Eyes made to be shaded by a fringe of eyelashes would become unduly prominent in stone, hence the lids were sometimes thickened or the lashes painted on. Projecting pieces of hair, easily effected in metal, were abandoned; whiskers,



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and the slight growth of hair on the chest and armpits, which were engraved on the surface of the bronze, had to be raised in relief in a marble copy. Such discrepancies reveal themselves in a comparison between bronze and marble copies of Polycleitan heads. More disconcerting than such details was the fact that many a statue which could maintain its position in bronze would immediately fall when carried out in marble; while outstretched limbs were liable to break in transit, if not to collapse from their own weight. Slight alterations in the pose may have been introduced, but more often supports rose from the base or were stretched across to the outstanding portions of the figure. The copyist endeavoured to render these additions innocuous by disguising them as tree-trunks or clubs or other attributes appropriate to the figure (as in the statue of the Running Girl (Pl. 40a) who is propped up by a tree against which had been laid the palm branch of the Victor).

In reduced copies of large figures, such as the Athena Parthenos of Plate 48, the detail of the original has inevitably been slurred over. Larger divergences from the original design can often be explained by the necessity to fit a copy into the space for which it was destined. In the copying of groups, intended for architectural settings, great liberties were taken; a remarkable instance is found in the set of Muses now in Madrid. Here only seated figures were required, therefore the copyist replaced the upright members by duplicating two of the seated figures, and adding two more which had no connection with the original composition. In other instances one or more statues were omitted for no apparent reason; perhaps because the quota of figures had already been filled, or because the reproduction in marble of certain bronzes was impossible without the use of very unsightly supports, or simply because the remaining members of the group were less popular. For decorative purposes, moreover, duplicate statues were often arranged in pairs, and occasionally one copy accompanied another with the position of the limbs reversed (as though seen through a looking-glass).

Bronze and terracotta statuettes are often based on statues; and on the whole these small reproductions are more likely than not to differ intentionally from their originals, although in certain cases these are followed with as much accuracy as the size permits. In the bronzes of the Renaissance — which are occasionally mistaken

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for classical – the same tendencies can be studied with greater ease, as the originals have themselves been preserved. In the case of ancient statues, when the originals have almost invariably perished, it is safer to place no trust in small reproductions other than those on coins of the Imperial epoch, when Greek cities illustrated their artistic treasures upon their coinage as accurately as the small scale permitted. The Hadrianic representation of the Zeus of Pheidias (Fig. 27) is a good example of the uses and limitations of such coins, in which alone does any record survive of the appearance of many of the acknowledged masterpieces of antiquity. Some, however, of these illustrations on coins are not precise enough to establish the identity of their original with that of marble copies hesitatingly connected with it – an instance is the Heracles of Scopas at Sicyon and the Lansdowne type of the god – and in general the workmanship of these coins is extremely poor. They have in particular a tendency to exaggerate the distance of the arms from the trunk,

## CHAPTER VI

### DEITIES AND ATTRIBUTES

THE functions of deities were often confused. When a god or goddess was tutelary deity of a certain place or division of the race, he or she acquired functions of other members of the pantheon, for protection must extend to all the activities and needs of human life. Moreover the East never ceased to influence the Mediterranean world, so that the Greek and Roman pantheon continually received additions or adaptations. It was inevitable also that the functions and attributes of deities of similar nature should be mutually transferred; thus Apollo and Dionysus were closely associated and even identified, and both are addressed as one universal god in a treatise, supposedly by the rhetorician, Menander of Laodicea: 'The Persians name thee Mithras, the Egyptians Horus, for thou bringest the seasons round in their circuit, the Thebans Dionysus, and the Dephians honour thee with a twofold title, calling thee at once Apollo and Dionysus.' Most gods are associated with or identified with the sun and sky, most goddesses with the moon and earth, somewhere and at some time, but true Hellenic deities remain always anthropomorphic. This syncretism evokes a remark on the unitarian tendencies hid beneath the polytheism of Greek religion: 'The Stoics hold that there is but one god and one goddess, and that it is the self-same power which is called by various names according to its functions and activities. Hence on the one hand they identify Sol, Bacchus and Apollo; on the other hand they identify Luna, Diana, Ceres, Juno, Proserpina.'<sup>1</sup> It also makes an exhaustive list impossible here, but anyone desirous of curious information or alluring suggestions should burrow in *Zeus*, by A. B. Cook. The twelve great Olympian deities, with the more important of the lesser gods and dæmons and of the Eastern deities of later adoption, are given with their general functions and the attributes which are found in better known sculptures; vase paintings and coins offer a far greater variety, which in sculpture is only approached in Roman sarcophagi; of cult-images none survives unbroken, and the accessories that identified the subject have usually disappeared.

<sup>1</sup> Servius, *Verg. Georgics*, 1, 5.

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ÆSCULAPIUS. See ASCLEPIUS.

APHRODITE (Latin VENUS).

*Functions.* In Greece she was the goddess of love and beauty, as Aphrodite Pandemus of licence and lust, as Urania of married love: in Asia Minor she was associated with fertility and vegetation.

*Attributes.* Eros, the dove, the dolphin; the goat was the symbol of Pandemus, the tortoise of Urania, the partridge and pomegranate of fertility. *Types.* After the time of Praxiteles she was usually represented nude in the famous 'pudic' attitude; sometimes she holds a piece of drapery over her lower limbs.

APOLLO.

*Functions.* These were numerous, as he was the principal god of several divisions of the Greek race. He was the god of music, youth, athletics and the chase, the leader of colonies, the guardian of flocks and streets, the bringer and averter of plagues and sudden death; more especially he was the god of purification and expiation, and the lord of oracles. His solar aspect is unmentioned in Homer or Hesiod or the Homeric hymns, but in Roman times he was actually identified with Helios. In Delphi his festivals were concerned with the return of spring. *Attributes.* His most constant and distinguishing attributes are the lyre, bow, bay leaves, fillet and tripod (the last three belong to him as god of expiation and oracles). The griffin and omphalos are common, recording his victory at Delphi over the Python, representing the powers of darkness; the griffin was also his attribute as the sun-god. Less common and less peculiar are the oak-wreath, palm-branch, agonistic urn, apple and pomegranate. Many animals are sacred to him, such as the ram, deer, mouse, lizard, wolf, snake, cock and dolphin: some of these he guarded and some he evidently warded off. *Types.* The stiff, nude archaic figures are now considered to be usually athletes, but some must be Apollo; later Apollo is usually nude, of effeminate physique, with long hair tied up in a knot on the top of the head. As musician he wears a long Ionic chiton.

ARES (Latin MARS).

*Function.* The god of war. *Attributes.* Helmet, spear, lance, shield and dog; the torch and oak tree are sometimes found, and the

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occasional presence of Eros beside him is a reminder of his connection with Aphrodite. *Type*. Youthful; middle-aged as Mars.

ARTEMIS (Latin DIANA).

*Functions*. In one aspect she is the female counterpart of Apollo, the virgin huntress and protectress of young vigorous maidenhood, but she is also the goddess of marriage and childbirth; these are her usual functions in the Hellenic pantheon. Occasionally she is identified as Hecate, but in Homer and Hesiod her lunar connection is not mentioned. In Asia Minor she was the younger form of the Anatolian mother-goddess. The Roman Diana is especially a woodland deity and the protectress of wild nature. *Attributes*. The bow, quiver and deer or hound distinguish her as the huntress, the torch as Hecate and the crescent as the moon-goddess. In early times the lion was also her animal. *Types*. She is represented as a vigorous young woman (except in Asia Minor), wearing a short chiton, and high hunting boots. In early art she wears a high crown which later becomes a mere bandeau.

ASCLEPIUS (Latin ÆSCULAPIUS).

*Function*. The god of medicine and healing. *Attributes*. The staff or sceptre with a snake coiled round it, and a cock. Sometimes he stands by an omphalos. *Types*. Except in late Roman times he is represented as a Zeus-like bearded man.

ATHENA (Latin MINERVA).

*Function*. On Olympus, the goddess of wisdom, and of the arts of peace and war, sharing some of the functions of her begetter, Zeus: as chief deity of many places in early times she has the customary, manifold activities. *Attributes*. The owl, the ægis (of goat-skin) bearing the head of Medusa, the Corinthian helmet, the lance, the eagle or Nike, the olive, cock and snake; occasionally the double-axe common to many deities. *Types*. There are two types of Athena Polias, one seated and unarmed, the other armed, erect and stern. After the second half of the fifth century she wears a Doric peplos, of which the peculiarity is the long overfall with an extra girdle worn outside.

CÆLUS.

*Function*. The sky-god. *Types*. Seated under a mantle outspread

## DEITIES AND ATTRIBUTES

like the canopy of heaven, as on the cuirass of the statue of Augustus from Prima Porta.

CASTOR AND POLLUX. See DIOSCURI.

CERES. See DEMETER.

CUPID. See EROS.

CYBELE.

*Function.* The Phrygian mother-goddess. *Attributes.* Lions, a mural crown, a timbrel, and a shallow bowl (*phiale*). *Types.* Seated or standing between two lions, or in chariot drawn by lions.

DEMETER AND PERSEPHONE (KORE), together known as the Great Goddesses (Latin CERES AND PROSERPINE).

*Functions.* Earth-goddess and corn-mother. *Attributes.* Ears of corn, a tall basket (*kalathos*), torches, a pig, a snake, a chest, poppies. *Types.* Chiefly seated, with the himation drawn over the head: Persephone owns the same attributes but is represented naturally by a younger figure.

DIANA. See ARTEMIS.

DIONYSUS (Latin BACCHUS, LIBER).

*Functions.* He is one of the newer gods of the Greek pantheon; a universal deity; an earth and fertility deity, concerned with the seasons, animal and vegetable life; in regions occupied by the Thracian-Phrygian stock he has many of the functions of Zeus, and at Delphi is associated with Apollo, a young male deity of similar character. On Olympus and in sculpture he is particularly the god of wine and drama (probably because the drama developed from the dances of the spring festival of Dionysus at Athens). *Attributes.* The two-handled wine cup (*cantharos*), staff tipped with a pine cone (*thyrsus*), ivy-wreath, leopard, snake, grape-cluster, box (*cista*), winnowing-fan basket (*vannus*). *Types.* The representations of Dionysus are various; he is found in a car drawn by panthers; in double busts with Silenus, Zeus and Ariadne; he is seated as a lyre player or standing with a bunch of grapes in his raised right hand and the wine-cup in his left hand; as a child he is carried by Hermes or Silenus, nursed by nymphs, or surrounded by Curetes. In later times he never has a beard except in archaistic work.

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THE DIOSCURI (CASTOR AND POLYDEUCES, Latin POLLUX).

*Functions.* Generally to calm the sea and send favourable winds. Especially connected with Sparta. *Attributes.* They may always be distinguished by their caps with stars, sheathed swords, horses, although they have numerous other attributes, not found in better known sculptures. *Types.* Two young men in various positions or two young heads.

EILITHYEIA.

*Function.* As the daughter of Hera, she is the goddess of child-birth. *Attributes.* The girdle, torch and mantle. *Type.* Youthful figure, seated or standing.

EROS (Latin CUPID).

*Function.* The god of love and son of Aphrodite. *Attributes.* Wings growing on the shoulders, torch, bow and arrow. *Types.* At first he was represented as a youth: from Hellenistic times as a child.

HECATE.

*Function.* The goddess of night. *Attributes.* Torches and a crescented *kalathos*. *Types.* Usually she stands, holding torches.

HELIOS (Latin SOL).

*Function.* The sun-god. *Attributes.* Rays and nimbus, chariot, snake. *Types.* He is represented by a bearded radiate head or bust, or by a young male head, or as a chariotceer.

HEPHAESTUS (Latin VULCAN).

*Function.* The workman. *Attributes.* The anvil, hammer, double-axe and oval cap. *Types.* He is generally found as a vigorous man, bearded, with one leg shorter than the other. He wears a short chiton fastened on one shoulder only.

HERA (Latin JUNO).

*Functions.* She is principally the consort of Zeus, the patron of marriage and child-birth. Sometimes she is the earth or female principle in nature. *Attributes.* Sceptre, sometimes surmounted by a cuckoo, crown, pomegranate, peacock. *Types.* She is represented as a mature woman, sometimes enthroned, wearing full drapery, with a veil or himation drawn over her head.

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HESTIA (Latin VESTA).

*Functions.* Goddess of the home and hearth, more important in ritual than art. *Attributes.* Torch, hearth. *Types.* Well-draped, seated, or leading a procession of the gods.

HERACLES (Latin HERCULES).

*Function.* A hero deified for performance of feats of strength. *Attributes.* The club, bow and lion skin. *Types.* Middle-aged man with a powerful frame and small, bearded head.

HERMES (Latin MERCURY).

*Functions.* On Olympus and in sculpture, to carry the messages of the gods, but as local deity he shares many of the functions of Apollo. His early symbol was the phallus, and he was especially connected with fertility. He was also the god of commerce and prize-fights. *Attributes.* The herald's staff (*kerukeion*), at first entwined with ribbons and later with a snake, a winged hat or cap (*petasos*) and winged sandals; as the god of commerce, a purse; as patron of prize-fights, the agonistic urn. *Types.* A youthful male figure in various attitudes: bearded in archaic work and on herms.

HYGIEIA.

*Functions.* As the daughter of Asclepius, she was one of his assistants and the goddess of health. *Attributes.* A snake and a sceptre. *Types.* A young woman, often feeding a snake from a saucer.

HYPNOS.

*Function.* The god of sleep. *Attributes.* Wings growing from the head, a poppy. *Types.* A youth.

IRIS.

*Function.* The female messenger of the gods. *Attribute.* Wings. *Type.* Youthful.

ISIS.

*Function.* Her worship spread from Egypt in Hellenistic times, as a universal goddess. *Attributes.* The head-dress of solar disc and feathers, a fringed mantle knotted in peculiar manner on the breast, a sistrum and poppy. *Types.* She was fairly young, sometimes enthroned or on a couch: sometimes she was represented by a double-bust.

JUNO. See HERA.



## CLASSICAL SCULPTURE

JUPITER. See ZEUS.

LARES.

*Function.* The representation of the souls of deified ancestors.  
*Attributes.* A goat-rhyton, a pail. *Types.* Draped youths, seated or standing, sometimes dancing.

MITHRAS.

*Functions.* God of the sun and light, friendship; also a mediator.  
*Attributes.* The zodiac, stellate tiara, the bull, a tree entwined by a snake, a Phrygian cap. *Types.* Appearing from a tree; dragging or slaying a bull.

MERCURY. See HERMES.

MUSES.

CALLIOPE. *Function.* Epic poetry. *Attributes.* Wax tablet and stilus.

EUTERPE. *Function.* Lyric poetry. *Attributes.* Double flute.

ERATO. *Function.* Erotic poetry. *Attribute.* Small lyre.

MELPOMENE. *Function.* Tragedy. *Attributes.* Tragic mask, ivy wreath.

THALEIA. *Function.* Comedy. *Attributes.* Comic mask, ivy wreath.

POLYHYMNIA. *Function.* Sacred hymns. *Type.* Veiled and pensive.

TERPSICHORE. *Function.* Choral song and dance. *Attribute.* Lyre.

CLEIO. *Function.* History. *Attribute.* A scroll.

URANIA. *Function.* Astronomy. *Attribute.* A celestial globe.

NEMESIS.

*Functions.* According to some she is merely the abstraction of divine justice; but originally a substantial goddess akin to Artemis, a woodland and earth deity, for her cult at Rhamnus was too early to be that of an abstraction; she was also in charge of birth and death. In Roman times she was often identified as Diana. *Attributes.* Measuring rule, a wheel, a crown of stags and small victories, a griffin, apple branch, sword, crescent, bowl and disk. *Types.* On a stater of Cyprus which perhaps represents the cult statue at Rhamnus, she is erect, wearing a peplos like that of Athena; at Carnuntum she is dressed in a short peplos and high hunting boots like the Diana at Nemi; in a relief from Piræus she is winged and standing on a naked

## DEITIES AND ATTRIBUTES

man; according to Pausanias, however, no ancient statue of Nemesis bore wings.

NIKE (Latin VICTORIA).

*Functions.* Represents Victory, an attendant of Zeus and Athena. *Attributes.* A palm-wreath, trumpet. *Types.* Striding with a chiton open at both sides, generally winged.

PAN.

*Functions.* Chthonic, especially an Arcadian god: protector of flocks. *Attributes.* Pipes and general appearance and surroundings. *Types.* Seated on a rock, usually in a cave, with goat's horns or legs and hoofs; hairy body and face, slanting eyes: sometimes a young shepherd.

PERSEPHONE. See DEMETER.

PLUTO.

*Function.* God of the under-world. *Attributes.* Oak-leaves and acorn, Cerberus. *Types.* Carrying off Persephone, or seated with Cerberus beside him.

POSEIDON (Latin NEPTUNE).

*Functions.* Originally merely a specialized form of Zeus; god of the sea, rivers and springs; also the tamer of horses. *Attributes.* Trident, dolphin, tunny. *Types.* Has the features of Zeus, but is not enthroned; frequently represented standing with the trident in his outstretched hand, and later with one foot resting on a rock; or riding in his chariot over the waves.

PRIAPUS.

*Functions.* Fertility, god of gardens. *Type.* A herm.

PROSERPINE. See DEMETER.

SATYRS (Latin FAUNS).

*Functions.* Earth-genii; familiars of Dionysus. *Attributes.* Ass, ivy wreath. *Types.* Youthful; pointed ears; sometimes horse-tailed and hoofed.

SERAPIS.

*Function.* An earth deity identified with Zeus and Plato; his cult spread from Alexandria in Ptolemaic times. *Attributes.* Those of Zeus and Pluto but distinguished by the *modius* (*kalathos*), worn on

## CLASSICAL SCULPTURE

the head, like a high crown decorated by olives or ears of corn. *Types*. Bearded and Zeus-like.

SILENUS.

*Functions*. Chthonic, attendant of Dionysus. *Attributes*. The ass and ivy-wreath. *Types*. Snub-nosed, coarse-featured old man, always inebriated.

SELENE (Latin LUNA).

*Functions*. Huntress and magician. *Attributes*. Nimbus, chariot, horse, narcissus, partridge. *Type*. Youthful; driving a chariot.

VICTORY. See NIKE.

ZEUS (Latin JUPITER).

*Functions*. The sky-god; the father and ruler of the Olympian deities. He was connected with all the celestial luminaries, but only in Hellenistic and Roman times was he identified with any in cults like that of Zeus Helios: identified with Amen-Ra, the Egyptian king of the gods, as Zeus-Ammon, who was particularly honoured in Cyrene and has many epithets in local cults. *Attributes*. Those common in sculpture are the eagle or Nike, the sceptre and thunderbolt; the Olympian Zeus was crowned with an olive-wreath and his himation was embroidered with lilies; as a child his attribute is a pomegranate, as Zeus-Ammon carried ram's horns in his hair. *Types*. His aspect varied with his epithets, *Soter* (the Saviour) or *Meilichios* (the amiable), but usually in early times he was represented striding, with the thunderbolt levelled and threatening. Later his beneficent aspect predominated. In the metopes of Selene he is enthroned with the himation drawn only over the lower limbs: the later type followed the image by Pheidias, enthroned, with the torso bare, of benign expression, dignified by the flowing hair and beard and the impressive eyebrows suggested by Homer's description; the thunderbolt is lowered. There were also sculptures of Zeus as a youth and child surrounded by Curetes.

## GREEK AND ROMAN DRESS

IN Greece both sexes wore the same dress except for slight differences to allow greater freedom of movement to men. Two main types are found, the Doric and the Ionic, each consisting of an inner garment, called the peplos and the chiton respectively, and an outer garment, the himation: the term peplos applies only to the Doric under-garment, whereas the term chiton may be applied to either Doric or Ionic. Men frequently wore, instead of the himation or in addition to it, an extra cloak, the chlamys, which was especially used for riding or travelling: and in rare archaic female statues is found the epiblema, also an extra cloak, worn over the Ionic himation (Pl. 24).

Originally the only female dress in the Greek mainland was the Doric, if Herodotus be correct, but the Ionic was introduced at least as early as the sixth century. A sumptuary law of Solon, directed against extravagance in apparel, forbids females to wear more than three garments out of doors, so that evidently the garments of the two styles were worn in conjunction in the early sixth century. The

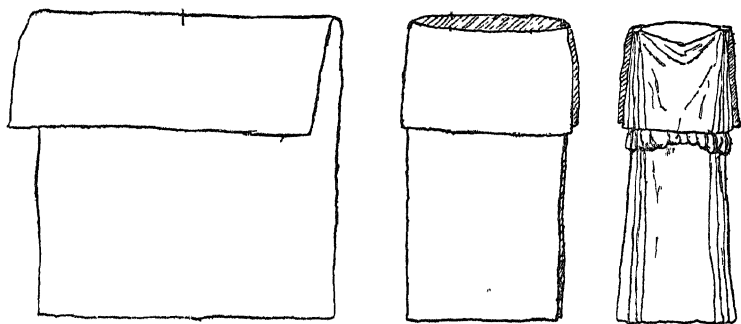


Diagram of Peplos or Doric Chiton

Acropolis *Korai*, of the end of the century, wear the Ionic chiton and himation, with rare exceptions. After the Persian wars all the great statues carry the Ionic peplos, perhaps because of a reaction against everything Ionic. Archaic male statues are generally nude,

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but the Delphi charioteer (about 470 B.C.) wears a long Ionic chiton, which was always the customary dress of charioteers and musicians. Later male statues are found with himation, chiton and chlamys, singly or in conjunction.

It now remains to describe the garments in detail (see Diagrams). The Doric, as might be expected, is the simpler type. The peplos consists of a large oblong piece of material, usually woollen, in length exceeding the height of the wearer by about one foot, and in breadth equal to twice the distance from elbow to elbow when the arms are outstretched horizontally. The material is folded round the body and pinned once on each shoulder, the side being either left open or fast-

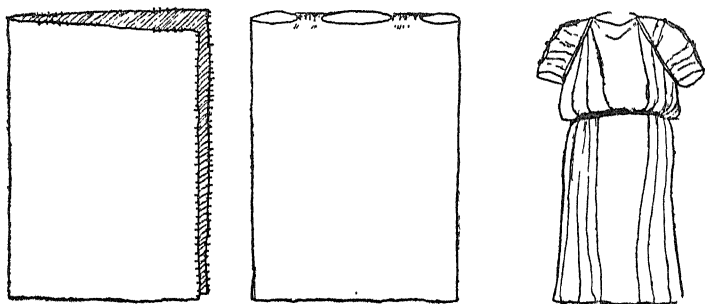


Diagram of Ionic Chiton

ened by brooches or sewing: in order to dispose of the superfluous foot, the upper edge is folded over, so that the material is double from neck to waist, forming the overfall (*apoptygma*). A girdle is worn round the waist, and any remaining length is pulled over this, forming the pouch (*kolpos*). This is the ordinary feminine method of wearing the Doric peplos, of which a good example is seen in the Olympia metopes (Pls. 38*b*, 39.)

Some other Doric fashions must be noticed. The 'Peplos of Athena,' worn by this goddess in Plates 46 and 48*a*, has a longer overfall with girdle worn over it. In the Victory of Pæonius (Pl. 69), an opening is left on both sides, and the garment is fastened only on one shoulder, while the overfall is missing altogether. In statues of Artemis, Amazons and Girl Runners, the peplos is modified to give

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greater freedom; the Artemis (Pl. 98*a*) has a very short garment with no overfall and only a slight pouch, which is held in place by an extra girdle round the shoulder; the Amazon (Pl. 76*b*) has neither pouch nor overfall; and the Girl Runner (Pl. 40*a*), as well as the foregoing curtailments, has her peplos fastened on one shoulder only. The normal dress of Spartan girls was probably short and simple, with open sides 'showing the thigh.' Often in vase-paintings the peplos has a fantastically full pouch or long overfall, bound perhaps with several girdles, but these excesses do not appear on sculptures. Men wore the peplos with the same modifications found in statues of Artemis and athletic women (Pl. 55): for slaves and workmen the shortest possible garment, fastened on shoulder and without pouch or overfall, is the only clothing allowed.

The Ionic chiton differs from the Doric in material, method of fastening and volume; it is usually of linen, and either pinned on the shoulder in several places along the upper arm or sewn: it is of varying length and width but always longer and wider than the Doric. In its simplest form it is cylindrical; a rectangular piece of cloth is folded over and the two side edges sewn together; next the top edges are sewn or drawn together by several brooches, leaving a hole in the middle for the head and a hole at either end for the arms. When the garment is in position the arms of the wearer force the arm-holes to fall parallel with the body; the loose material which is thus pushed under the arms is generally controlled by a band, crossing either at the back and front or at the back only and attached to the girdle; if the length is greater than the height of the wearer, a pouch is made over the girdle. We have perfect examples of the simple chiton, on the Nereid (Pl. 76*a*), with a kolpos and fastened with brooches, and on the Delphi charioteer (Pl. 26), without a kolpos and sewn. Vases of Brygos show a chiton with a separate sleeve, in which case either a longer piece of material is doubled over, a hole cut for the head, and the sides sewn up as far as the armpits; or else two smaller pieces are taken and joined together at the sides and on the shoulders, leaving a hole for head; two small pieces would then have to be added in each case to make the sleeves.

It has been remarked that in Attica a combination of the Ionic and Doric styles is sometimes found: in an archaic female statue the Ionic chiton lies under the Doric peplos (Pl. 14*a*); in later times

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features of one are found grafted on to the body of the other rather than a complete combination of the two; the Boston throne, for instance, shows the Ionic chiton with a false overfall attached to the neck (Pl. 32), and the Thaleia (Pl. 105*b*) has a false overfall with a girdle outside.

The Doric himation was simply a rectangular piece of material, 7 or 8 feet long and equal in breadth to the wearer's height. Its arrangement varied greatly, especially among women; it could be worn over the shoulders with the ends hanging in front as in the Esquiline relief (Pl. 27*a*), or with an end thrown back over one shoulder for additional warmth (Pl. 28); sometimes the head also was covered (Pl. 31). In the black-figured vases of the sixth century men may wear the himation like a shawl, but afterwards the favourite manner is to place one end on the left shoulder, drawing the rest round the back of the body under the right arm to the front, then the other end was thrown over the left shoulder as in the Lateran Sophocles (Pl. 92). The Ionic himation, too, was rectangular, but it was usually of linen and was differently adjusted: the material was first doubled over to make an overfall, then wrapped round the body under the left arm and fastened on the right upper arm with brooches from the shoulder to the elbow, as in the Acropolis *Kore* (Pl. 14*b*), and probably a girdle lay under the overfall to keep it in position; occasionally the himation was caught up the left shoulder by a brooch, as in the *Kore* (Pl. 15*a*); it could also be worn like a shawl with two ends hanging in front to leave the chest bare.

The smaller cloak, the chlamys, worn only by men, consisted of an oblong piece of woollen cloth, folded so that the middle line came at the left shoulder, while the two edges were fastened on the right shoulder. In the Olympia pediment (Pl. 36), Apollo is carrying his chlamys on one arm; in the Parthenon frieze (Pl. 55), the chlamys is found in position.<sup>1</sup>

Roman dress differed for men and women. Indoors women wore first the tunica, which is never visible, and over that the stola, which consisted of two oblong pieces of cloth sewn together as far as the armpits and fastened on the shoulders with a brooch; it reached the

<sup>1</sup> For a general work in Greek dress, with good diagrams and illustrations, see Bieber, *Griechische Kleidung*, 1928.

## GREEK AND ROMAN DRESS

feet, and in the case of matrons carried a border on the bottom hem; a girdle passed under the breast, over which a pouch was pulled if necessary; either there were no sleeves or short sleeves were sewn on separately. The palla, which formed the outdoor clothing of the women, resembled the himation in shape and the variety of ways in which it could be arranged. The fully-dressed woman of Plate 127 wears the palla, with enough of the stola showing to reveal its shape.

Roman men wore an undergarment of uncertain shape, the subucula, and a tunic with a belt. The toga was a more complicated affair; to judge by a remark of Quintilian, it was semicircular, about 18 feet in diameter and 7 feet in depth. The straight edge was taken at one-third of its length and placed on the left shoulder, allowing the end to touch the ground between the feet; the remaining two-thirds was then carried round the back and under the right arm; next the toga was taken about one-third down its depth and flung over the left shoulder, so that the straight edge now fell over the front, forming the circular folds which reached the knee (*sinus*). A belt (*balteus*) was formed by the folds round the waist, and finally the end, which at first had been left touching the ground, is raised so that the point hangs between the legs, forming yet another mass of folds (*umbo*). This full toga was not worn before late republican times and was found to be so cumbersome that it was only used for ceremonial occasions: Plate 132*a* gives an example. A variation known as the '*cinctus Gabinus*' gave freedom to the left arm, as the belt of folds was carried round the waist and tucked in at the front; this method also displayed the purple border which was woven on the straight edge. It is seen in the procession of senators on the Ara Pacis (Pl. 128). In the later empire, the *umbo* is sometimes arranged across the left shoulder in a broad band (Pl. 156*b*). For ordinary wear a less cumbersome garment resembling the *chlamys*, the *læna* or the *lacerna*, was used: and yet another type of cloak is found in the *pænula*, which seems to have been like a poncho, having a hole cut in the middle for the head.



## CHAPTER VIII

# THE BEGINNINGS OF GREEK SCULPTURE

### § 1. *Introductory*

THE civilization known to history as Greek extends no further back than 1000 B.C., yet the land it occupied had already enjoyed centuries of civilized life. The growth of this prehistoric culture owed much to the stimulus of intercourse with Egypt; it was in Crete, the part of Europe nearest to the mouths of the Nile, that the signs of progress first appeared, and before 3000 the island craftsmen had already become permeated with Egyptian influence. A thousand years later Crete and Egypt arrived at conditions almost of cultural equality, when the island had evolved, with the aid of Egypt and Mesopotamia, a lively young art of its own, which has a decorative rather than a monumental value and won peculiar success in the realms of vase-painting and wall decoration. Sculpture was limited to flat reliefs and little statuettes,<sup>1</sup> in which the treatment of the human figure seldom rises from the level of primitive incompetence (Fig. 1) to that of artistic convention. The power of Crete waned shortly after 1500 B.C., whereupon Mycenæ and other centres on the Greek mainland became the leaders of the civilization originally created by the so-called 'Minoan' population of the island. In sculpture the Mycenæans leave a record hardly more creditable than the Minoans. Their most impressive relics are architectural; especially fine are the circular, domed tombs, which they constructed all over the south of Greece, whereas the only sculptural works of note come from Mycenæ itself. Here a set of tombstones has been found,<sup>2</sup> crudely decorated with flat reliefs of men driving chariots in battle, or engaged in the chase; in one scene a dead man lies on the ground beneath the horses; in another an antelope is pursued by an animal which may conceivably be a dog, while the hunter drives along in the rear. The nearest parallels to these reliefs have been found at Carchemish, in northern Syria, where the execution is more competent, but the date is unknown. Asiatic analogies have also been noted to

<sup>1</sup> C. A. H., *Plates*, I, 116, 118, 156.

<sup>2</sup> Hall, *Bronze Age Civilization*, Figs. 175, 176.

## BEGINNINGS OF GREEK SCULPTURE

the Lion Gate of Mycenæ,<sup>1</sup> largest and best of the prehistoric sculptures of the Ægean area; the two lionesses heraldically posed on either side of a sacred pillar are carved on a slab (10 feet in height), which stands over the entrance to the citadel. But the short life of the Mycenæan civilization may be to some extent responsible for the paucity of sculpture, for Mycenæ and the smaller states did not endure to the year 1000. They perished, it seems, at the hands of invaders from the North, and the survivors of their population maintained but little of their culture through the Dark Ages that followed. Any Minoan or Mycenæan influence upon the sculpture of historic Greece, if indeed it was felt at all, was exerted merely through the accidental discovery of buried works of art.

During centuries of obscure invasions and civil wars, the graceful designs of older vase-painting were formalized into purely geometric patterns. For awhile representations of natural objects practically cease, and although they come into favour again in the eighth and seventh centuries, they did not escape the application of the geometric principle. The finest art of this time is exemplified in the large vases placed on Athenian tombs, especially common in a cemetery at the Dipylon gate; a portion of such a vase is reproduced in Fig. 2. This quaint panel shows the dead man laid upon a high couch, with two children at his feet; the chief mourner sits on a chair near by, holding another child, while two women stand beating their heads with their hands in the traditional manner of the East; goats and geese wander between the legs of the couch, while the field is sprinkled with spots, circles, lines, chevrons, swastikas, chequers — all kinds of ornament crowded in as though to avoid leaving an empty space. In the paintings of the human

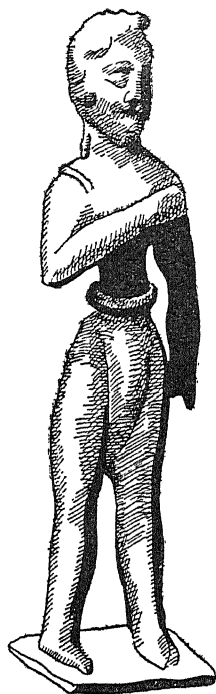


FIG. 1. — Bronze Statuette from Crete

<sup>1</sup> *C. A. H.*, *Plates*, I, 150a.

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figure, a dot is left in the centre of the head to indicate the eye – never more than one dot, because the head is invariably drawn in profile, as are the legs; the shoulders turn to the front, but in the women both breasts appear close together on the one side. The torso is a triangle, of which the point forms the waist. Some of these conventions persist for many generations; thus the head and legs are seen from the side, while the shoulders face the front



FIG. 2. – Panel of Dipylon Vase

(except in the corpse) in a moulded and painted terracotta slab (Fig. 3), which, contrasted with the vase-painting, appears quite competent. Its date, the middle of the sixth century, is perhaps a hundred years later than that of its prototype, but the ideals remain unchanged and help to reveal the earlier craftsman's intentions.

The gradual improvement that continues during the intervening period can be best shown in a series of bronze statuettes (Figs. 4,

## BEGINNINGS OF GREEK SCULPTURE

5, 6).<sup>1</sup> To take first the centaurs, which appear in early art with a complete human body to which is appended the hind quarters of a horse; the oldest specimen (Fig. 4*a*) may date from the eighth century; the group of a man wrestling with a centaur (Fig. 5) is almost certainly of the seventh; and the last (Fig. 4*b*) falls towards the end of



FIG. 3. — Terracotta Plaque, Metropolitan Museum, New York

the sixth century. The heads illustrated below belong to statuettes found on the Acropolis at Athens, the earliest (Fig. 6*a*) providing a sculptural parallel to the Dipylon vases, with its stick of a neck and

<sup>1</sup> Selected from the many photographs accompanying a detailed article by S. Casson, *Bronze Work of the Geometric Period and its Relation to later Art*, *J. H. S.*, xlii, 1922, p. 207.

## CLASSICAL SCULPTURE

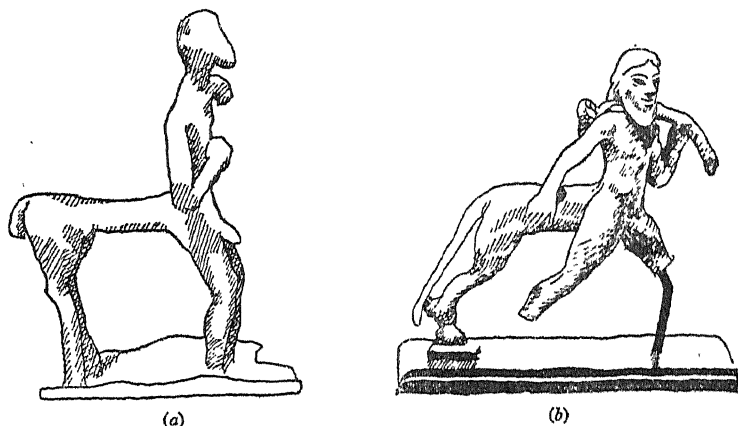


FIG. 4. - Bronze Statuettes of Centaurs

blob of a head, but the coiled hair and goggle eye have a more developed character. In the next head (Fig. 6*b*) the general shape is

more or less accurately given, and an attempt made to distinguish the features and beard, while the other two (Fig. 6*c* and *d*) approach the stage of the terracotta plaque, which likewise comes from Attica.



FIG. 5. - Small bronze Group, Man wrestling with Centaur

The work of progress was accelerated by the introduction of Oriental works of art by traders: the bronze statuette of a man playing a tambourine (Fig. 7) clearly resembles the later Acropolis head (Fig. 6*c*), but originated either in the interior of Asia Minor or in Syria; it is, in fact, one of a class conventionally designated 'Hittite,' for no sound reason. It was possibly through intercourse with foreigners that the Greeks learnt to cast their

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bronzes instead of hammering them out of bars or sheets of metal, a process of which there are obvious traces on the early centaurs. But a knowledge of Oriental art was responsible for far more than the acquisition of technical information and extended far beyond the casual importation of these miserable 'Hittite' statuettes; it is no



(a)



(b)



(c)



(d)

FIG. 6. — Heads of bronze Statuettes

exaggeration to say that it brought about the transition from Geometric to archaic art.

The Greeks of Asia Minor, dwelling as they did in a ring of cities strewn around the whole coast of the peninsula, and connected by their maritime trade with Egypt, occupied a position peculiarly impressionable to Oriental influence. Hence the emancipation of art began in this Greek fringe, especially in the section known as Ionia

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(the coast-line in the neighbourhood of Smyrna), which was the centre of shipping for the west of the peninsula: of great importance, too, were the islands situated on the sea-route from Ionia and Greece to Egypt and Syria – Samos, Rhodes and Crete. The rich cities of the coast region, of which Ephesus and Miletus were the greatest, always maintained peculiarly close relations with the interior since

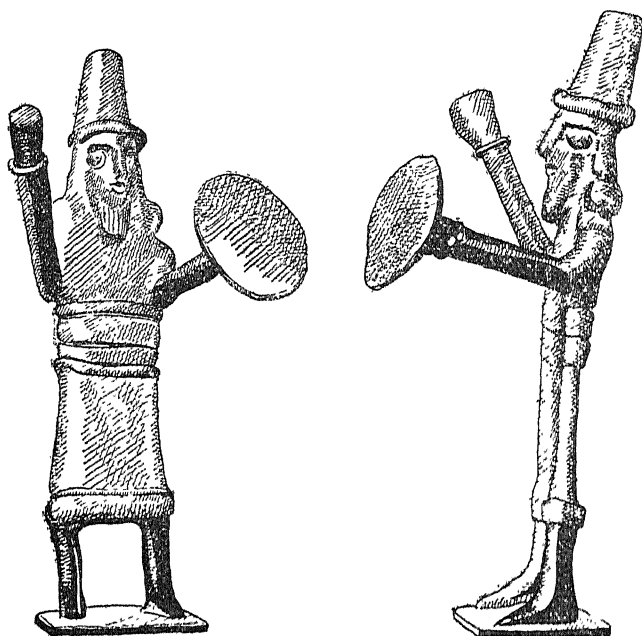


FIG. 7. – Bronze Statuette of 'Hittite' Class

they commanded the harbours for the principal caravan routes; their population and civilization contained, therefore, a large non-Hellenic element. They were subject to penetration and invasion from the roads whereby their trade reached them, and their political history consists of struggles to uphold their independence; they succeeded, whereas Smyrna, their natural competitor, failed to withstand the constant pressure from the interior.

The interior of Asia Minor contained at this period no Great

## BEGINNINGS OF GREEK SCULPTURE

Power; the country was occupied by a heterogeneous population, of varied language, which had never been united except when the Hittites established a confederacy during the second millennium. At the earliest time important for its bearing upon Greek art, the west of the peninsula, back of Ionia, formed the kingdom of Lydia; the centre lay under Phrygian rule, while the east was divided among smaller states; the north coast was held by barbarous tribes unworthy of note; the south belonged to small states of higher civilization but no political power. At the eastern extremity of this coast lay Cilicia, which was easily approached from Syria and was therefore liable to Assyrian raids – indeed, at the close of the eighth century the district was actually incorporated in the Assyrian empire. Greek settlers had already established themselves in this region, and in 696 took part in a rebellion stirred up by the governor of the province: this is the only occasion on which Greeks are known to have come into direct contact with the Assyrians, although there must have been numerous others during the eighth and seventh centuries. Constant Assyrian expeditions were dispatched across the western borders of the empire during those centuries; in 718 the city of Carchemish, which dominated Northern Syria, was annexed; and within the next few years the eastern edge of the Asia Minor plateau met the same fate. This district had long maintained a high level of culture. Prominent among the local states was Samal (the modern Sendjirli), where Aramæan kings have left monuments inscribed in their Semitic language (Fig. 8); the sculptors of Carchemish, on the other hand, employed Hittite lettering (Figs. 9, 10). The art of all this region is usually described as Hittite from its resemblance to the older work produced under the Federation; the population, however, was composed of many strains and the nationality of the sculptors remains problematical.

Art in the various states of Western Asia differed little more in the eighth century than in those of modern Europe. All had drawn from a common source, the Sumerian culture which flourished in Babylonia in the third millennium: subsequent developments had been communicated from one region to another, until the artistic supremacy of Mesopotamia was restored by the Assyrians, leaving the schools of Asia Minor in a provincial position. So far as the Greeks were concerned, these local schools had greater importance than the



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finer art of the more distant country, which could only be appreciated from the small objects brought along by the caravans. It is indeed very doubtful whether any piece of genuine Assyrian work has yet been discovered in Greek lands; the nearest approach to such may be seen in the copies or imitations produced by Phœnician or other

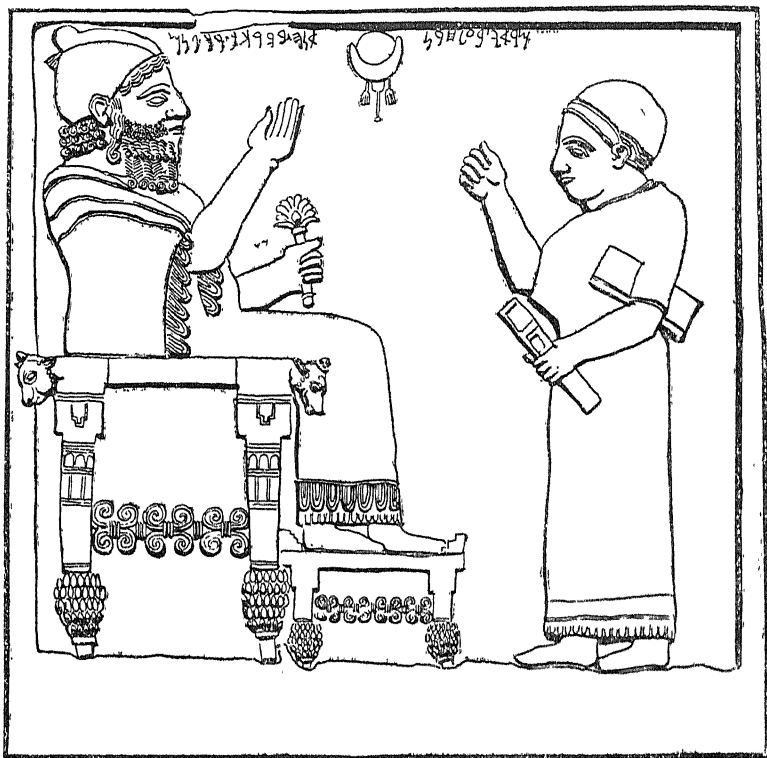


FIG. 8. — Relief of Aramæan King, from Sendjirli

craftsmen. Among such is the bronze shield from Crete (Fig. 11). This was found in the Idæan cave, the legendary birthplace of Zeus, and is no ordinary shield but a ceremonial or votive object, too thin for military use; such shields were not uncommon throughout the ancient world. A sheet of bronze has been hammered out from he-

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hind, after which scanty details have been added by striking with a sharper instrument from the front. The central figure, a bearded hunter, carries a lion on his shoulders, while a bull runs beneath his feet; each of the two subsidiary figures, bearded and winged, beats a pair of gongs or drums. Every portion of the scene is imitated from Assyrian models with the significant exception of the gongs: these are appropriate to the Curetes who, according to the Cretan legend,



FIG. 9. - Relief of Sphinx, Carchemish

drowned the cries of the infant Zeus by clashing their swords upon their shields. But if this shield truly represents the young god, it is based upon a different version of the myth, for the Curetes have wings and no armour, and the infant has become a mighty hunter with a long beard. Possibly, of course, in a votive or ritual object a later stage in the god's life might be represented, and the semi-divine status of the Curetes may have been acknowledged by the gift of wings - one of the recognized methods of so doing. The bull was associated with Zeus in several connections, as well as in the Cretan

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myth of Europa. Even if, however, it be accepted that the shield was dedicated to the cult of the youthful Zeus, it would be rash to conclude that its maker was a Greek: <sup>1</sup> since an Assyrian smith certainly would have been too well trained to be guilty of such uncouth work, responsibility for it may with greater probability be brought home to a Cypriote or a Phœnician, especially as among other objects discovered in the cave were two pieces of modelled faience (glazed pottery) of Phœnician origin.

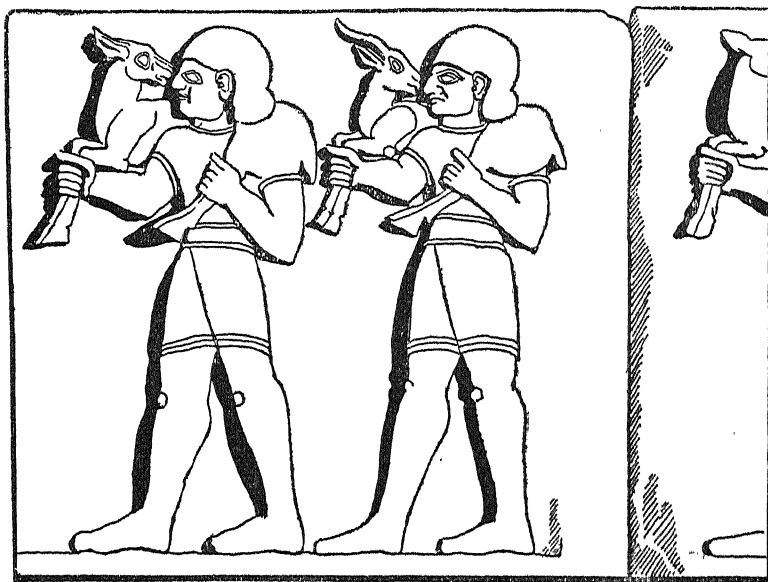


FIG. 10. — Relief of Men carrying Gazelles, Carchemish

### § 2. *Sculpture in the Round and in High Relief*

In addition to the humanization of geometric types, to illustrate which bronze statuettes have been quoted, there arose types unknown to Greeks of the Geometric period, which were in reality borrowed from the Oriental peoples. At Ephesus excavations on the site of the famous temple of Artemis proved that no less than three buildings

<sup>1</sup> Arguments to this effect, Poulsen, *O.*, p. 32.

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were superimposed upon one another, and beneath the floor of the earliest temple was concealed a foundation deposit, chiefly consisting of objects in gold, silver and ivory.<sup>1</sup> The ivory carvings have attracted the most attention because of their obvious relationship to certain members of a collection revealed in an Assyrian palace at



FIG. 11. — Bronze Shield from Crete

Nimrud — a site which sank into disrepute after Nineveh had been established, accordingly its contents cannot be later than 720. There both the ivories and the bronze bowls which accompanied them form widely diversified collections, in which can be distinguished the styles of Assyria, Phœnicia or Cyprus, and another region probably to be

<sup>1</sup> Hogarth, British Museum, *Excavations at Ephesus*, pls. 21-26.

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located in Asia Minor. It is in the last class that affinities of the Ephesus carvings are to be found, a circumstance which supports the stylistic evidence that connects this class with the 'Hittite' area. While the Nimrud examples date at the latest to the eighth century (and it is undeniable that some Assyrian pieces in the collection even resemble in style the reliefs of Assurnasirpal's reign, 884-859), there is no means of arriving at such an early limit in the case of the Ephesus hoard. Many coins, including most of the types current in Lydia previous to the reign of Cræsus (560-546), were found with it,



FIG. 12. - Ivory Head from Nimrud,  
British Museum

therefore the dedication of the first temple was in all probability about 600 or even 580. The foundation deposit may, of course, have contained heirlooms which had been handed down through several generations before their burial - the Assyrian members of the Nimrud collection had been preserved there for more than two hundred years before the destruction of the city by the Medes - but it is safe to class the bulk of the Ephesus material as later; although some types are common to both sites and may be contemporary,

there remain others which occur in one alone.

Controversy has arisen as to whether any of the Ephesus carvings should be attributed to Greeks. The point bears no great importance, for the style in any event was formed in a guild, which cannot at its inception have included many Greeks; their habitats lay too far from the centres of civilization for such a rare craft to be practised among them, and even in the seventh century the percentage of Greeks among the masters cannot have been high, if indeed any were included. The Western imitations of this Oriental work, such as have

## BEGINNINGS OF GREEK SCULPTURE

been found in Sparta and Cameirus (on the island of Rhodes), are distinguished by their primitive incompetence;<sup>1</sup> it seems on the face of it improbable that craftsmen of the same district should have produced both the Nimrud head (Fig. 12) and the imitation from Cameirus (Fig. 13), the latter almost certainly made by a Greek; whereas the evidence lies clearly in favour of one common source for the Nimrud and Ephesus ivories. A costly material like ivory would not be entrusted to any but the most experienced hands available, and such a vast difference in skill between the best workmen of the island and those of the neighbouring mainland of Ionia, can scarcely be explained otherwise than on the hypothesis of a difference in nationality. The Spartan objects, too, are of this barbarous, Greek workmanship, but they were found with pottery of the eighth century and *may* therefore be earlier than most of the work from Ephesus. They have a remarkable flatness of appearance which is shared by the lead figures discovered with them, in the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia.



FIG. 13. — Ivory Head from Cameirus, British Museum

Whatever the nationality of the ivory carvers of Asia Minor, their Oriental style had a deep influence on sculpture in the round. The Ephesus figures of a woman (Fig. 14*a*) and of a beardless man, with a rosary, perhaps a eunuch priest of Cybele (Fig. 14*b*), antedate all stone statues remaining in Greek lands; as it happens no early sculpture in stone has been uncovered in Ionia itself, which fact, however, may merely be due to the fortunes of digging and not to an absolute lack of work in that material. Ivories such as the priest may be associated with the 'Hittite' sculptures of the Aramæan state of Samal (Fig. 8), or of the Hittite state of Carchemish (Fig. 10); these helped to inspire such primitive Greek attempts as the seated goddess

<sup>1</sup> Hogarth, *op. cit.*, pls. 28, 30, 31.

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from Prinias in Crete (Figs. 16, 17), the Auxerre statue (Pl. 2*b*), or the votive figures of Cheramyes and Nicandra (Pl. 1*a*, *c*). But there



FIG. 14.— Ivory Statuettes from Ephesus, British Museum

exist also Egyptian analogies to the Auxerre figure,<sup>1</sup> and the Prinias

<sup>1</sup> Picard, *Sculpture Antique*, i, fig. 21.

## BEGINNINGS OF GREEK SCULPTURE

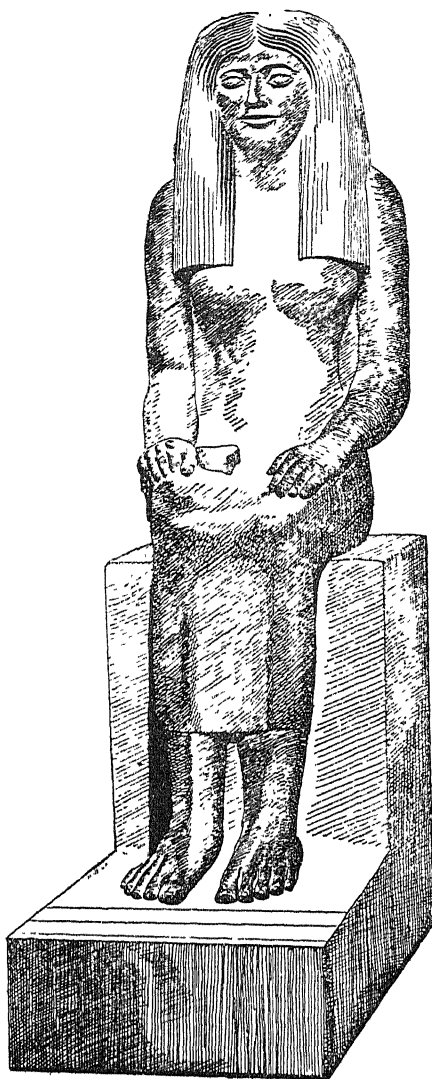


FIG. 15.—Statue of Egyptian Lady

goddess is a composite type, for an Egyptian element (Fig. 15) is introduced in the pose and in the way in which the dress clings to the figure, while the head and head-dress resemble the Ephesian ivories and the cape has a 'Hittite' form.

These earliest Greek statues deserve special attention; some are markedly rectangular, others almost circular. Both forms exaggerate the tendencies visible in the Ephesus ivories, where the smallness of

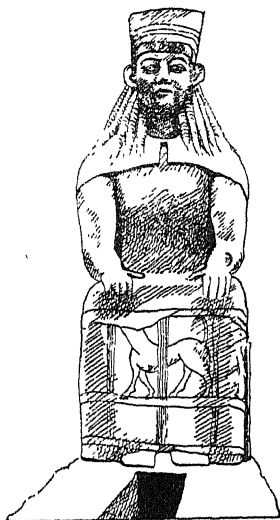


FIG. 16.—Goddess from Prinias, Candia Museum



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the dimensions prevents the regularity of their shape from appearing preposterous. The circular form illustrated by a figure from Samos (Pl. 1c), dedicated to Hera by Cheramyes, has been explained as a development of the simple tree-trunk of primitive images, now worked roughly into a semblance of the human form; this possibility is enhanced by the fact that most ancient bronzes, being composed of metal plates nailed to a wooden core, certainly took the same shape. Thus Pausanias describes the Apollo at Amyclæ, near Sparta, as 'an

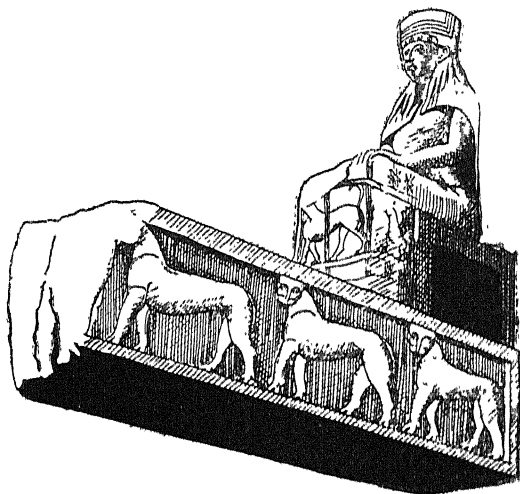


FIG. 17. — Goddess from Prusias, Candia Museum

ancient and rude image; it has a face and hands but otherwise resembles a bronze pillar; on its head it wears a helmet, the hands hold a spear and bow.' This figure, the height of which Pausanias estimated as 40 feet or more, evidently had a smooth bole, totally devoid of ornament; and like many early images its bareness was disguised, at least on ceremonious occasions, by real clothing, for every year the Spartan women wove a chiton for its use. The offering of Cheramyes dates from a later period, near the middle of the sixth century,<sup>1</sup> but the lower part of the body adheres to the columnar form, broken only

<sup>1</sup> Curtius, *Ath. Mitt.*, xxxi, 1906, p. 155.

## BEGINNINGS OF GREEK SCULPTURE

where the drapery splays out around the feet, as in some Asiatic sculptures. In this respect and in the general treatment of the drapery, the lower part is strikingly similar to the statue of an Elamite queen of about 1500 B.C.,<sup>1</sup> but this may be a coincidence, as the style has not been traced through the intervening thousand years; yet the continuity of art in Western Asia is such that to assume a connection in this case is not so unlikely as it sounds. The folds of the drapery are marked in both figures by parallel lines, except at the end of the garment, which is wrapped round the left side of the Samian statue; the upper part of its body has been modelled with greater care, although here, too, the sculptor's preoccupation lay with the drapery. On the Acropolis of Athens was found a torso of the same type, joined to a head like that of the Naxian sphinx.<sup>2</sup>

Of the rectangular statues, one from Delos dedicated to Artemis by Nicandra the Naxian (Pl. 1a), obviously came from the same school as the Auxerre statue (Pl. 2b), the provenance of which is unknown; it is, however, related to various objects from Crete and is usually assumed to be Cretan work; it especially resembles a figure cut in relief beneath the Prinias goddess.<sup>3</sup> The goddess herself formed one of a pair of statues, approximately half life-size, which seem to have been placed confronting one another over a doorway; a frieze of animals, carved upon each side of the base, ran over the top of the door, the relief figure underneath being visible to those who passed through to the next room of the temple. Of the statues one has almost completely perished and portions of the survivor are restored. On the head of the goddess is a tall crown, beneath which her hair escapes in long twisted curls to lie upon her shoulder; her robes are elaborately embroidered with geometric ornaments and figures of animals as well as with a plaid pattern. The bust has some pretension to modelling; the lower limbs are square cut, for here all the care is given to the carving of the embroidery, which represents a winged sphinx, a lion and a horse. The feet seem to be encased in thick boots, the hands are flat lumps divided into fingers by four straight

<sup>1</sup> Picard; *Sculpture Antique*, i, fig. 43; Sidney Smith, *Early History of Assyria*, pl. xvi.

<sup>2</sup> Acropolis Mus., No. 677.

<sup>3</sup> *Annuario della Scuola di Atene*, i, 1914, p. 61, fig. 23; in this article Pernier collects what remains of Cretan sculpture.

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furrows. The base was composed of the same block of limestone; upon one side it bore a row of lions, on the other a row of stags. These recall orientalizing vase-paintings of the seventh century, the period in which the seated figure can best be placed, because of its resemblance to the ivories of Nimrud, Ephesus and Sparta; but those who desire to see in it an instance of conservatism in a remote district disregard this resemblance and place it late in the archaic period.

Cretan sculpture of the seventh and early sixth centuries appears both from the monuments and from the meagre literary sources to have ranked high among contemporary work. But the problem is complicated by the presence of Dædalus, the Merlin of the Greeks, who was said to have been an Athenian who fled to Crete to escape the consequences of manslaughter, and there built the labyrinth at Cnossus. In later times he acquired a reputation as a sculptor, because, so Pausanias suggests, wooden images were known of old as *dædala* (ix. 3), though it is possible that a sculptor of this name actually existed in the early sixth century. To him were attributed many of the crudest statues preserved in Greece, an emphatic assertion of great antiquity which means no more than the ascription to St. Luke of very primitive Christian pictures. It has, however, this unfortunate effect, that archaic sculptors are sometimes described as pupils of Dædalus, and it is impossible to decide whether it is simply a reflection of the legendary skill of Dædalus, or whether it implies a genuine Cretan training. Dædalus himself was reputed to have been responsible for the transition from the primitive *xoana*, which has few indications of the human form, to more recognizable figures; in the words of Diodorus, 'being the first to give them open eyes, and parted legs, and outstretched arms, he justly won the admiration of men; for before his time statues were made with closed eyes and hands hanging down and cleaving to their sides.'

Many Peloponnesian sculptors are said to have been apprenticed to Dipœnus and Scyllis, who are variously described as the sons or pupils of Dædalus; they were settled in Sicyon, although reputedly of Cretan birth. These two artists of the sixth century are stated to have been the first to gain fame by marble sculpture, but they also worked in wood. Their two names invariably occur together as collaborators. Pausanias gives little information about their works; his only item of interest (ii. 22) concerns some cult-statues of the Dioscuri, their

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wives and two sons, supplied to a temple at Argos. These were carved in ivory, while the horses of the group had portions in ivory added to their ebony bodies.

Traditions of the Dædalids have no great value, for the dates assigned to early sculptors can rarely be satisfactorily determined, and most of the works to which names were attached in Pausanias' day were no older than the sixth century. It will, for the sake of clarity, be best to state here such information as exists on these sculptors, although their dates seem to extend all over the sixth century, and some of them might more properly be included in the following chapter. Four Spartans, Hegylus and his son Theocles, Medon and Dorycleidas, whose works remained at Olympia in the temple of Hera and in the Megarian Treasury, are labelled by Pausanias pupils of Dipœnus and Scyllis (v, xxx. 17, and vi. 19); their other pupils, Tectæus and Angelion, the teachers of Callon of Ægina, made the image of Apollo for the Delians, which is represented on coins of Athens.<sup>1</sup> Yet another pupil of Dipœnus and Scyllis, or 'of Dædalus himself,' Clearchus of Rhegium, made the bronze image of Zeus for the Brazen House at Sparta; according to Pausanias (ii. 17) it was the oldest known bronze work and had been made in several pieces, which were riveted together. A second tradition, however, gives him a Spartan master, and makes him in his turn the teacher of Pythagoras of Rhegium, a sculptor of the late sixth and early fifth centuries. Smilis of Ægina, whom Pausanias believed to be a contemporary of Dædalus, made, for the temple at Samos, a cult-statue of Hera which is represented on coins.<sup>2</sup> Cheirisophus, a Cretan, made the gilded image of Apollo in a temple at Tegea. Beyond dispute Endœus of Athens belongs to the latter half of the sixth century, and he is therefore treated in the next chapter.

Cult-images were frequently anonymous, including the one surviving example which might be placed in the seventh century. This is a crowned head of twice life-size (Pl. 3a), discovered at Olympia in the vicinity of the temple of Hera;<sup>3</sup> its material is a soft limestone identical with that used in the temple for the base of the cult-statue, and the good preservation of work in such material proves that it had

<sup>1</sup> *N. C. P.*, pl. CC. xi-xiv.

<sup>2</sup> Gardner, *Samos and Samian Coins*, pl. v, 1-9.

<sup>3</sup> *Olympia*, iv, pls. xvi, xvii.

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never been exposed to the air. From its size it must have belonged to a temple, and no temple except Hera's existed at Olympia at such an early date. The question is practically settled by Pausanias' description

(v. 17): 'In the temple of Hera is an image of Zeus; the image of Hera sits on a throne and he stands beside her, bearded and wearing a helmet on his head. The workmanship is crude.' The style of the head agrees with this criticism, for the formal waves of the hair, the large triangular eyes, the thin straight lips, the wide cheeks dimpled deeply at the corner of the mouth, all point to a remote antiquity, as do the outstanding ears and the general flatness of the face. At the time of discovery, traces of bright red paint remained on the hair and of dark red upon the encircling fillet. Another head of approximately the same period (Pl. 2a) was found at Mycenæ, where it comprised part of the decoration of a Doric temple, built over the prehistoric palace; the sloping line above the head suggests the top of a pediment.<sup>1</sup> Although the head is presented full-face, the body is turned almost in profile. The left arm is very thin and lies across the breast, the right hand grasps the lower edge of the himation that covers the head; the hair forms two rows of curls over the forehead and falls in a thick striated mass on the shoulders, resembling the Egyptian wig (Fig. 18). This fashion occurs at Olympia in an almost Geometric bronze,

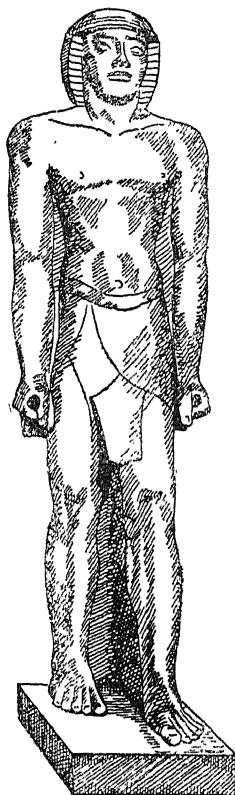


FIG. 18.—Statue of an Egyptian

and at Sparta in objects from a stratum dated to the first half or middle of the seventh century.<sup>2</sup> It is possible, as Poulsen says,<sup>3</sup> that it was from Phœnician art, that jumble of all the conventions of

<sup>1</sup> *Ath. Mitt.*, xxxix, 1914, p. 253, fig. 11.

<sup>2</sup> Dawkins, *B. S. A.*, xii, 1906-7, p. 95.

<sup>3</sup> *O.*, p. 137.

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the Orient, that the Greeks borrowed this method of hair-dressing, which appears earliest on the Greek mainland and in Crete, and has rarely been noticed in Ionia. This seems to imply that the foreign influence arrived with the Phœnician traders in those parts of Greece dependent upon Phœnician sea-services; the Ionians, on the other hand, traded in their own bottoms and came into immediate contact with the Egyptians as early as the seventh century.

Egyptian influence, however, scarcely affected the *style* of Greek sculpture until the sixth century, as far as the available evidence extends, although Egyptian *types* had appeared long before, whether introduced directly or through Phœnician imitations. Thus the nude athletic type – formerly known as ‘Apollo’ but now under the vaguer title of *Kouros*, a youth<sup>1</sup> – developed in the seventh century, out of the Geometric bronzes,<sup>2</sup> obviously under some form of Egyptian inspiration, as a comparison of Pl. 5*a* and Fig. 18 will disclose. Many features common to both types might be dismissed as coincidence, were it not that they occur in combination – thus the extremely narrow waist and broad shoulders, the position of the arms along the side of the body, the slanting eyes, the tendency to place the ears too high, are conventions widely diffused in the archaic arts of the world, but no coincidence can fairly be stretched to cover the fact that they should all be found together in two countries so near as Greece and Egypt, connected by constant sea-traffic.<sup>3</sup> The invariable advance of the left leg, and the frequency of the clenched fist, can scarcely be conventions of independent origin: on the other hand, Greek figures are totally nude, Egyptian figures rarely so. But although the Greeks had originally adopted the type in imitation of Phœnician or Egyptian imports, yet the proportions of the earliest examples have the least resemblance to their prototype. Thus in a bronze statuette found among broken pottery of the seventh century<sup>4</sup> the exceptionally narrow waist and the triangular face recall Cretan sculptures of the time, although the hair is worn like the Egyptian wig. The oldest stone *kouroi* known, of about 600, have a similarly un-Egyptian build,

<sup>1</sup> Both names are correct in part, for Diodorus (I, 98) describes an Apollo, Pausanias (viii, 40, i) an athlete of the type.

<sup>2</sup> Such as the Olympia statuette, *Ath. Mitt.*, xxxi, 1906, pl. xviii; Picard, *Sculpture Antique*, fig. 69.

<sup>3</sup> This is, however, Deonna's view, *Festschrift Blumner*, p. 102.

<sup>4</sup> *Fouilles de Delphes*, v, pl. iii; Poulsen, *O.*, p. 98, figs. 13, 14.

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although one of these, an alabaster statuette, was discovered in Egypt itself, at the Greek treaty-port of Naucratis; <sup>1</sup> on another statuette from Rhodes <sup>2</sup> the hands are laid against the sides as in early ivory carvings.

In all these figures an imported type is changed by a purely Greek expression, which not only alters the details but also the whole pose, allowing the body to relax its tenseness. But in a later statue (Pl. 5*a*), one of a pair found in Delphi, the proportions and vigorous stance have evidently been adopted in imitation of Egyptian work, and this is characteristic of the period, the second half of the sixth century, when that influence was most patent. Diodorus tells a story of the two Samians, Theodorus and Telecles, of which the inference is true although probably not the substance; he says that one of them made one half of a statue in Ephesus while the other was working in Samos on the other half, and that the two fitted exactly. Further, he says: 'This method of working was never practised by the Greeks, but was common among the Egyptians, and the statue being made in accordance with the Egyptian system, is divided by a line which runs from the crown of the head through the centre of the figure.' In reality all the Greek statues of the sixth century obey what is known as the Law of Frontality, whereby an imaginary straight line passes through the nose, navel, genitals and spine, dividing the body into two symmetrical halves. But the Egyptian sculptor not only worked according to this law, but also employed a system of dividing his figure by twenty-two horizontal lines ruled at regular intervals; the mouth was invariably placed on the twentieth line, and so forth with all the other landmarks of the body. <sup>3</sup> The first efforts of the Greeks failed so badly from ignorance of this canon; whether they now learned the method or whether they invented one of their own, it is certain that from this time onwards they progress steadily and finally throw off the influence of their instructor. <sup>4</sup>

The twin *kouroi* of Delphi are signed by Polymedes or Agamedes of Argos and represent Cleobis and Biton, two youths who drew their mother's chariot from the city of Argos to the Heræum. Since they

<sup>1</sup> Deonna, *Apollons antiques*, p. 243, No. 148.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 232, No. 135.

<sup>3</sup> Edgar, *Cairo Cat., Sculptors' Studies*.

<sup>4</sup> On the proportions of *kouroi*, see Caskey, *A. J. A.*, xxviii, 1924, p. 358.

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are identical, it is only necessary to describe the better preserved, in which the feet and ankles alone are restored. The figure stands in the conventional Egyptian frontal attitude with the head upraised, the hands clenched and the left leg advanced. An impression of movement is conveyed by the arms being bent at the elbows as well as by the very slight preponderance of weight upon the backward, right leg, both conventions being common in Egyptian works. In the rendering of the deltoid and biceps muscles, the lift of the chest and the stretching of the knee-caps, nature is adequately expressed, though the incised lines on the epigastrium and knee-cap are conventional. The junction of the body and legs is faulty, and the arms are too short, but the shoulder-blades are almost correct, as are the taut muscles on the spine; the eyebrows are well marked and the ears lower than is usual in archaic heads. Cretan tradition is perhaps responsible for the mode of hair-dressing.

*Kouros* statues have been found all over Greece, especially in the Cyclades; they are collected by Deonna (*Apollons antiques*), and they vary greatly in their details although all conform to a general type. Attempts to distinguish the products of local schools break down because in nearly every instance there is no signature, and usually no indication whether a statue was carved in the district in which it ultimately remained; even when that fact has been ascertained (by the recognition of a local stone or by its unfinished condition), there still exists the uncertainty about a sculptor's nationality, because artists moved freely from place to place. Only when a large number of statues have been discovered in one district can there arise any prospect of reasonable accuracy, and when this condition is fulfilled there are usually great divergences visible in their style.<sup>1</sup> An unmistakable crudeness has often been noticed in works of Boeotian provenance, which affect a straight mouth and a rounded structure of the body (Pls. 3*b*, 41*a*); the mainland of Greece frequently adopted a heavy type, as in the Delphi twins or the colossus of about 600 B.C. from Sunium in Attica,<sup>2</sup> while slightness has always been judged to be characteristic of Cycladic sculptures. But the later, slightly built, 'Apollo of Tenea' (Pl. 41*a*) was found near Corinth; either, therefore,

<sup>1</sup> The latest attempt to distinguish local peculiarities is by Langlotz, *Früh-griechische Bildhauerschulen*, 1927.

<sup>2</sup> C. A. H., *Plates*, i, 363*a*.



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it does not belong to the mainland school or else that school has been misjudged.

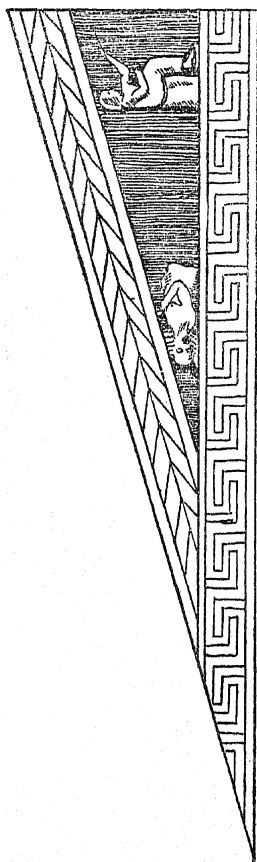
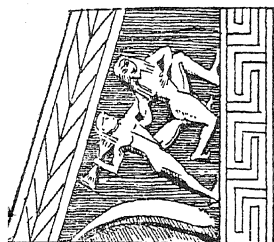
Early Peloponnesian sculpture is scarcely known apart from low reliefs, and a few *kouroi*, but the style of Corinthian vase-painters is recalled by the pediments at Corfu, a Corinthian colony which preserved close relationships with its founder, and at Thermon, to the north of the Corinthian gulf, by painted metopes and life-size terracotta heads.<sup>1</sup> The more complete of the Corfu pediments is shown in the accompanying drawing (Fig. 19), in a partial restoration based upon that of Buschor;<sup>2</sup> it belongs to the early sixth century. A magnificent Gorgon, over 9 feet in height, occupies the centre of the composition; she is flying rapidly towards her left, with legs in profile, but otherwise frontally placed; the left knee is raised, the right near the ground. The opposite pediment seems to have contained a similar figure in the centre.<sup>3</sup> The curious attitude, which invariably indicates flying or running in archaic Greek art, is borrowed from that of a Hittite daemon, who crouches among wild animals.<sup>4</sup> The Gorgon wears a snake-girdle and snakes issue from her hair, for in accordance with her function as an averter of evil beings, she must be depicted as fearsomely as possible; she displays her formidable teeth and extends her tongue. To either side are placed her offspring, Pegasus and Chrysaor, and behind them her attendant animals – leopards, or lions, spotted to suggest tufts of hair, such as are popular on Corinthian vases. Beyond the central, prophylactic group is the secondary subject, the battle of the gods and giants; on the extreme left lies a dead giant whose legs must have reached almost as far as the seated goddess; in front of her remains part of a spear, held by a figure which once stood in the next slab but has now disappeared. The right corner of the pediment has perished except for a group of Zeus killing a giant; with one hand he seizes the victim by the neck, with the other he hurls a thunderbolt. In all the human figures there prevails a heavy rectangular structure, due to the flat, broad surfaces by which

<sup>1</sup> *Ath. Mitt.*, xxxix, 1914, p. 237, pls. xiii–xv; *Ant. Denkmäler*, II, pls. 49–53a; *Ephemeris Arch.*, 1900, pls. 10, 11; 1903, pls. 2–6.

<sup>2</sup> *C. A. H.*, *Plates*, i, 1966; cf. 366, for photographs of details; the best illustrations are those in the *Greek Praktika*, 1911, p. 165, figs. 1–20.

<sup>3</sup> *Arch. Deltion*, vi, 1920–21, p. 165.

<sup>4</sup> Weber, *Hethitische Kunst*, pls. 22, 23; Hogarth, British Museum, *Carchemish*, pl. B 10.



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the body is rendered; the heads resemble the 'Bluebeard' and Moschophorus of Athens.

Athens, which had led in the art of vase-painting at the Geometric period, was subsequently eclipsed by the regions in closer touch with the East, but recovered its position early in the sixth century. Its output of sculpture apparently began at the same time; the most primitive age, however, is scarcely represented, apart from the remnants of small pediments on the Acropolis. A large head, found near the Dipylon Gate,<sup>1</sup> is probably the oldest work in the round in which the germ of Attic sculpture can be discerned. With a flat, thin face like the Hera of Olympia, it has curved eyelids, the eyes otherwise are almost triangular, and the hair is arranged in rows of formal curls, like beads, which start on the forehead and run back to the nape of the neck without change of design. Somewhat later, though probably before 550, come the 'Bluebeard,' the three-bodied monster of Pl. 7*b*, and the Moschophorus, or man carrying a calf (Pl. 8). The former has now been identified as the Old Man of the Sea, who could take the forms of a dragon, water, fire and air; for the hands of the three bodies hold objects which seem to typify the elements, namely a rippling stream, a tongue of flame and a bird.<sup>2</sup> The grotesque heads, even quainter in their original condition with their bright red faces and bright blue beards (illustrated in colour, Collignon, *Sculpture Grecque*, I, Pl. II, at p. 208), are to be regarded as comic types, not as examples of the ideal work of their age. They are related to the satyrs painted on Attic vases around 550:<sup>3</sup> these share the arched eyebrows, huge bulging eyes, curly moustaches and thin lips. Estimates of the date of 'Bluebeard' vary between 580 and 540, and the present writer inclines to the later date on the evidence of the vase-paintings. The figure was designed to fill the right corner of a pediment with its plaited tail, while the centre was occupied by a tree hung with Heracles' clothes, and his combat with the Triton composed the left side. Heracles was lying on top of the monster as in the Assos frieze (Pl. 9), so that his legs and its tail occupied the angle of the pediment.<sup>4</sup> The building for which these pediments were in-

<sup>1</sup> C. A. H., *Plates*, i, 374*a*, *b*.

<sup>2</sup> Buschor, *Ath. Mitt.*, xlvii, 1922, p. 53, pl. xv.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, *Greek Vase-Painting*, fig. 99.

<sup>4</sup> *Cat.*, i, p. 82; Wiegand, *Porosarchitektur*, pl. iv

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tended was probably the temple known as the Hecatompedon, because it measured 100 feet in length: it was enlarged towards the end of the sixth century and the pedimental groups replaced by others; the gables which contained these first groups were about 28 feet long. At the opposite end of the building the pediment seems to have held an assembly of deities, with snakes extending into the angles; while a running gorgon probably acted as central acroterion, flanked by leopards at the corners, rather as in the Corfu pediment.

The material is a coarse limestone, quarried at the Piræus, which goes by the name of *poros*. This stone, being extremely unsatisfactory, although soft and easily carved, was seldom used for sculpture after 540, and even in early times was almost confined to pedimental groups and other large sculptures, for which island marble would have proved too expensive. Of the other, smaller pediments in high relief, little interest attaches to the scene of Iris introducing Heracles to Olympus,<sup>1</sup> while another composition has perished except for an olive-tree carved in low relief, a female figure, and insignificant fragments.<sup>2</sup> The female figure, commonly known as the Hydrophore,<sup>3</sup> has historical importance, for it may be regarded as a prototype of the later *Korai*. The eyes, large and protruding, slope downwards towards the nose; the mouth ends with a sharp downward incision at each corner, like other *poros* sculptures, but is noticeably curved, whereas the majority have nearly straight mouths. Waves run across the hair from front to back, crinkling the edge above the forehead, while three locks fall on the shoulders, maintaining the same distance between one another instead of splaying out in the old fashion. There is a smooth red surface to the undergarment and a dark blue himation droops from both shoulders, leaving the front of the body open; this upper garment is also smooth, but at its lower edges several overlapping surfaces of cloth are revealed.

A more advanced stage in the representation of drapery is marked by a statue from Attica in the Berlin Museum.<sup>4</sup> The dress is the same, but a series of parallel stripes covers the figure, running almost vertically; the overlapping ends of the folded portions are more clumsily disposed. Mediocrity of workmanship shows itself, too, in

<sup>1</sup> *Cat.*, i, p. 62; Wiegand, *op. cit.*, pl. viii, 3, figs. 98-102.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, i, p. 69.

<sup>3</sup> Wiegand, *op. cit.*, p. 202, fig. 221.

<sup>4</sup> *C. A. H.*, Plates, i, 208; *Arch. Anz.*, 1925, p. 393, figs. 3, 4.

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the head – very thin and tall, with waved hair, protruding eyes set horizontally, and an unduly short mouth. Mistaking its poor quality for the incompetence of a very early period, the statue has been assigned by Berlin critics to the neighbourhood of the year 600, but Studniczka has placed it at the middle of the sixth century, a verdict that will probably be justified by time. The comparison with the *Hydrophore* cannot be pressed since the *poros* figure was less than eighteen inches high when complete, and could not, therefore, be expected to exhibit such detail as a life-size statue: nevertheless the two cannot be separated by a wide interval; the statue makes the later impression; and the olive-tree pediment, undoubtedly among the latest of *poros* works, should perhaps be dated after 550.

The statue called the *Moschophorus* (calf-carrier) (Pl. 8) is executed in the Hymettan marble of Attica; the feet and base have been found, and bear an inscription naming Rhombus or Conbus as its dedicator. It has been assembled from fragments discovered in the pits of the Acropolis, its destruction no doubt being due to the Persians in 480. The subject may represent a worshipper carrying the victim to sacrifice, for Pausanias has mentioned a portrait statue of this nature; furthermore, acolytes holding pigs also occur; on the other hand, figures of Hermes bearing a sheep on his shoulders show that the personage may equally be considered as a deity, although in that case a dedication to Athena requires some explanation. The dress lies so close to the body that it can be traced only by the seams; it consists of a *chlamys*, the two ends of which reach to the knees, leaving a bare strip of the body in the front, while the rest covers the arms and back. At the time of discovery remains of paint were observed on the hair and beard, and probably the drapery was painted to distinguish the cloth from the flesh; the eyeballs were composed of a different material. The whole offers a pleasing if stiff design as well as a lively appearance; the animal is more naturally and expressively carved than the man, as frequently happens in primitive arts. In spite of being a sculpture in the round, this shows a flat surface, and looks at a distance like a relief without a background. From comparison with Attic vase-paintings the date approaches 560.

An interesting example of Cycladic work is the sphinx (Pl. 5*b*), dedicated at Delphi by the Naxians; they seem to have placed a similar statue at Delos. Itself nearly 8 feet in height, the figure sat

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upon a 30-foot pillar, upon the base of which may be read the inscription. The elongated body agrees with the supposed conventions of the Islands, and the marble has been identified as Naxian. The eyes are more schematized than any others in the Delphi museum, being, in fact, triangular; and in this and other features there lies a resemblance to the earlier head of Hera at Olympia, and also to a *kore* of Naxian marble, of later date but of the same style as Cheramydes' statue.<sup>1</sup> Incidentally it should be remarked that the Greek sphinx bears no relation to the Egyptian, being derived from Asia Minor, where there existed a variety differing from the ordinary Mesopotamian type in possessing curved wings. (Compare the Carchemish relief (Fig. 9), and others of the Hittite area.)<sup>2</sup>

Another winged figure, possibly created by a Cycladic sculptor, is the Victory from Delos (Pl. 1*b*), formerly attributed to Archermus of Chios on the witness of an inscribed base found in the vicinity.<sup>3</sup> It was perhaps an acroterion of the temple of Apollo, for similar outspread figures of Gorgons or Victories were frequently used for the roof-peaks of buildings. In bronze statuettes of the same type the drapery is allowed to reach the ground between the legs, so that the figure is supported by a wide mass of drapery in addition to the feet; the feet alone would certainly have been too slender a base for the Delos Victory and some such device must have been adopted. Two large wings with an upward curve should be restored, springing out from the middle of the back, two smaller wings from the shoulders and two small wings from the feet; the right arm was probably held level with the shoulders as far as the elbow, though the forearm was bent up; the left arm was bent to allow the hand to rest on the hip. The whole front of the figure occupies one plane, the back another; the sides again are almost flat, merely rounded slightly at the corners. Thus the body has little modelling. The treatment of the drapery should be compared with that on vases of 560,<sup>4</sup> while the egg-shaped head and strongly curved mouth are typical of *kouroi* from the Cyclades.

The sculpture of Asia Minor and of the neighbouring islands forms a more or less compact group, in which Egyptian influence prevails to

<sup>1</sup> Acropolis, Cat. No. 677.      <sup>2</sup> *C. A. H.*, *Plates*, i, 234*d*, 237*a*, 245*b*.

<sup>3</sup> Lately discussed by Pfuhl, *Ath. Mitt.*, xlvii, 1923, p. 161.

<sup>4</sup> Buschor, *Greek Vase Painting*, fig. 78.

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an unusually large extent. An instance is the only surviving statue of a draped *kouros*, that found in the Heræum at Samos (Fig. 21);<sup>1</sup> terracottas of the type are frequent in the eastern islands of the Ægean.<sup>2</sup> In the drapery the sculptor utilizes the system of curving

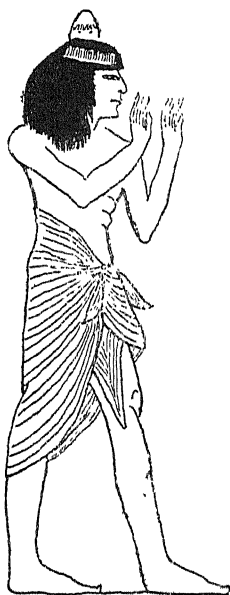


FIG. 20. - Egyptian Painting

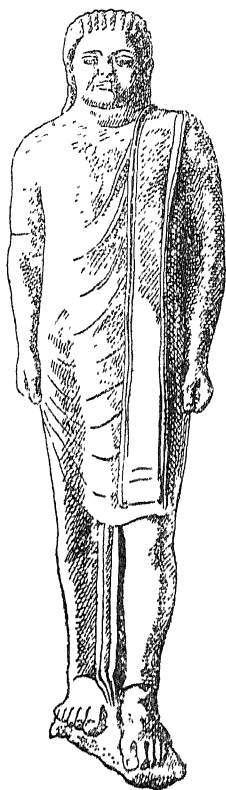


FIG. 21. -- Draped Male Statue, Samos

lines diverging from one point, upon which the Egyptians depended, as may be seen from an example of their painting (Fig. 20); in the

<sup>1</sup> Wiegand, *Ath. Mitt.*, xxxi, 1906, p. 87, pls. x-xii.

<sup>2</sup> Mendel, *Cat. des Figurines grecques de terre cuite*, Constantinople, p. 128, pl. iii, No. 11.

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novel skill, too, with which the body is indicated through the clothing there may be traced another point of Egyptian inspiration. The same style occurs on a draped statue at Samos <sup>1</sup> which was dedicated to Hera by Æeaces, perhaps to be identified with the father of Polycrates who became tyrant of the Island soon after 540, and concluded an alliance with Egypt: at all events there can be no doubt that Egyptian influence in art preceded the alliance. The Samian artist, Rhœcus, had been in Egypt, for his name has been read on a pot dedicated at Naucratis. The story of Theodorus and Telecles has already been quoted (p. 108); incidentally the former and Rhœcus were the reputed 'inventors' of bronze casting, a piece of fallacious information in which a grain of truth may or may not be concealed, for it is quite possible that hollow casting was not introduced till the sixth century.

The style of the Æeaces connects it with a set of seated figures from the Sacred Way to the temple of Apollo at Branchidæ, near Miletus: their prototypes are Asiatic rather than Egyptian, like those of the corresponding *kore* of Cheramyas at Samos (compare the Aramæan king (Fig. 8): the prolongation of the drapery to the ankles is an Asiatic feature in itself, for Egyptian drapery was shorter). One of these statues bears a dedicatory inscription, 'I am Chares, son of Cleisis, ruler of Teichiussa – the statue is Apollo's.'<sup>2</sup> Only one retains its head (Pl. 4a);<sup>3</sup> this is of fitting size for the massive body, which is rolled in clothes once, no doubt, gaily painted; the head resembles that of the draped *kouros*. In a head in the Constantinople Museum <sup>4</sup> of uncertain provenance (Pl. 4b), the features are better preserved. The head is very round, the face is too narrow below in comparison with its width at the forehead, and when seen in profile the lower part recedes sharply; the eyes, which rest in extremely shallow cavities, are almond-shaped and set so that they point upwards at the outer corners; the eyeballs protrude beyond the level of the lids; the eyelashes curve in pronounced arches; depressions at the corners of the mouth produce a smiling effect; between the lower lip and the chin lies a deep indentation. The head belongs to a group represented by terracottas especially from Rhodes, Cos and Samos, and by marble

<sup>1</sup> *C. A. H.*, *Plates*, i, p. 369b; Curtius, *Ath. Mitt.*, xxxi, 1906, p. 151, pl. xiv.

<sup>2</sup> British Museum, Cat. No. 14; Walters, *Art of the Greeks*, pl. xxiv.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 9.

<sup>4</sup> Cat., II, No. 530.



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statues and heads especially from Samos, Branchidæ, Cyprus, including among them the draped *kouros* of Samos. The 'archaic smile,' already present in the Cameirus ivory (Fig. 13), seems to be an intentional feature in some cases, if due to incompetence in others; it persists to the beginning of the fifth century in most of the Greek schools.

Of slightly later style are the sculptured columns from the new temple of Ephesus, to the building of which Cræsus of Lydia contributed 'several pillars' during his reign of 560-546: indeed, the very presence of sculpture on the columns indicates Lydian influence.<sup>1</sup> In spite of the fact that few scraps survive large enough to possess any interest, it appears likely that the bases of no less than thirty-six pillars had been surrounded by figures in high relief, and the variations in style noticed in the extant fragments suggest that many years elapsed between the carving of the first figure and of the last to be completed.<sup>2</sup> The earliest fragments resemble the oldest statues from Branchidæ, and should therefore fall within the reign of Cræsus; but there is reason to ascribe to a few years later the upper part of a male figure wearing a leopard skin over the shoulders, and the legs of, it would seem, another figure (Pl. 7a). An attempt has been made to reconstruct the torso and legs as one figure and to fit it over inscribed mouldings containing the name of Cræsus, but their dimensions do not match the sculptures. The drapery has evidently been imitated from an Egyptian model like the painting reproduced in Fig. 20: except for a large number of statues from Cyprus this is the plainest instance of direct Egyptian influence on Greek art.<sup>3</sup> The fact that Egypt annexed Cyprus towards 560 explains the number of works in that island reflecting Egyptian ideals; on the other hand, at the same time there was produced another class of sculptures, in which the new Greek style predominates. Thus a colossal head with large eyes<sup>4</sup> recalls the 'Bluebeard,' and henceforth an unbroken series runs parallel with the schools of Greece proper.

Sculpture in the more distant regions of Hellenic settlement

<sup>1</sup> H. C. Butler, *Sardis*, II, i, p. 97.

<sup>2</sup> A. H. Smith, British Museum, *Excavations at Ephesus*, p. 293, *Atlas*, xvi-xviii; Lethaby, *J. H. S.*, xxxvii, 1917, p. 1, for arrangement.

<sup>3</sup> Myres, *Handbook of the Cesnola Collection*, figs. on pp. 198-201, 220, 224; for dating, Lawrence, *J. H. S.*, xlii, 1926, p. 163. <sup>4</sup> Myres, fig. 1257.

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naturally lagged behind, but even in Italy and Sicily and in Egypt there have been found pieces of early sixth-century date which exactly parallel work in the Ægean basin. An Italian sculptor, Clearchus of Rhegium, has already been mentioned. In all districts of Greek habitation the national style had established itself by 550, no longer enthralled by the serene competence of the East, but asserting its own individuality.

### § 3. *Low Reliefs*

The oldest reliefs of Greece are ivory carvings from Sparta, from which a gradual development can be traced through the archaic period by means of a series of small finds from various sites.<sup>1</sup> The Spartan carvings resemble the products of the Geometric vase-painter and are largely an indigenous growth: on the other hand, the importation of Oriental work – a practice evidenced by the shields of the Idæan cave – probably had the greatest share in inducing the Greeks to compose bronze reliefs for themselves. The oldest of these were all discovered in Crete, and from their relation to a variety of painted pottery also confined to the Island, have been judged to be of local make. A hard style of outline drawing is common to both classes of work.<sup>2</sup> The bronzes are merely sheets of metal from which the figures are cut out and upon which a few lines are chased to mark the details; by pressure along one side of these lines a slight difference in level is produced when desired. Such simple means naturally likened the treatment to that of painting, an art in which the Cretans then surpassed the rest of Greece. The stone carvings from the same site, Prinias, exhibit similar characteristics. The animals below the seated goddess (Fig. 17) have their exact parallels in countless vases painted in every district, and a frieze of cavalry (Fig. 22), which perhaps decorated the same temple, is extremely similar to a horseman painted on a Cretan dish;<sup>3</sup> a band of ornament like that beneath runs around many a vase. These long-legged, slim-barrelled horses have a decidedly Geometric air; five of them are preserved, and a scrap of a sixth, all identical, while their riders vary only in that one of them carries his spear at a slant and that some of the shields bear designs scratched upon them. The height of

<sup>1</sup> Versakis, *Ephemeris Arch.*, 1914, p. 25, figs. 1–33.

<sup>2</sup> *C. A. H.*, *Plates*, i, 354.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, *Plates*, i, 354*d*.

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the slabs is two feet nine inches.<sup>1</sup> This Cretan art of the orientalizing period had reached a position second to none in the Greek world. This fact, only recently suspected, becomes daily more obvious with the progress of excavation<sup>2</sup> which has now thrown light upon the flourishing condition of the minor arts. A survival

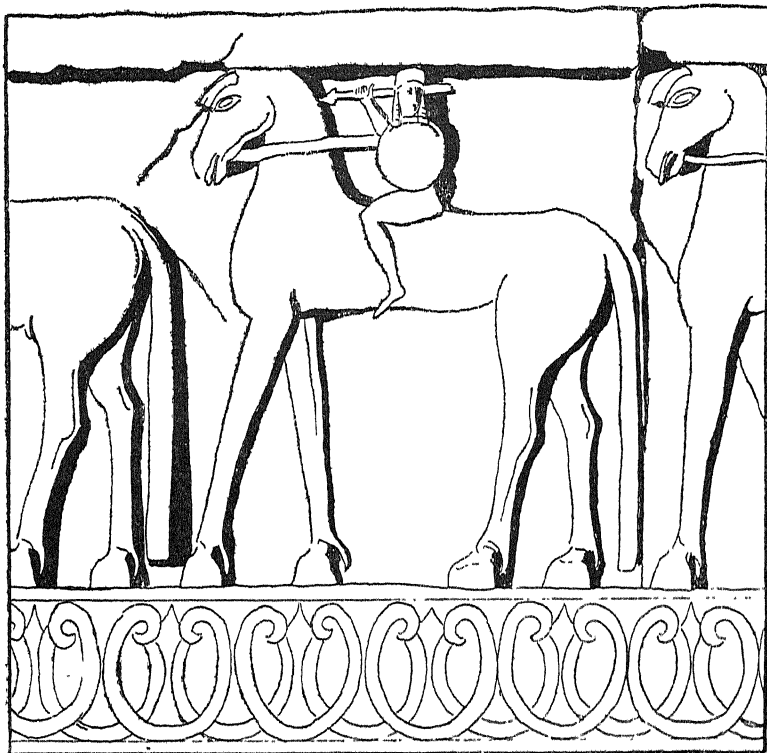


FIG. 22. - Frieze from Prinias, Candia Museum

of Minoan traditions has been postulated to account for this relative excellence of Crete among the Greek lands, but without solid

<sup>1</sup> *Annuario della R. Scuola di Atene*, i, 1914, p. 48, fig. 19; cf. an Aramæan relief, *Sendschirli*, iii, p. 226, fig. 130.

<sup>2</sup> Discoveries at the town called Arcadia are reported by Levi, *Liverpool Annals*, xii, 1925; terracottas from Præsus, *A. J. A.*, v, 1901, pls. x-xii.

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grounds; the chance discovery of a few ancient relics by the Hellenic Cretans would explain such an influence, if indeed any existed.<sup>1</sup> The art which truly exerted great influence in the Island was Asiatic, of Assyrian and other kinds, derived not through Ionia but directly from Oriental ports. This last inference may be drawn from the circumstance that the early Greek reliefs of the Asiatic coast differ somewhat in style from the Cretan; they testify to a less elegant, less competent, more enterprising art.



FIG. 23. - Assyrian Seal



FIG. 24. - Panel of the Lion Tomb, British Museum

The Assyrian carved gem (Fig. 23) suggests the source to which a tomb owed its panel of a man fighting a lion (Fig. 24). This monument, also embellished with a lion in high relief on two sides, was removed to the British Museum from Xanthus, a Hellenized town of Lycia, the south-west corner of Asia Minor.<sup>2</sup> The scheme of the relief is Mesopotamian, yet the clumsy proportions and the striated hair (which imitates the Egyptian wig, Fig. 18) show that this is no

<sup>1</sup> Müller, *Ath. Mitt.*, L, 1925, p. 51. <sup>2</sup> Poulsen, *O.*, p. 150, figs. 179, 180.

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copy of an Assyrian object but a free adaptation, derived, perhaps, at second hand through a Phœnician medium.

To the seventh century must belong both this and another Lycian tomb, from Isinda, now in the Constantinople Museum, which bears upon one side the relief of Fig. 25.<sup>1</sup> At either end walk armed men, in helmets and cuirasses, whose uplifted hands probably grasped spears, once painted on the stone. Between them a man, with striated hair and wearing a long robe, stretches out his arm to hold a rope, formerly represented in paint, attached to the horse's neck; beneath the horse walks a dog. The rectangular hole above

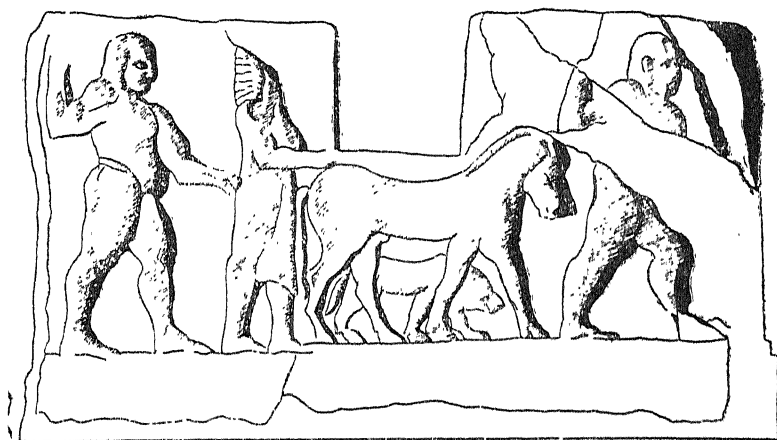


FIG. 25. — Relief from Tomb at Isinda, Constantinople Museum

the animals comprised the false door, prescribed by custom as entrance to the house of the dead. The Asiatic influence in this scene does not appear so strongly as in the other Lycian tomb, but the method of carving is identical with that of the so-called Hittite reliefs from Samal (Sendjirli) and Carchemish; the figures are slightly raised above the background but have a flat surface upon which details are worked by incised lines — one such line marks the leg where it is covered by the drapery. The knees are clearly cut.

A development of the same style, in which again linger reminiscences of 'Hittite' reliefs (Fig. 10), led to the three bronze tripods

<sup>1</sup> Poulsen, *O.*, p. 151, figs. 182, 183.

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in the Loeb collection.<sup>1</sup> These were found in Etruria, but so great is the resemblance to early vase-painting that Greeks of Asia Minor may certainly be held responsible. On one of the least damaged sides (Fig. 26), the top panel contains a chimæra – a monster with heads of a lion, a goat (emerging from the wing) and a serpent (growing out of the tail), which according to legends once lived in Lycia. Below is Perseus, flying home with Medusa's head slung in a bag round his neck, while Athena saves him from the petrifying sight of the other Gorgons by holding out her peplos; he wears the cap of darkness and high boots with wings. The lowest panel is occupied by a battle over the body of a wounded warrior.

From this and related bronzes of the early sixth century it is possible to obtain some idea of the larger works carried out by the early artists. Pausanias described at length a

chest of cedar wood dedicated at Olympia by the descendants of Cypselus, who was reported to have escaped death in his infancy by

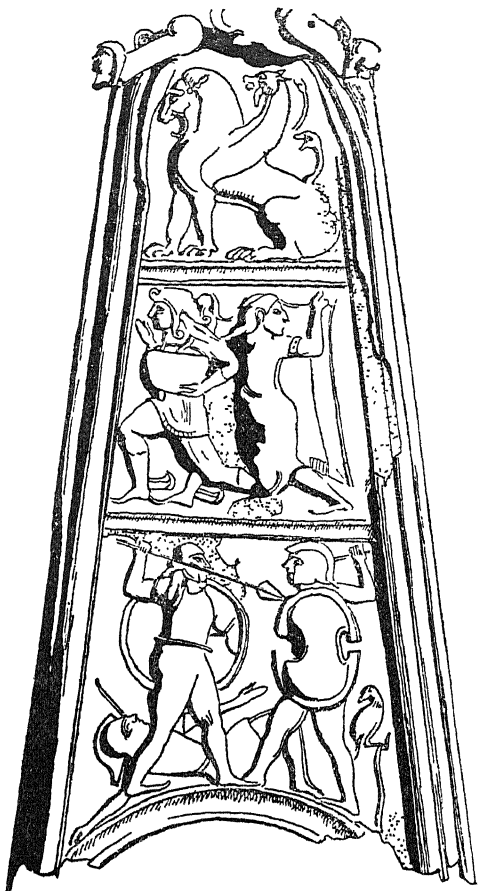


FIG. 26. – Bronze Tripod, Loeb Collection

<sup>1</sup> *A. J. A.*, xii, 1908, p. 287, pls. 8–18.

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concealment within it. The elaborate decoration of figures inlaid with gold or ivory, or merely left in the plain wood, is only appropriate to a royal dedication, and, if Pausanias be correct in associating it with the Cypselids, must date between 657, when Cypselus became tyrant of Corinth, and 582, when his dynasty ended. The scenes include most of those dear to the vase-painters and illustrate again the close relationship between relief work and painting, at a time when statuary held quite a separate position. Pausanias gives a detailed description of the scenes on the chest <sup>1</sup> with their wealth of mythological material. The chest, we learn, was divided into four fields covered with reliefs, and most of the figures had inscriptions attached, to allow spectators to identify the subjects with ease.

Of somewhat later style in all probability was the bronze work at Sparta by Gitiadas, a local artist. To him was ascribed the sculpture of the Brazen House, a famous shrine of Athena, the walls of which seem to have been sheathed with bronze plates. The reliefs which decorated the bronze – whether on the walls of the building or on the statue or on both, Pausanias (iii. 17) does not state – included ‘many both of the Labours of Heracles and the exploits which he voluntarily performed; deeds, too, of the sons of Tyndarcus, among others the rape of the daughters of Leucippe; and Hephæstus is seen loosening his mother’s chains (a story told in my account of Attica). When Perseus starts for Libya to attack Medusa the nymphs present him with a cap and with the shoes which were to carry him through the air. Of the other reliefs those that represent the birth of Athena, also Amphitrite and Poseidon, are the largest and to my mind those most worth seeing.’ While these scenes appear to have been as lively as those of the Loeb tripod, the statue itself had a far more primitive character, if indeed it has been correctly recognized in a crude image of Athena seen on imperial coins of Sparta.<sup>2</sup> She raises a lance in her right hand and holds a shield on the left arm, while the body from the waist downwards is surrounded by horizontal bands of relief.

A contrast, like that between this statue and the accompanying reliefs, is frequently apparent between sculpture in the round and in relief. Painting was always much in advance of sculpture, and bas-relief work followed pictorial rather than plastic conventions.

<sup>1</sup> Frazer’s edn., I, pp. 262–267; his commentary gives attempts at restoration based on vase-painting.

<sup>2</sup> *N. C. P.* p. 58, pls. iv, xiii, xv.

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In the early sixth century, vase-painters of the eastern districts do not shrink from the most complicated poses, while statues cling to stiffly frontal attitudes. Statues long retain the *kouros* type with the left leg advanced and arms down by the side, but a painter will advance either leg, place a hand upon the neck, raise a spear in salute or let it sink to the ground.<sup>1</sup> Similarly with bas-reliefs; the oldest sculpture from the Acropolis at Athens, the little pediment of Heracles and the hydra,<sup>2</sup> has a less hidebound air than any contemporary work in the round. All the right side is filled with the coils of the hydra, which somewhat recalls an octopus; towards it strides Heracles, placed at the highest part of the left side, while his charioteer stands behind him holding the reins of the horses, which face the left corner. That landscape motives, such as trees, are common on the *poros* pediments, especially betrays their pictorial inspiration.

The Peloponnesian schools of the early sixth century are practically unknown, with the exception of the Spartan, which is revealed in numerous small reliefs found locally. These have a peculiar character in being flat with the outlines of the figures incised, for which reason they have been compared to wood-carvings,<sup>3</sup> but otherwise they are only remarkable for their angularity.<sup>4</sup>

Some limestone metopes from the ruins of the Sicyonian Treasury at Delphi cannot have originated in this building, because the architecture shows it was not erected till the end of the fifth century; the old Treasury of the Syracusans was then demolished and the suggestion has been made that the metopes and other architectural fragments were taken from the rubbish and used in the foundations of the Sicyonian building. The inscriptions of the metopes employ the Delphian alphabet, which suggests local sculptors; the date cannot be far from 550. These Treasuries were themselves votive offerings to Apollo, which the various Greek states built in rivalry with the utmost possible display of ornament, and filled with the most sumptuous dedications they could afford: the constant activity to which this emulation gave rise seems to have endowed Delphi with an artists' colony in the archaic period. The peculiar nature

<sup>1</sup> von Lücken, *Ath. Mitt.*, xlv, 1919, p. 123.

<sup>2</sup> Cat., p. 57; Wiegand, *Porosarchitektur*, p. 192, figs. 211-2, pl. viii, 4.

<sup>3</sup> A later example is illustrated in Pl. 11.

<sup>4</sup> E.g. a relief of the Dioscuri, A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, II, 2, fig. 915; *Eins.*, 1311.



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of Delphian monuments is displayed in the studied novelty of the two metopes in best preservation (Pl. 6); there remain considerable fragments of three others, but the set probably comprised twelve, each measuring three by almost two feet. One of those illustrated shows the Dioscuri, Idas and Lynceus – the last named is missing – driving off cattle during a raid into Arcadia; each man walks forward with his left foot advanced and carries two spears in each hand, one pair resting on his shoulder, the other swinging level with the bulls' heads. They wear the chlamys open down the front and swinging out against the bulls' ears and horns, for the animals in the two back rows hold their heads straight out in front of them like the lions below the Prinias goddess. The bulls in the back row are represented on a larger scale than those in front of them – an unnatural convention invented for the sake of distinctness. The use of paint also helped to remove any chance of confusion; the dark red cloaks worn by the raiders must, for instance, have contrasted sharply with their nude legs and with the animals. The repetition of motions, an Oriental device seldom favoured by the Greeks, is broken only by the position of the heads; in the case of the animals this has already been noticed, but in the case of the men there was a variation, in that the third figure turns his head round to full face, whilst the two before him look ahead in profile. Their long eyes, placed at a slight slant, are supplied with a tear-duct at each corner. The lips curve markedly.

The other metope has a horseman at either side, the horse pointing straight out of the field while the rider leans inward to listen to two musicians, one of whom has the name of Orpheus painted beside him; they stand upon the deck of a ship, presumably the 'Argo,' in which Orpheus is said to have ventured. Large shields hang upon the bulwarks, a bundle of pikes is tied at the prow; the ram at the prow slopes up towards its beak, now broken away. The stern of the ship was probably represented on a second metope, together with Jason and other heroes, for there remains a fragment of a ship's side that cannot be fitted into the Orpheus metope.<sup>1</sup> The sideways movement of the rider – who is best described as a Dioscurus – is even less usual, in this period of stiff 'frontality,' than is the bold foreshortening of the horns, and shows how deeply the influence of painting had affected sculptures of the kind.

<sup>1</sup> Caskey, *A. J. A.*, xxix, 1925, p. 17.

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It is, of course, possible that the designs for architectural sculpture were often entrusted to an architect who was himself a draughtsman. The extraordinary shallowness of the reliefs used shortly after 550 in the temple at Assos (Pl. 9) may also be due to the architect's directions or to the difficulties of carving andesite, the hard but brittle volcanic rock selected. This temple, the only example of the Doric order in Asia Minor, carries a frieze on its architrave (probably in imitation of temple-facings in terracotta), in addition to the alternating triglyphs and metopes, which take the place of the frieze in the true Doric order. The scenes represented cannot always be identified and are not clearly divided from one another: on the left section of the frieze Heracles is putting the centaurs to flight with an arrow from his bow, on the right he is wrestling with the Triton while Nereids hurry away in terror. The sphinxes at the centre should perhaps be situated at the corners; here, as elsewhere, the restoration is open to dispute and there is no likelihood that the true order of the sculptured slabs will ever be decided; Sartiaux<sup>1</sup> suggests an alternative arrangement to that illustrated here from Clarke, Bacon and Koldewey, *Investigations at Assos*.

The group of Heracles wrestling with the Triton is similar to that of the first Hecatompedon pediment, although perhaps ten or twenty years later. The analogy illustrates the measure of freedom from stiffness accorded to low relief in comparison with higher relief and sculpture in the round; in reality low relief was simply a carved picture, and the same is true in certain cases of high relief. As an example of a free composition, which so far as is known performed no architectural function, may be mentioned the *poros* groups at Athens, in which lions are engaged in combats; especially noteworthy is the large but fragmentary group (eighteen feet in length) of a bull dragged down by two lions.<sup>2</sup> Sculpture, whether in the round or in relief, was beginning to acquire a character of its own, which could only be achieved by a compromise between the extremely pictorial principles of low relief and the four-square monumental principles of statuary, according to which the art had been divided at its inception.

<sup>1</sup> *Rev. Arch.*, 1913, II, p. 1, 359; next vol., pp. 191, 381, fig. 44 on p. 220.

<sup>2</sup> Acropolis Cat., I, p. 67; Wiegand, *op. cit.*, p. 214, figs. 230-239; Buschor, *Ath. Mitt.*, xlvii, 1922, p. 92.

## CHAPTER IX

### THE DEVELOPED ARCHAIC PERIOD (530-470 B.C.)

#### § 1. *Mannerisms*

THE excavations of the last generation, especially those on the Acropolis at Athens, yielded plentifully sculptures of the late sixth and early fifth centuries, which can be chronologically arranged without great hesitation by comparison with the contemporary painted vases. A revolution took place in the technique of the latter art, probably between 535 and 525, when the method of drawing black figures on a red ground was superseded by the easier process of placing red figures on a black ground. The result was a rapid, comprehensive advance, which was not altogether confined to the realm of vase-painting: at the time this was the most flourishing branch of painting and it therefore kept in advance of other branches. Hence the greater freedom now opened to vase-painters meant the general emancipation of pictorial art, and sculpture, too, was not slow to follow the new developments towards a more naturalistic rendering of faces, bodies and drapery, towards a less schematic grouping and a greater facility in narrative. Athens had now become the headquarters of Greek vase-painting and its pre-eminence in sculpture followed; but it seems likely that for one or two decades after 550 the Ægean Islands still retained a stronger position in this respect, for their possession of the best marbles had enabled local sculptors to master their technique to an extent at that time seldom emulated on the mainland, where so much work was necessarily executed in inferior stone to save expense. The discovery of suitable marble close to Athens, on Mount Pentelicon, remedied the situation, and by 520 the Attic school had no peer.

Island characteristics at the opening of this period are known from *kouros* statues, and the decoration of the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi was perhaps entrusted to islanders. Siphnos, a small and now insignificant member of the Cycladic group, was, so Herodotus states (iii. 57), 'the richest of all the islands because of its gold and silver mines. From a tithe of the proceeds was dedicated at Delphi a Treasury equal to the most sumptuous.' Pausanias says that the

## ARCHAIC PERIOD (530-470 B. C.)

Oracle itself commanded the consecration of the tithe. The population, again according to Herodotus, used to share the profits of the mines, which were so large that when the Samians attacked the Island in 525-524 they exacted a hundred talents (roughly £25,000 or \$125,000) from the inhabitants. This attack is supposed to have been foretold by the Oracle in the cryptic warning: 'When the Prytaneum in Siphnos shall be white, and the market white-fronted, then shall there be need of a prudent man to guard against a wooden ambush and a crimson herald.' The market-place of Siphnos was adorned with marble and soon after the Samians arrived in red ships; although the story of the Oracle may have been invented after the event, it suggests that the completion of the Treasury at Delphi did not long antedate the Samian raids of 525 or 524. The style (Pl. 13) is a further development of that of the Ephesus column-base (Pl. 7a), and corresponds to that of the earliest red-figured vases, thus fixing the date in the neighbourhood of 530.<sup>1</sup> When excavated, the building was completely ruined and the reconstruction in the Delphi Museum has included in it portions of several other buildings, the identification of which remains doubtful. The investigations of Dinsmoor<sup>2</sup> leave to the Siphnian Treasury two caryatids,<sup>3</sup> a pedimental group,<sup>4</sup> and a lengthy frieze,<sup>5</sup> all of Parian marble. These used to be attributed to a Cnidian Treasury, to which at present only the fragments of two slightly more archaic caryatids are hesitatingly allowed.<sup>6</sup> The caryatid forms a new subject for sculpture: the term is applied from the fourth century onwards to female figures used instead of pillars to support the entrance to a building, though originally the town of Caryæ had been famed only for its dancing women.<sup>7</sup> The figures possess interest as the first examples of the *kore* type so popular at Athens during the remainder of the century (Pls. 14, 15, 18). With one hand each woman holds out a flower, with the other she raises the skirt of her ample chiton, a foolish motive in a statue intended to carry a heavy weight, since it narrows the base unduly. To ease the awkward change from archi-

<sup>1</sup> Langlotz, *Z.*, p. 18.

<sup>2</sup> *B. C. H.*, 1912 and 1913; summarized by Poulsen, *D.*, p. 101.

<sup>3</sup> *D.*, figs. 31-34.

<sup>4</sup> *D.*, fig. 36.

<sup>5</sup> *D.*, figs. 37-57.

<sup>6</sup> *D.*, fig. 35; *Fouilles de Delphes*, iv, pl. xxvii.

<sup>7</sup> On the origin of caryatids, Homolle, *Rev. Arch.*, 1917, i, p. 1.

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tectural members to the human figure, a *polos* is inserted between the capital and the head; this circular basket-shaped hat bears scenes in low relief. The crinkly waves of hair, smiling faces, decorative costumes and studied poses have a pleasing air of delicate artificiality. The pediment, on the other hand, contained a row of stiff figures, badly carved, of which the only merit lies in the choice of attitudes to suit a triangular field, without that unnatural variation in size adopted by more primitive artists; it has been proposed to attribute the group to some other building, though the details seem to follow the style of the Siphnian frieze.

The frieze, rather over two feet in height, has been well preserved and is the oldest successful composition of its class. The artists took their subjects from mythology, but the figures cannot always be identified in spite of a few inscribed names. The portions shown on Plate 13 consist of a battle of gods and giants; at the left of the upper strip, beyond the two giants, facing outwards, come Heracles in a lion-skin and Cybele driving her chariot of lions, preceded by a group of Apollo, Artemis and Dionysus fighting with other giants over the body labelled Ephialtes. The chariot of Zeus has been broken away from the left side of the other strip; next is seen the warlike Hera stooping to spear a wounded giant, Athena matched with two giants, Ares fighting two more, while a third lies dead at his feet, Hermes likewise with two opponents. Colour originally rendered the figures more distinct and sufficient traces remained at the time of discovery for a restoration to be effected.<sup>1</sup> 'The background was blue, the figures were treated in blue, green and red, the last colour in two shades, light red and gold-red. The clothes are red with blue borders, while the colours are changed when two or more articles of clothing or armour are worn. The helmets are blue, with red ornamental stripes on the edges to pick them out from the blue background; the last feature reminds one of the little red nimbus which in red-figured vases divides the dark hair of the figures from the dark ground. The outsides of the shields are alternately blue and red, their insides red, with a narrow colourless border along the edge, a colour-scheme answering exactly to that of figures on the Æginetan pediments. The bodies of Cybele's lions are colourless, but the manes, harness and yoke are red. The tails and

<sup>1</sup> *Fouilles de Delphes*, iv, pls. xxi-iv.

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manes of the horses are red, and, where several are seen together, alternately red and blue' (Poulsen).

An instructive comparison can be made between the frieze of this Treasury and the earlier metopes of the Sicyonian Treasury, which, too, are in the Delphi Museum. In the later work the human body is slender; the taut muscles sharply rendered, in the legs sometimes by regularly curved lines, expressing the bulges produced in the *gastrocnemius* of the shin by violent action. The heads are more distinct in profile; crinkly, waved hair is common, whereas on the Sicyonian metopes only the head of one Dioscurus has waved hair; the mouths are more intelligently cut; the eyes, however, show little improvement, being sometimes excessively long when seen in profile, although otherwise they are usually round, with the tear-duct outside. Crinkly folds tend to oust the straight, parallel lines, but the wider arc-like folds of the Acropolis *korai* are still merely foreshadowed. As a further development in the Siphnian frieze, the pleats at the lower hem of the undergarment are graduated, descending in steps to a point instead of lying level with one another.

While the Siphnian frieze and caryatids may be assumed to represent the best contemporary work of the Ægean Islands or of the Asiatic coast (it depends on whether island influence may be traced in the Ephesus base or Asiatic influence in the Treasury); the surviving reliefs of other regions were only for sepulchral or votive purposes, and their makers are unlikely to have been sculptors of the same standing. The Attic school is best represented by a stela of a young man and a little girl (Pl. 12*b*), of which the girl's head is in the Berlin Museum and the rest in New York.<sup>1</sup> It is in the form of a tall slender slab surmounted by a finial and standing on a base, upon which part of the dedicatory inscription still remains. The figures are full-length, standing side by side in a rigid attitude, the youth nude and the girl draped; considerable portions are missing, but the heads are remarkably well preserved. The eye of the girl is narrower than that of the youth, in accordance with a well-established archaic convention for differentiating the sexes, and the eye of both is shown full-face and projecting, although the head is in profile; the difficulty of the transition between the corners of the mouth and the cheek is not yet successfully overcome, but the full

<sup>1</sup> Berlin, No. 1531; Richter, *Handbook*, p. 232, figs. 158, 159.

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lips are not curled into the 'archaic smile'; the rendering of the hair is still schematic; the strong nose of the Attic school remains in vogue, and the small, flat skull is anatomically unsatisfactory. The contrast between the texture of the flesh and background is skilfully brought out. Traces of paint linger on the boy's eye, hair and on the background.

The Rampin head (Pl. 10a) is of slightly later form, the hair more purposely stylized, the eyelids more conspicuous, the eyes nearer to the natural shape, the mouth tighter.<sup>1</sup> A stela in Athens, representing a helmeted man running (with his legs in the conventional attitude of the Corfu Gorgon), perhaps commemorates a military courier or athlete who died after running in armour, for the head droops over one shoulder and the hands clutch the breasts.<sup>2</sup> The body retains the large thighs and thin waist of the older *kouroi*, while the face, though damaged, and the hair recall the Rampin head; the identification as the Pheidippides or Philippides who died in 490 is therefore chronologically impossible.

A clumsy piece of carving, but roughly contemporary with the stela in New York, is the Boeotian stela at Boston (Pl. 12a),<sup>3</sup> on which a young man, crowned with a wreath of olive, swings from his right hand an *aryballos*, the oil bottle of the athlete, while his left holds up two pomegranates on a stalk. The treatment of the eye and of the curls over the forehead is peculiarly formal and characteristic of Boeotia.

Provincial again is the stela from Chrysapha in Laconia (Pl. 11).<sup>4</sup> A man and woman, who have been raised after death to the status of 'heroes,' are seen enthroned in a chair, ornamented with animals' feet and a palmette at the back, over which rears the snake that represents the soul of a hero. In the right hand the man holds a drinking cup and the woman a pomegranate; she pulls her mantle away from her head with her left hand. His face is turned straight out of the field of the relief; the beard was presumably perfected with paint, while the upper lip is clean-shaven in accordance with an antiquated custom especially characteristic of the Spartans and other

<sup>1</sup> *Mon. Piot*, vii, 1900, pl. xiv.

<sup>2</sup> Bulle, 263.

<sup>3</sup> Cat. No. 11; Caskey, *A. J. A.*, xv, 1911, p. 293, pl. vii.

<sup>4</sup> Berlin, No. 131; Br. Br., 227a; heads illustrated, *Ath. Mitt.*, II, 1877, pl. xxi.

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Dorian peoples. The woman's dress, strangely enough, follows the Ionian fashion. Two tiny figures represent worshippers, perhaps relatives, bringing gifts of a hare, a flower, and fruit.

This relief is the best example of a style peculiar to the district of Sparta.<sup>1</sup> The work is peculiar for an uncompromising refusal to imitate the curves of the body; the relief is composed of a series of flat surfaces at greater or less distance from the background, which would be distinguished from one another by the addition of colour. The proportions of the figure are faulty, while the 'wooden' angularity of the whole strengthens a suspicion, excited by the system of planes at varying levels, that the sculptor drew on the technique of wood-carving, in which that system was largely used. In his facial type, obviously inspired from the same source as the large stela in New York, he has advanced further than in his drapery; he was indeed a provincial untrained in the latest modes of his fellow artists, and reveals in his drapery the influence of Laconian vase-paintings, such as the Arcesilas cup of c. 560.<sup>2</sup>

In sculpture in the round the *kouros* and *kore* types still predominate: the first had been refined but never drastically altered, while the *kore* was now transformed beyond recognition. The type was employed for sepulchral 'portraits' of women – thus a base with the feet of such a statue, signed by a sculptor named Phædimus, has been found upon a tomb in Attica – but the extant figures were intended, probably without exception, as votive offerings. This, however, is due to accident: the Acropolis of Athens was originally crowded with *korai*, dedications to Athena of girl-attendants after her own heart, which were broken when Xerxes' troops sacked Athens in 480, and when the time came to rebuild the sanctuaries, the Greeks buried the fragments in their foundations, there to remain till the last century without suffering further damage. Thus the fragments have preserved their original appearance, even to the colour; and they represent the best votive art of their day. The figures (Pls. 14*b*, 15, 18*b*) vary from statuettes of a few inches high to life-size statues; they repeat the same type with but little variation except in details of the drapery, and nearly all belong to the

<sup>1</sup> For other gravestones of a less elaborate nature see Furtwängler's publication of this stela, *Collection Sabouroff*, text to pl. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Buschor, *Greek Vase Painting*, fig. 86.



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period 520-490, though the base of Phædimus indicates that the type had come into use in Attica long before.<sup>1</sup> Each stands bolt upright, feet close together, one arm raised from the elbow holding a flower or some such object, the other hand gathering the folds of the chiton into a bunch on the hip. The dress is generally the ordinary Ionic costume, consisting of a chiton worn underneath a himation (p. 84); the idea that a third garment existed arose from the conventional treatment of drapery, distinguishing that clinging to the upper part of the body from that falling loose by numerous close-lying wavering lines. That these lines do not indicate a third vest-like garment is proved by the fact that they occur in an identical manner on a piece of the himation where it rests against the back part of the upper arm. One marked exception to the usual type is supplied by the little statue (Pl. 14a - No. 679; height, 4 feet), where the Doric peplos is worn over the Ionic chiton, with no himation. Thereby it attains a touch of severity which enhances the delicacy of the head; the other early members of the series (Pls. 14b, 15) cloy from their unrelieved sweetness. Yet the insistence upon elegance of pose and beauty of part, which has ranked these statues among the daintiest known to man, never degenerated into mere prettiness: such a lapse was prevented by the stiff vertical lines of the figure and the himation, the mathematical regularity of the folds, and the symmetry of the whole composition; these ensured a sober structure to the display of how delightful can be the form and texture of each scrap of carved marble.

The derivation of the new *kore* type can be followed from occasional clues presented in older sculptures - the *kore* of Cheramyes and its companion on the Acropolis, the Hydrophore of the Olive-tree pediment, and the Attic goddess in Berlin, contain the mere germ of the general scheme, while the caryatids of the Cnidian and Siphnian Treasuries exemplify its less polished beginnings; the fine lines of the chiton reflect the semi-Egyptian style of the draped *kouros* and the Ephesus column. The transition from facial types of 550 to that of the *korai* is shown in an interesting head from Sicyon (Pl. 41b).<sup>2</sup> In this limestone work of half life-size, the extremely

<sup>1</sup> The inscription has been dated around 550, a judgment which should not be taken too seriously, *Jahresh.*, xvi, 1913, p. 86.

<sup>2</sup> Boston, Cat. No. 5.

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slanting eyes resemble the *korai*, while the lack of precision about the mouth indicates an older or less advanced sculpture.

Various districts have been put forward as the birthplace of the *kore* type; Ionia or the adjoining island of Chios, the Cyclades, and (recently) Athens, have all been suggested. The dress being Ionic, the first alternative has won greatest popularity: but at that time Ionia had fallen on evil days. The Persian annexation of Lydia in 546 was seized as an opportunity to free the coast from its dependence on the interior – a vain hope which cropped up incessantly till Alexander destroyed the Persian empire, and which inspired a Greco-Turkish war in modern days. The resultant Persian conquest of the coast was humanely conducted, as Oriental conquests go, but the burden of taxation and irregular extortion remained to penalize the Ionian cities. In addition to political exiles, there left Asia Minor enterprising persons who found a wider scope in the more flourishing states on the other side of the Ægean: the court of Athens under the dynasty of Peisistratus patronized artists of all nationalities, and it may be thus that the Ionian contingent affected the local style. But the hypothesis, very feebly supported by the heavy, rounded style of Ionian monuments and by the discovery of a very few *korai* on eastern sites, can only cease to be an unreliable conjecture when the authorship of the Cnidian caryatid is established beyond dispute.

The suggestion that the style of Chios, with which island the Peisistratids had peculiarly close connections, was imported wholesale by a flood of Chiot sculptors can be neither proved nor disproved. The names of four generations of Chiot sculptors survive, of whom the last, Archermus and his sons Bupalus and Athenis, worked mostly in the neighbouring islands and in Asia Minor, though an inscription from the Acropolis at Athens bears the name of Archermus<sup>1</sup>; they were probably active in the third quarter of the sixth century, the time of Peisistratus' ascendancy. But the early sculpture of Chios is represented merely by a couple of crude torsos, belonging to the first part of the century, which wear a single tight-fitting garment, and do not in the least adumbrate the appearance of the Attic *kore*.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Deltion Arch.*, 1889, p. 119.

<sup>2</sup> Lechat, *Sculpture antique avant Phidias*, p. 173, figs. 9-11.

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The theory of Cycladic influence rests upon the more solid evidence of the Siphnian caryatids, the similar style of island *kouroi*, the presence of *kore* statues at Delos and the *a priori* likelihood that a district rich in marble should develop a style fit only for marble, not for the limestones to which mainland Greeks were too often condemned. On the other hand, Athenian vases show a gradual evolution of analogous figures, and it has been claimed that Athens had already taken the lead among art centres and changed from limestone to marble technique with the discovery of marble in Pentelicon.<sup>1</sup> There can be no doubt that by 550 Attic sculpture was second to none in the qualities of strength and freshness; but this does not imply, rather is inimical to, the acquisition of dainty refinement. The treatment of details is best ascribed to the school which created the Ephesus column and the Siphnian Treasury, presumably an island school, while the type seems to have been derived from Attic prototypes.

The exceptional *kore*, No. 679 (Pl. 14a), looks at first as if she might be a bridge between the primitive female statue dedicated by Nicandra (Pl. 1a) and the normal Attic *korai*. Its appearance, however, is misleading; the swelling of the breasts is no longer shirked; the chiton is rippled in the usual manner; and bold steplike folds lie at the side of the peplos; the head resembles the rest of the Acropolis figures of the early class. In these statues the head is egg-shaped, the face broad above and narrowing sharply to the chin; the hair is waved and falls over the breasts in three waves, never far apart, and in a wide, solid mass at the back; the eyes are set aslant, which imparts a smiling effect, enhanced by the small curved mouths, prominent cheek-bones and pointed chins. All these points are mannerisms deliberately adopted for the sake of attractiveness. They endure for a whole generation, from the earliest *korai*, perhaps about 530, to nearly the end of the century. But there are sufficient stylistic differences to have raised doubts as to whether all the statues can be attributed to the same school: on the hypothesis of Ionian or island influence their creation is shared between foreign sculptors and Athenians whose subjection to the foreign influence varied to a greater or lesser extent.<sup>2</sup> If, on the other hand, the development

<sup>1</sup> Pfuhl, *Ath. Mitt.*, xlvii, 1923, p. 153.

<sup>2</sup> This view receives its most complete expression in Dickins' *Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum*, vol. i.

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of the *kore* type took place in Athens itself, the variations must be ascribed to the idiosyncrasies of individual sculptors. On the first theory the old Attic elements – sturdy bodies, wide faces, level eyes and straight mouths terminated by downward cuts – crop up occasionally because a local artist failed to reproduce a foreign style in its entirety: on the second, the greater or lesser degree of novelty in the style of each figure depends on personal inclinations. There exist at present no grounds for deciding upon the accuracy of either explanation; in view of statements to the contrary it must be noted that the Ionic dress (p. 84) of the majority of these *korai* was prevalent in non-Ionian districts, hence any mistakes in its representation cannot with justice be interpreted as the result of the efforts of an Athenian to render a costume unfamiliar in his own country.

Apart from the *kore* statues the style now appears most plainly in the marble pediments of the Hecatompedon, rebuilt about 520-510; both ends of the temple held scenes of gods fighting the giants, the colossal figures being probably grouped in pairs, each of a god and a giant. But the juxtaposition of the two least imperfect figures, of Athena and a wounded giant (Pl. 17a), has no authority and the original composition cannot be restored with any certainty.<sup>1</sup> The Athena, nearly 7 feet in height, is like a *kore* in movement, while the giant is remarkable for his classical type of body, of proportions more pleasing than any yet mentioned. The transition from the frontal view of the chest to the profile of the lower limbs has been bungled, but deserves credit as a bold and healthy experiment.

Corresponding work in the *kouros* pose is naturally more successful. One of the finest late examples is the statue of unknown provenance at Munich.<sup>2</sup> Another statue from the Boeotian sanctuary of Apollo on Mount Ptoos, possibly a work of the Attic school, represents the body with fair verisimilitude, while the broad face marks a slight advance on the Rampin head, and a running band of spiral curls that crosses the forehead is an elaboration of the pattern seen in the Boston stela (Pl. 12a).<sup>3</sup>

A similar facial type occurs in the gravestone of Aristion, found

<sup>1</sup> *Jahresh.*, xix-xx, 1919, pp. 154, 329, 340. The acroteria, torsos of Nike, Schmidt, *Jahrb.*, xxxv, 1920, p. 97.

<sup>2</sup> No. 47a; Br. Br., 661-2.

<sup>3</sup> Deonna, *Apollons antiques*, p. 156, figs. 30-34; p. 358.

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in the neighbourhood of Marathon (Pl. 18a).<sup>1</sup> Aristion was once known as the 'Warrior of Marathon' and his death assigned to the famous battle of 490, but as the signature, 'Work of Aristocles,' and the name of the deceased are inscribed on the base in lettering of the late sixth century, his death must have taken place earlier than the battle: the style suggests a date about 510. The stela, one of the finest sculptures of its period extant, retains much of its original painting; the background was coloured red, as were the decorations on the blue cuirass; these comprised bands of meander-pattern under the breasts, at the waist and on the flaps around the hips, with a downward streak of uncertain import between the two upper bands, while the shoulder-piece bore a star and its extension over the right breast a lion's head. The plume of the helmet, the point of the beard and the genitals were made of separate pieces affixed to the stone; the cuirass differs from the 'anatomical' variety common in later times in that it is not moulded like the body it covers, but is left plain, though the greaves, like all ancient greaves, imitate the muscular markings of the legs. In the pediments of Ægina the cuirasses are evidently of leather; Aristion, however, seems to be wearing a metal example of much the same design, terminating in a twofold row of flaps to allow easy movement without exposure of the person. The left hand grasps a lance, the right hangs down the side of the thigh in an unconstrained attitude that marks a considerable degree of emancipation from the Egyptian convention seen in the 'Apollon'; but the clenched hand is by no means accurately drawn. An extremely narrow margin to the field is a primitive characteristic, which disappears in later times when the sculptor had no longer a horror of an empty space. The use of crisp meticulous detail, to relieve what otherwise would become undue severity, has now been carried beyond the extent to which it was employed in contemporary Asiatic sculpture, to the dignity of which this figure approaches more nearly than any of its predecessors. Greeks had, in fact, reached the point at which they could compete on equal terms with their neighbours in Egypt and the Persian empire, and Orientals began to repay themselves for previous tutelage by borrowing an occasional idea: thus the 'archaic smile' is introduced into some Egyptian heads, and the drapery of

<sup>1</sup> Br. Br., 41a; for the date see Langlotz, *Z.*, p. 65.

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the Ephesus column is imitated in the figures of Darius and his attendants cut on the rock of Behistun in Persia.

In many respects the Aristion stela invites comparison with contemporary vase-paintings, where such figures are often rendered in a style as nearly identical as the difference in medium would permit. Other pictorial low reliefs in the Athens Museum belong to the same period; these decorated three sides of a square block of marble which was found in 1922, built into the ancient city-wall, together with two other blocks (one painted, the work of Endœus, the other sculptured). All three are pedestals of statues and are relics of the period before the Persian destruction of Athens in 480, and it was at first thought that they had been used as building materials when, at Themistocles' instigation, the fortifications were repaired hastily with any suitable stones lying ready to hand. This explanation remains a possibility, though the construction of the wall in which they were incorporated does not antedate the fourth century; for the strangely fresh condition of the sculptured bases suggests that they had not long been exposed to the atmosphere. Thus the vermillion background survives in two of the sculptured sides of the older base (which alone need be discussed here); the ground-work of the figures seems to have been polished instead of painted, though details were picked out in colours, such as the red on the crown worn by the youth in charge of the cat (Pl. 16). Here appears a great similarity of idea to contemporary vases, in which figures of the natural colour of the pot were contrasted with a black background. The resemblance to vase-painting is indeed overwhelming, and indicates that the artist earned his living more by this method than by sculpture: the date suggested by a comparison with the paintings of such men as Euthymides,<sup>1</sup> is the last ten or fifteen years of the sixth century. The eyes, it should be noted, have almost an almond shape and stand out in relief, innocent of lids or other detail. Of the two sides illustrated on Plate 16 (actually 1 foot in height), one represents six young men divided into two teams, partaking in a ball-game, the ball itself being held by the youth on the extreme left; in the other scene two youths are inciting a cat and dog to fight, while other young men stand by to watch; the third side shows a pair of wrestlers in the centre, another youth

<sup>1</sup> Buschor, *Greek Vase Painting*, figs. 106, 107.

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holding a javelin and a fourth practising starting for a race – a less uniform composition than the rest.<sup>1</sup> The other sculptured base, of approximately 500–490, has on its front a representation of another ball-game, this time resembling hockey, and on two sides almost identical scenes of warriors and a chariot.<sup>2</sup>

The painted base once bore a seated figure, which has been carefully hammered away. The signature 'Endœus did this too' refers to both the statue and the painting upon its pedestal, or else to this statue and another placed close to it. A second and defaced inscription is practically illegible, but on historical grounds it may be inferred that the monument was connected with the Tyrants and mutilated when the Republicans triumphed in 510. There remain three other signatures of this sculptor, in two of which he used an Ionic form of the letter *sigma*, which was not officially adopted at Athens until 403. On this ground he has been described as an Ionian immigrant, although according to tradition he was an Athenian: 'Endœus was of Athenian birth, but a pupil of Dædalus, whom he followed to Crete when the latter was exiled for killing Talus: a seated statue of Athena is his work, for it bears an inscription mentioning Callias as its dedicator and Endœus as its sculptor' (Pausanias). This may be the Callias victorious at Olympia in 552, who was an enemy of the Peisistratid Tyrants. The statue has been identified with a seated Athena found on the Acropolis,<sup>3</sup> an uninspiring, ruinous object; since Pausanias saw the statue it must somehow have escaped the destruction of 480, for Endœus can scarcely have been working after that date. He was also responsible for the cult-statues of Athena at Tegea<sup>4</sup> and Artemis at Ephesus, in ivory and wood respectively, and for some marble Graces and Seasons at Erythræ in Asia Minor; the wooden cult-image of Athena at this same sanctuary seemed to Pausanias to be another work of the same hand. It would appear that the activity of Endœus extended from the middle to the end of the sixth century.

<sup>1</sup> For a detailed account of this base see Casson, *J. H. S.*, xlv, 1925, p. 164, with photographs of ten heads on figs. 5, 6, and of the three sides on pl. vi.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, fig. 9, pl. vii.

<sup>3</sup> Cat., No. 625; Br. Br., 145.

<sup>4</sup> Possibly represented by a bronze statuette from the site, Dugas, *B. C. H.*, xlv, 1921, p. 359, pl. xiii.

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The pictorial character of bas-reliefs is again evident in the finds at Xanthus in Lycia, including a long frieze of cocks and hens – a subject probably selected because of its efficacy in dispelling the attacks of spirits – and the gables of a tomb with a sphinx guarding either side of the false door, above which are a pair of lions. Portions of these reliefs are seen on Plate 7a.<sup>1</sup> Apart from Lycia and Miletus, no site in the eastern Greek area has produced many works of the later archaic period. From Miletus came some sculptures in the Berlin Museum, and among them a seated statue continuing the old style of the region, little improved by the passage of time (No. 1574);<sup>2</sup> a female head (No. 1631) is a crude contemporary for an Attic *kore*, and a relief of a sphinx (No. 1614) has little to commend it. A plump head in Brussels gives a *kouros* type which can be localized at Samos or Miletus.<sup>3</sup> Perhaps a pair of *kore* torsos from Cyrene may be Ionian by origin,<sup>4</sup> for they resemble peplos statues from Xanthus in the British Museum.<sup>5</sup> The drapery has a flattened appearance since the folds of the himation in the Cyrene statues, and of the peplos in the Xanthus statues, are wider than is usual in Attic *korai*.

Even flatter is the drapery of the colossus from Cyprus (Pl. 20), which can claim to be the finest work of the Ionian school of this island.<sup>6</sup>

In spite of the prominent breasts and long tresses, the statue undoubtedly represents a male personage and not that Bearded Aphrodite whose cult was peculiar to this half-Oriental country. The large wide-open eyes, the big nose, the grim smile of the tight lips and the pattern of the hair are all characteristic of the Cypriote school. The attitude, too, is frequently met in Cyprus, but is similar to that of the Attic *kore* except that the left foot is advanced as in a *kouros*. The helmet is of the acorn-shaped type common in the Island, the point being in the form of a griffin's head, which is coloured yellow, while the framework is red, and on the panels is a 'sacred-tree' ornamenta-

<sup>1</sup> British Museum, Nos. 82, 89-92.

<sup>2</sup> Langlotz, *Z.*, p. 36, compares vases by Epictetus of the late sixth century.

<sup>3</sup> *Rev. Arch.*, 1900, ii, pls. 9, 10.

<sup>4</sup> Ghislanzoni, *Notizie sulla Cirenaica*, figs. 59, 60 (printed separately and in *Notiziario Arch.*, i).

<sup>5</sup> Nos. 96-98; Buschor and Hamann, *Skulpturen des Zeustempels zu Olympia*, figs. 18, 19; Pfuhl, *Jahrb.*, xli, 1926, p. 15, figs. 12, 13.

<sup>6</sup> Myres, *Handbook of the Cesnola Collection*, p. 214, No. 1351.



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tion. A long tunic with sleeves and a mantle composes the rest of the dress; the mantle has an overfall like the Ionic himation but is pinned in a different manner. The head, found separately, is most probably correctly assigned to this statue; the arms, too, were loose and may not be proper to this figure but to another of the same period. In spirit the dignity and force of the colossus are more nearly related to the monumental art of Asia than to the daintiness of Archaic Greece.

Statues curiously like those of Cyprus have been discovered in Spain: an attractive collection of *korai* from Cerro de los Santos (now in the Archæological Museum at Madrid) has unfortunately been rendered questionable by the presence among it of some indubitable forgeries, but the majority of material from this and other sites must be authentic. A Phocæan colony on the Mediterranean coast no doubt familiarized the Spanish artists with Greek works; credit must also be given to the Phœnicians, whose stake in the country was greater and more enduring.<sup>1</sup>

A great Ionian work of the sixth century was described by Pausanias (iii. 18) in the bronze throne prepared by Bathycles of Magnesia for the ancient Apollo at Amyclæ, just outside Sparta. The excavations which have disclosed what seems to be the foundation of the Throne, leave its design problematical: two alternative restorations are supplied by the excavator.<sup>2</sup> It appears from Pausanias that around the image was constructed a huge bench, decorated all over with sculpture and supported by four caryatids, two Graces and two Seasons. The reliefs included the labours of Heracles and a swarm of other mythological subjects, some common and some abstruse. The date lies in the second half of the century, but must remain vague till further evidence comes to light.

The employment of an Ionian in the Peloponnese implies cosmopolitanism in art rather than serious Ionian influence, for a Peloponnesian was selected about the same time to work in Ionia. This was Canachus of Sicyon, whose bronze statue of Apollo at the Didymæon was removed to the Persian court on the destruction of the

<sup>1</sup> The French school at Madrid has undertaken the publication of an *Inventaire des Monuments sculptés préchrétiens de la Péninsule iberique*; Rhys Carpenter, *The Greeks in Spain*, contains a useful summary.

<sup>2</sup> Fichter, *Jahrb.*, xxxiii, 1918, p. 166, pls. xix, xx; cf. Klein, *Arch. Anz.*, 1922, p. 6.

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temple in 493, but returned to its sanctuary after the fall of the Persian empire. A bronze statuette in the British Museum has been recognized, with the help of Milesian coins, as a reduced copy.<sup>1</sup> The god is represented with the sturdy, upright carriage of a *kouros*, with legs close together, and the left foot slightly advanced. The right forearm is raised to the horizontal, with a fawn lying on the palm of the hand; the left arm is slightly bent and originally held a bow. Cicero's remark that 'Canachus' statues were too rigid to be true to nature,' was certainly justified in this figure where the whole muscular system is stretched taut. An almost identical statue in cedarwood was supplied to Thebes. No other Peloponnesian sculpture need be mentioned here, except perhaps a small pediment from the Megarian Treasury at Olympia, a poor work of near 500, although indeed it looks older.<sup>2</sup> Zeus stood in the centre, fighting a giant, on either side come Athena and Heracles attacking overthrown giants, and finally Poseidon and Ares stooping to attack the giants who lie in the corners.

### § 2. *Reaction towards the Monumental*

The temple of Apollo at Delphi had been burned down in 547, and the new Doric building had not grown much above its foundations in 513, when an exiled Athenian family, the Alcmaeonids, offered to complete it. They went beyond their contract, even to constructing the front of Parian marble, while the rest of the building was of limestone: this munificence may have been due to gratitude after the event or may itself have contributed to the advancement of their fortunes; in any case, the Delphic Oracle incited the Spartans to expel the Peisistratids from Athens, whereupon the Alcmaeonids at once took up a leading position in the republic. If the temple was finished towards 506 the pedimental sculptures and acroteria are probably a few years later than 510, for these would be among the last portions of the work to be undertaken.<sup>3</sup> Many fragments of them have been unearthed, built into later foundations, for this temple also was

<sup>1</sup> No. 209; Bulle, 28, middle; Murray, *Greek Bronzes*, p. 10, fig. 3. The search for larger copies has not met with great success, Mahler, *Journal Internationale Numismatique*, iv, 1901, p. 115, pls. IA, IB; Dieudonné, *Rev. Numism.*, iv, 1902, p. 407. A large bronze statuette, found in the sea near Piombino and now in the Louvre, has better claims (*Br. Br.*, 78).

<sup>2</sup> *Olympia*, iii, pls. 2, 3; Langlotz, *Z.*, p. 37; Gardiner, *Olympia*, p. 228, figs. 58, 63.

<sup>3</sup> Langlotz, *Z.*, p. 79.

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destroyed and another erected on its site during the fourth century. One acroterion has survived in an almost complete condition,<sup>1</sup> and may be considered representative of the others; it is a Nike flying in the conventional attitude, while the figure rested on the drapery between the legs. Wings, curving upwards at the tips, sprouted from the shoulder-blades and ankles. The figure might be described as a *kore* in motion, but the boldness of the folds connects it only with the later members of the Acropolis series, in which the strong qualities of old Attic sculpture have revived after their temporary submergence in the 'Ionic' period of the Tyrants' rule. Thus a male head in Berlin, Pl. 106 (No. 308), recalls in its bareness the Moschophorus rather than the almost contemporary Aristion. A work of the end of the sixth century, this head is one of the most life-like of early art, so much so that it has even been considered a portrait. The unusual rendering of the hair as a roughened surface may, of course, have produced a different effect in ancient times, when the colouring was fresh; furthermore, a suggestion has been made that false hair was added: but there is indeed no evidence by which the original appearance can be truly reconstructed. A large *kore* of the same school (Pl. 186) has been joined to a base signed by the Attic sculptor, Antenor, known also as the author of a vanished group of Harmodius and Aristogeiton slaying the tyrant Hipparchus; he has been accepted therefore as one of the moving spirits of this 'Attic Revival,' or revolt against mannerisms, which succeeded the downfall of the Peisistratids.<sup>2</sup> His father was Eumares, probably the painter of that name; similarly another sculptor, Pollias, two of whose inscriptions were retrieved from the pits on the Acropolis, is identified with the father of Euthymides, the celebrated vase-painter.<sup>3</sup>

The connection between the statue and the base of Antenor has, however, been disputed. Large eyes set horizontally are common to both the *kore* and the Nike, the mouth (not preserved in the latter and badly damaged in the former) seems to have been straight and unsmiling, the face in each case is wide and rounded so that the cheek-bones are hidden, the bodies are heavy and their drapery more severe than graceful.

<sup>1</sup> Poulsen, *D.*, p. 152, fig. 58; *C. A. II.*, *Plates*, i, 288.

<sup>2</sup> For latest treatment see Pfuhl, *Att. Mitt.*, xlvii, 1923, p. 181.

<sup>3</sup> Robert, *Jahrb.*, xxx, 1915, p. 241.

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The same style appears in the pediments of the Alcmaeonid temple, which are therefore attributed to Antenor. One of these contained a battle of gods and giants (in local stone) of which little remains,<sup>1</sup> while the other has a curiously meaningless composition (Pl. 17b):<sup>2</sup> this, in Parian marble, belonged to the east gable at the temple's front. The arrangement of figures is not certain;<sup>3</sup> the centre was certainly occupied by a four-horse chariot, in which stood Apollo and perhaps another deity; other male and female figures may represent gods and goddesses and therefore have a right to be present; there seems no reason, however, for the inclusion of the groups of a lion killing a bull and a lion killing a doe. The latter is the better preserved and is shown in Pl. 17b; the lion has bitten into the doe's spine, causing the head to droop on to his mane in a pathetic manner accentuated by the creature's big, scared eyes.

A chariot group comparable to the Alcmaeonid fragments filled one of the metopes of a temple at Selinus in Sicily. To this building, known as Temple C to distinguish it from the other remains on the same site, were attached the metopes of Perseus beheading Gorgon in the presence of Athena, and of Heracles carrying the two dwarf Cercopes slung upside down from a pole.<sup>4</sup> The figure in the chariot is doubtfully identified as Apollo driving the team of the Sun, in company with Leto and Artemis. The whole of this scene is carved in higher relief than the rest, to accommodate both the foreshortened bodies of the horses and the three figures behind; two stand beside the chariot and one within it, yet their heads all reach the same level. The date cannot be much earlier than 500 B.C., although at first sight the reliefs look older; so backward were the sculptors, especially in their treatment of the human face and body, that the beginning of the sixth century was formerly to be accepted as their date. Langlotz (*Z.*, p. 37) favours 520-510, from a similarity in drapery to vase-paintings of that time. Studniczka<sup>5</sup> compares Ionian vases of *circa* 540, but as regards the details the nearest sculptural parallel seems to be of the first years of the fifth century.

<sup>1</sup> Poulsen, *D.*, p. 155, figs. 62, 63.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, *D.*, figs. 59-61; *C. A. H.*, *Plates*, i, 288.

<sup>3</sup> Restoration attempted, *Rev. Arch.*, 1927, ii, p. 33.

<sup>4</sup> Benndorf, *Metopen von Selinunt*, pls. i-iv; *Br. Br.*, 286, 287, 292.

<sup>5</sup> *Jahrb.*, xli, 1926, p. 184.

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This is a pedimental group from a temple at Eretria, in which incidentally the roof sloped at the same blunt angle as in Temple C.<sup>1</sup> Besides some fragments of Amazons there remains only the group of Theseus carrying off Antiope, the Amazon Queen (Pl. 19a).<sup>2</sup> In the studied avoidance of charm, the reaction against the stagnant, more pleasing art of the previous century is seen at its strongest. The Persian destruction of Eretria in 490 provides a lower limit of date; the sculptures of the Alcmaeonid temple appear to be older, and comparison with vases also points to the decade 500-490.<sup>3</sup> To the same period belong the horses and rider of the Acropolis, formerly associated with the battle of Marathon.<sup>4</sup>

The celebrated temple which stands half ruined on the island of Ægina apparently dates from the commencement of the fifth century, although some of the sculptures found on the site must be a few years later. The temple was dedicated to an obscure goddess, Aphæa, but Athena is prominent in its pediments. No less than three sets of pedimental figures and acroteria for three gables existed here, despite the fact that the building took the usual form; the west pediment belongs to the oldest period, the east pediment is perhaps ten years later, while the third set, which was accommodated upon a base parallel with the temple, is contemporary with the western pediment. To explain this anomaly, the scholar Thiersch suggested that the eastern end was damaged by Persian raiders, after which a new set of figures was designed for the gable and their predecessors removed to a pedestal especially constructed for them. But during the war of 480 Ægina was full of Athenian non-combatants placed there for safety; had some of them been massacred, a record of the fact would surely remain, and it is scarcely likely that a Persian force would stay long enough to damage a temple without turning its attention to more vulnerable objects. The expedition of 490 is there-

<sup>1</sup> Studniczka, *Arch. Anz.*, 1921, p. 323.

<sup>2</sup> Furtwängler, *Ægina*, p. 322, figs. 259-261; *Ant. Denkmäler*, iii, 27-28; Picard, *Sculpture Antique*, i, fig. 90, head of Theseus; a similar group, characterized as Peleus and Thetis, occurs in earrings from Eretria, Casson, *Journal internationale Numismatique*, xx, 1920, p. 89.

<sup>3</sup> Langlotz, *Z.*, p. 73.

<sup>4</sup> Cat. Nos. 697-700; Picard, *Sculpture Antique*, i, fig. 88; Langlotz, *Z.*, p. 58; cf. small bronze horse in Metropolitan Museum *Handbook*, fig. 89.

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fore indicated.<sup>1</sup> No raid is mentioned by the historians, but even granting a raid to be the explanation, it is most improbable that sculptures too badly wrecked to be restored should have been preserved in a more conspicuous place – such works were generally placed out of sight as material for foundations. Perhaps the third set was, as an old theory held, a rejected design, or the true explanation may lie in a superstitious observance; buildings and objects struck by lightning were held in awe.

The majority of the pedimental sculptures were recovered by an expedition of 1811, after which the west pediment was restored with undue thoroughness and some inaccuracy by the sculptor Thorvaldsen: a more careful excavation in 1901 added numerous heads and other fragments, and upon it was based Furtwängler's book, *Ægina*, which contains restorations of both this and the opposite pediment (pls. 104, 105). Minor corrections have since been proposed.<sup>2</sup> All three sets of figures comprised battle-scenes referring to the Heroic Age, probably to the two sieges of Troy. The centre of the west pediment, illustrated in the Thorvaldsen arrangement (Pl. 21), has in the Furtwängler reconstruction a pair of warriors fighting over a fallen comrade on either side of the Athena, whose upright figure stood under the highest point of the pediment. The proportion of modern work in these central figures is insignificant – the head of the man on the extreme left is new, that of the wounded man antique but placed on the wrong body, while the metal spears are of course new. A handle-grip of a shield worn on the left arm of the wounded man still remains. The sides of the pediment held three figures apiece – in the corner a man wounded by a spear thrust at him by another hero and further inward an archer loosing an arrow from the string. To improve the sense the slightly wounded man of Furtwängler's central group should exchange places with a dying man in the corner.

An entirely new design employing twelve instead of thirteen figures has since been proposed by Schrader,<sup>3</sup> who places a wounded

<sup>1</sup> Langlotz, Z., p. 71.

<sup>2</sup> By Duncan Mackenzie, *B. S. A.*, xv, 1908-9, p. 274, pl. xix; Wolters, *Aeginetische Beiträge*, i-iii, *Abhandlungen Bayer. Akad. Wissensch.*, v, 1912, p. 54.

<sup>3</sup> *Jahresh.*, xxi-ii, 1924, p. 83.

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man at each corner of the pediment, followed immediately by an archer and then by three nude warriors (upright, kneeling and stooping respectively), who attack the corresponding group on the other side of a fallen hero, behind whom stands Athena. This massed composition is less plausible because it differs so radically from that of other known pediments, while Furtwängler's restoration offers many points of similarity to the battle-scene of the contemporary Megarian Treasury.

The design of the east pediment cannot be discerned even to the like degree of probability, for only five figures survive out of a probable total of eleven or thirteen. Certainly Athena stood in the centre and wounded men lay at the corners; an archer to each side was placed next to an unarmed youth whose duty may have consisted in retrieving the dead or wounded or collecting their arms. In Furtwängler's scheme only two men stood firmly erect, the others were restored in the act of falling backwards into the arms of the unarmed youths, but in all likelihood these should lie prone on the ground; a posture of staggering such as Furtwängler proposed could not be achieved in marble without the assistance of several props, and is improbable at an early date; it would, too, be discordant with the rest of the calm design. Probably two more upright figures should be introduced, so that the total number should correspond with the west pediment. So little survives of the third set of figures that its hypothetical arrangement need not be considered here. Pairs of *korai* separated by palmettes, served as central acroteria, while a sphinx stood at each corner of the roof.

The famous sculptors of Æginetan origin are supposed to have excelled in the representation of the nude male body, although the earliest of them, Callon, made an Athena for the acropolis at Troezen and a *kore* at Amyclæ. Onatas, whose services were in request in many parts of Greece, especially in the Peloponnese, made a new image of the 'Black Demeter' of Phigaleia, a horse-headed thing which could not have contributed much to the advancement of his art; he executed a colossal Heracles for a Thasian dedication at Olympia, a chariot and charioteer for Hieron of Syracuse; many of the figures in a dedication by the Achæans, of a group of heroes of the Trojan War, were attributed to him. Glaucias, too, was a famous Æginetan, who made a chariot-group containing a portrait of Gelon,

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tyrant of Syracuse, after his victory at Olympia in 488, in addition to various statues of athletes. A fourth sculptor of repute from the same island was Anaxagoras, the author of a Zeus dedicated at Olympia by the Greeks who fought at Plataea.

In the pediments of Ægina, the skilful treatment of the body is most striking; the modelling is concise and sure, and in the more developed style of the eastern pediment the veins are indicated – an innovation attributed by Pliny to Pythagoras of Rhegium. As to the details, the hair is plaited round the back of the head, wavy lines from back to front end in projecting spiral curls; the line of the eyelids is clear; the mouth is deeply cut and straighter than the Attic mouth. Particularly fine is the fallen warrior in the corner of the eastern pediment. The figure of Athena herself is stiffer and shows either that the sculptor was less practised in the female figure than his Attic contemporaries or that convention guarded the representation of the goddess more rigidly than that of a human being. It has even been suggested that the figure represents not the goddess but a statue of her; she was intended to be thought of as invisible to the combatants.

The scanty knowledge of Æginetan sculpture to be derived from literary sources bears out, then, the assumption that the pediments are due to local talent. The disparity in workmanship between the two ends of the temple indicates a difference in date (though both lie in the first quarter of the fifth century) rather than in workmen. On the west pediment, the figures are thinner, harder, more compressed, in the facial treatment the 'archaic smile' lingers: on the east pediment the figures are more contoured, of greater fullness and softness of form; the muscles and limbs are contracted with pain and the faces grim and expressive. Further, the reclining figure of the west pediment is still of conventional construction, with right leg in profile and trunk full-face but no resultant twist in the body, while in a similar position on the east pediment the necessary contortion is observed. Movement exists in the composition, although held in restraint by the symmetrical balance of the parts; a great contrast, showing how far Greek art adopted principles of naturalism, lies in the Altar at Pergamon, where an underlying pattern of thrust and push is concealed by the contortions of the bodies and the emotions displayed on face and limb.



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A work which has been connected with sculptors of Æginetan birth is the so-called Strangford Apollo (Pl. 41*a*), now in the British Museum; it may be a copy in marble of a bronze original of the school.<sup>1</sup> In a life-size bronze head (Pl. 22*a*), found on the Acropolis at Athens, has been seen another example; undoubtedly the face resembles that of the dying warrior in the corner of the east pediment from Ægina, and the discovery of bases signed by both Callon and Onatas, on the Acropolis, gives external evidence of a connection. It is a finely finished piece of work; the mass formed by the hair of the head, beard and moustaches is cleanly outlined and the hairs themselves represented by tiny lines, except on the forehead where they form a frill of petal-like curls; the lips are full and deeply cleft; the eyelids project, giving the appearance of lashes over the sockets, in which the eyes were inlaid in some other material.

The Treasury of the Athenians at Delphi was built, so Pausanias declares (x. 2), from the spoil of the Battle of Marathon, but his statement has been questioned. An inscription to this effect is carved on a base by the side of the Treasury, which supported ten statues, and some Persian weapons; Pausanias may have wrongly assumed that the inscription applied to both monuments. The base stands upon a little terrace built against the wall of the Treasury and originally was of the same length as the wall (a corner was broken off in Hellenistic times); it was certainly planned to match the Treasury, but while the foundation proves that the base cannot antedate the building, it does not disprove the exact contemporaneity of the two monuments. The problem can only be decided on the internal evidence of the Treasury's date. From the architectural standpoint the construction may be placed late in the sixth century as suitably as after 490, while the sculptures have been claimed for the sixth century because of their style. The sculptures of the pediments had apparently been removed in ancient times; there remain, however, fragments of the Amazons, dismounting from their horses, that formed the two acroteria<sup>2</sup> and a large proportion of the metopes, thirty in number and each two feet wide, on which were illustrated the adventures of Theseus and Heracles, or fights between Greeks and Amazons. The distribution of the metopes between the four sides of

<sup>1</sup> Deonne, *op. cit.*, p. 251.

<sup>2</sup> Poulsen, *D.*, fig. 66.

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the building has caused some controversy.<sup>1</sup> Their style, well represented in the scene of Heracles killing Cycnus (Pl. 19*b*), is remarkably competent compared with the Alcmaeonid pediment, so that upholders of the theory<sup>2</sup> that the Treasury belongs to the same decade can scarcely avoid the conclusion that Athens employed sculptors of two entirely distinct groups, which seems unlikely in itself. Further, it becomes necessary to ascribe the Theseus and Antiope group from Eretria to a backward school, for a metope<sup>3</sup> treats the same theme in an obviously more developed manner. Moreover, the relations of the metopes to the Attic and Æginetan sculptures of 495-475 are decidedly closer than their relations to the Alcmaeonid and other sculptures of the sixth century. It is questionable whether the numerous, and not always apposite, parallels to vase-painting which Langlotz adduces in favour of the date 510-500 should outweigh the contrary evidence drawn from comparison with sculptures of ten or twenty years later, since features often occur in painting before their adoption by the sister art. If Pausanias' date be accepted, the metopes fall into their natural place beside the Ægina pediments in a series of constant progress, beginning with the Alcmaeonid and Eretria pediments, and ending with the latest fragments from the Acropolis rubbish and the Tyrannicides.<sup>4</sup> At roughly the same stage of development as the Ægina pediments and the Athenian Treasury comes the seated goddess of the Berlin Museum (Pl. 24).<sup>5</sup> This very notable colossus (5 feet in height) was bought during the war, when it was stated to have been found at Locri. It was certainly exported from the south coast of Italy, and in type and style is closely related to numerous terracottas discovered and presumably manufactured at Locri. The rumour may therefore be accepted as accurate, in spite of subsequent official contradictions; further particulars are not likely to be forthcoming owing to legal complications with the Italian Government. The goddess, who is represented in the prime of life, is probably Demeter or Persephone,

<sup>1</sup> Poulsen, *D.*, p. 169, who illustrates 18 metopes.

<sup>2</sup> Langlotz, *Z.*, p. 18.

<sup>3</sup> Poulsen, *D.*, fig. 86.

<sup>4</sup> The arguments in favour of Pausanias are well arrayed by de la Coste-Messelière, *B. C. H.*, xlvii, 1923, p. 387.

<sup>5</sup> No. 1761; *Antike Denkmäler*, iii, pls. 33-44; additional fragments, *Arch. Anz.*, 1925, p. 392, figs. 1, 2.

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since their cults had the greatest importance at Locri: attributes, which formerly lay in her hands, would have settled the point. Her clothing is unusual, a survival of a fashion older than the fifth century; a wide-sleeved Ionic chiton covers the body from head to foot, over it is the Ionic himation wrapped in the usual manner round the body, passing under the left arm to be fastened on the right shoulder, but in addition she wears that rare extra cloak, the *epiblema*, the edges of which slope over the back of the chair. The chair itself is modelled from a wooden arm-chair with carved and inlaid or painted decoration, which was here imitated in paint; traces of a painted border formed of palmettes are still visible on the back, while the drapery bore patterns, and the head of the figure itself was touched up with colours. The square block of stone seen beneath the seat was not part of the design, its presence was required to support the weight of the seated marble figure, and when the legs of the chair were all in position it would not have appeared so obtrusive, especially if the statue were placed in a dim light. The row of small holes along the diadem carried a metal ornament, while metal earrings were also supplied; gold or gilt bronze would normally be used for such purposes. In the face can be traced a remnant of the 'archaic smile,' the popularity of which was on the wane, but the expression is still far from attaining the serenity of the mid-fifth century. The date may be about 480. Had the artist lived in Athens in closer touch with the tendencies of the day, he might have done better; his skill shows to greatest advantage in the disclosure of the body beneath the drapery, and in the beautiful design of the folds and their distribution over the figure at regular intervals. When seen in profile, the lines of the drapery, of the bust, of the plaits of hair, and of the nude forearms, all diverge from the same point like the petals of a flower.

Sculptures that might have originated in the same school include a colossal female head in the Ludovisi collection of the Terme,<sup>1</sup> and the stela from the Esquiline (Pl. 27a).<sup>2</sup> Ashmole<sup>3</sup> compares the latter to Locri terracottas; it has also been attributed to the Northern Ægean area, for Casson believes it to be Thessalian, and the related

<sup>1</sup> Br. Br., 223; Pfuhl, *Jahrb.*, xli, 1926, p. 50.

<sup>2</sup> *Bull. Comm.*, xi, 1883, pls. xiii, xiv (head).

<sup>3</sup> *J. H. S.*, xlii, p. 248, pl. xi.

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school of Thasos, whence the marble was probably derived, has at least an equal claim. The French excavations on that island have revealed many late archaic sculptures; those recently found remain in the local museum, the rest may be seen in the Louvre. Of the statues the most notable is still on Thasos, an unfinished colossus carrying a ram, with the head roughly blocked out and the drapery nearly completed.<sup>1</sup> A relief from the island, now in the Louvre, bears a long row of figures on either side of a doorway; Apollo holding his lyre stands next to it, while a female places a crown upon his head; others approach carrying fillets, brooches or lyre-strings, and Hermes extends his hands in greeting.<sup>2</sup>

These figures, all of them draped, disclose in their preference for parallel vertical lines a relationship with such types as Cheramyas' dedication, and if indeed they belong to the fifth century they are anachronistic. Archaism was much appreciated in later times for its decorative value, but here it is more probably due to the repugnance of local artists to leave the designs of Oriental origin which more progressive artists had rejected: yet even in an Attic relief of intentional quaintness, dating perhaps from the Persian wars, drapery of recent development is twisted into archaising mannerisms.<sup>3</sup> It was too early, however, for a widespread archaistic movement: subjects were plentiful and technique still liable to further experiment.

Reliefs of a more ambitious character present non-Attic schools in an experimental mood. A relief, possibly of Thasian marble, in the Villa Albani, inaugurates a long series of gravestones of a type which became especially popular in Athens; in the photograph reproduced in Pl. 28, the restorations have been obliterated.<sup>4</sup> Originally identified by Winckelmann as the nymph Leucothea dandling the child Dionysus, and recently as Demeter or Persephone in the presence of worshippers,<sup>5</sup> the scene on this stone is generally interpreted as one in the everyday life of a Greek family. The lady in the elaborate arm-chair represents, on this view, the deceased in whose honour the monument was erected. The largest of the standing figures, an adult

<sup>1</sup> Picard, *B. C. H.*, xlv, 1921, p. 113, figs. 10-13.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, *Sculpture Antique*, i, fig. 78; Collignon, *Sculpture Grecque*, i, figs. 138-140.

<sup>3</sup> Pfuhl, *Ath. Mitt.*, xlviii, 1923, p. 132, fig. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Helbig, 1863; *Br. Br.*, 228.

<sup>5</sup> Ashmole, *J. H. S.*, xlii, 1922, p. 248.

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woman, holds out an object, perhaps a wooden fillet, for the seated woman's acceptance, whereas one at least of the two smaller figures holds birds, the common playthings of the young: the suggestion is then that the lady is seated among her own attendants and daughters, whose youth is indicated by their undeveloped busts and by their concern with playthings. Under the chair is a basket, woven no doubt of rushes, though its surface was left plain by the sculptor for the details to be added in paint. That the maid's head should appear only on the same level as that of her seated mistress is due both to her lower status and to the normal convention of ancient art, whereby the bodies of seated or standing figures and animals were required to reach approximately to the same height, to avoid the introduction of irregular lines in a composition. It is questionable whether the three upright figures are to be visualized as standing in a row in front of the chair, or as dispersed along the side of it in less formal arrangement; in any case the graduation of the girls' figures is not to be thought of as an essay in perspective, in which the most distant appears as the smallest, for such an attempt would have no parallel. If the seated figure be interpreted as a goddess, the diminutive size must suggest the disparity of condition between worshipped and worshippers. If, however, the slab be sepulchral, there is no need to mention incompetence on the part of the artist to account for the variation in size; he made certain figures smaller because of their physical immaturity, not because he was unable otherwise to fit the whole group into a circumscribed space. The children seem oddly placed between the two adult figures; but to place them behind either would have broken up the quadrangular design, preferred in that age to a triangular; as it is, the two outer important figures fill the sides of the quadrilateral evenly and completely, with the help of the basket, without which the symmetry would be disturbed by an empty space underneath the chair. The chair itself and the footstool were probably painted with palmettes or scroll ornaments of conventionalized foliage, such as occur on extant bronze specimens of ancient furniture, thus presenting a richness of surface sensibly absent at the present day.

Very similar in the method of carving and design are the reliefs from the 'Harpy Tomb' (Pl. 29a).<sup>1</sup> These come from Xanthus in Lycia, where they decorated the four sides of a chamber placed upon

<sup>1</sup> Br. Br., 146, 147.

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a tall shaft of narrower dimensions. On one side are enthroned two female figures, dressed in long robes which trail under the seats; the one on the right, who smells a flower, which she carries in the right hand, and holds a pomegranate in the left, is approached by a line of worshippers bringing similar offerings; the one at the left holds objects which can no longer be distinguished, but a cornucopia is possibly one of them. Behind is the doorway of a tomb, with a cow and calf above it.

Enthroned male and female figures, attended by standing votaries, appear on the other sides of the tomb, and at the corners of these three sides are carved the so-called Harpies, winged monsters with birds' tails and legs but like women from the waist upwards; they are flying away, carrying in their arms and claws tiny female figures, doubtless the souls of the dead. Like the mourning sirens on later Attic tombs, these 'Harpies' must be spirits of Death; beneath one of them reclines a woman in the attitude of mourning, which proves this contention. It is uncertain whether the enthroned figures are deities of the Underworld or deceased men and women heroized in their likeness – the latter alternative seems more tenable in view of the offering of a helmet, but in questions of Lycian religion no certainty is attainable.<sup>1</sup> As to the style, the relations of body and clothing have proved too difficult for the sculptor: he either makes the drapery stiffly independent or shows the body practically nude, merely scratching folds upon its surface as a reminder that clothes are present. The plumpness of the figures connects them with the Milesian and Samian group of the sixth century, whose latest members carve the drapery in the same superficial manner of undulating parallel lines.<sup>2</sup> Similar 'harpies' occur in fragments from the temple of Ephesus, apparently from the cornice.<sup>3</sup> The style should be called Eastern Greek rather than simply Ionian, since it occurs sporadically from the most northern islands of the Ægean to Lycia, and even occurs on the Black Sea coast, for the stela of a certain Alexander, now in the Sofia Museum, was found at the colony of

<sup>1</sup> Tonks, *A. J. A.*, xi, 1907, p. 321, interprets the reliefs in relation to cult of the dead; Löwy, *Mélanges Perrot*, p. 223, on evidence for matriarchy.

<sup>2</sup> Berlin No. 1574, Louvre No. 2787; cf. a *kore* of the same class from Asia Minor, Berlin No. 1577.

<sup>3</sup> British Mus., Cat. I, p. 37.

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Apollonia Pontica, in Bulgaria.<sup>1</sup> This stela resembles another of unknown provenance in the Naples Museum.<sup>2</sup>

A like design occurs on a stela of slightly different style at Athens (Pl. 27*b*). This was discovered in Bœotia and is made of the local stone, although the work of a Naxian artist; the inscription proudly states in hexameters: 'Alxenor of Naxos made (me). Just look.' The dead man, wrapped in his himation, leans lazily on a nobbly stick which is wedged into his armpit, while in his right hand he holds a locust at which his dog leaps playfully. The position of the feet is unusual; only the toes of the left rest on the ground, leaving all the weight of the body to fall on the right foot, which is planted firmly at right angles to the other, pointing straight out of the field, and thus involves more foreshortening than could well be allowed in a relief of such slight depth. From a photograph the resulting awkwardness cannot be fully realized, although it is immediately appreciated in the original or in a cast. It is thought that the artist was more accustomed to drawing or painting than to sculpture, otherwise he would not have attempted such a feat of illusionism on a surface that permitted only a few inches of projection; but perhaps the fact that foreshortening was practised by draughtsmen stirred him to emulation. The architectural framework of the stone bears traces of painted ornaments on the lintel, across the top and on the capitals which carry it at either side. The smooth top of the head was at first interpreted as a skull-cap, to which it was objected that the double line below the hair resembles a fillet rather than the edge of a cap; moreover, there can be no possibility of a metal cap since there are no holes into which it could have been fitted. Perhaps the hair was painted over the crown, as happened later on in this generation in the Olympia pediments and had probably been the case with the early statue of the Moschophorus. The name of the deceased was presumably recorded below the artist's signature, either on a portion of the stone now broken off, or, more likely, on the base into which it was sunk (a projecting block at the bottom of the stela was destined to fix it into the base, if not accidentally formed by recent breakages).

<sup>1</sup> *Arch. Anz.*, 1896, p. 136, fig.

<sup>2</sup> *Guida*, No. 98, fig. 5; Rodenwaldt, *Relief bei den Griechen*, 15; Rayet, *Monuments de l'Art*, i, pl. 19.

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Quaintly enough, the dog is resting his forepaws on the side of the niche in which the figure stands. The drapery is made to run in parallel folds almost as schematic as in the Ephesus column, but naturalistic touches won by observation do occur; the stick collects a bunch of cloth around its head, the side of the slim left leg is marked out by one of the regular folds while the thigh and right shin are bordered by special short folds of their own making. Treatment of the nude has received more attention, the larger muscles of the neck and arm being well displayed in spite of the lowness of the relief. The workmanship is provincial and backward, although the artist has courageously endeavoured to keep up with the advancing tide and evidently considered this gravestone a suitable opportunity for self-advertisement. Its prototype may be seen in the 'cat and dog' pedestal as well as in the Eastern reliefs; the date is probably after 480.

### § 3. *The First Appearance of Great Masters*

The excavators of the Acropolis could not, or at least did not, distinguish between the rubbish used to level the surface after the Persian invasion of 480, and later deposits necessitated by minor alterations. This uncertainty is unfortunate in the case of sculptures obviously close to 480, such as the *kore* dedicated by Euthydicus (if the conjunction of the upper part with the feet and inscribed base be accepted), or the head of a youth with long yellow hair (Pl. 23, *a, b*).<sup>1</sup> Both, however, *seem* older than 480; they undoubtedly belong to one period and to one sculptor or group of sculptors, who have introduced new elements – a flat-topped head with protruding occiput, full lips designed in a faint double curve, wide eyelids, simple lines of drapery and a zig-zag pattern in female hair.<sup>2</sup> The style has often been described as Doric or Peloponnesian in origin, Argos and Sicyon being regarded as the headquarters of the school: but the Peloponnesian art of this period is practically unknown, and the conclusion was reached, partly by comparison with heads by Polycleitus the elder, whose career cannot be traced further back than 460 but extends below 423, and partly from information in literary sources. Authors of the Roman Age believed Myron, Polycleitus and Pheidias

<sup>1</sup> Cat. Nos. 686, 689.

<sup>2</sup> See the profile view of the bust, Picard, *Sculpture Antique*, i, fig. 87.



to have been pupils of Ageladas or Hageladas of Argos, whose influence is therefore presumed to have appeared at this earlier date to a less marked degree. Now this artist produced statues of Olympic victors of 520 and 516, and of an athlete put to death in 507, and at some time during the first quarter of the fifth century he worked on a Tarentine dedication at Delphi. His Zeus of Ithome is stated by Pausanias to have been made for the Messenians settled in 455 at Naupactus, and to have been brought by them to Ithome in Messenia at a subsequent period. But such a date is too late for the type shown on local coins of the Roman Empire<sup>1</sup>—a fine nervous figure, naked, striding powerfully forward, about to throw the thunderbolt raised in his right hand while the left hand upon which the eagle sits is far outstretched. The Heracles *Alixikakos* by Ageladas at Athens is connected by the ancient writers, like all known offerings for plagues, with the great epidemic of 429, a date which need not be treated seriously.<sup>2</sup> Thus Myron may conceivably have been taught by Ageladas, but in the case of Pheidias and Polycleitus there can be little chance that the traditions were founded on fact. Of his style the less said the better, under the present circumstances.

There exists in truth no evidence whatever for Peloponnesian influence as early as 480, and the innovations are not so vast as to necessitate an external influence; the plausible conjecture is, however, worth consideration, even if it ought not to be adopted unreservedly. The most primitive example of the style, a head in New York,<sup>3</sup> has also the bulging eyeballs and upturned mouth that characterize the 'Attico-Ionian' *korai*: it is conceivable that the style originated in Attica, and it may be no accident that most of the extant heads were discovered in Athens; one, too, was discovered in Cyprus, then in close touch with Athens.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, a celebrated group of related style, the Tyrannicides, is known to be the work of two Attic artists, Critius and Nesiotes.

The murder of Hipparchus, the Tyrant of Athens, by Aristogeiton

<sup>1</sup> *N. C. P.*, pl. PP, iv, v.

<sup>2</sup> Though it has been made, in conjunction with the Zeus Ithomatas, the basis for the invention of a Younger Ageladas, Frickenhaus, *Jahrb.*, xxvi, 1911, p. 24.

<sup>3</sup> *Bull. of Metr. Mus.*, Jan., 1921, p. 9, fig. 1.

<sup>4</sup> *J. H. S.*, xxxiii, 1913, p. 48, pl. i.

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and Harmodius, was extolled by the Athenians of the republic as the act out of which their freedom grew. A bronze group by Antenor which commemorated the two heroes was carried off to Susa in 480 as part of the spoil of Athens, to be recovered after the conquest of Persia by Alexander the Great: the design of this work, presumably executed about half a dozen years later than the assassination in 514 B.C., is unknown. Meanwhile another group was ordered as a substitute, and this, the work of Critius and Nesiotes, was dedicated in 477. A group which corresponds to descriptions of these statues is recorded on coins of Athens, as well as on a crude relief and minor works of art, whereby it has been possible to identify copies in two statues at Naples (Pl. 25).<sup>1</sup>

The evidence does not extend so far as to determine the precise angle at which the figures were placed one to another, but it appears that they were converging on their victim; the lover Aristogeiton stretches out the drapery on his right arm to shield the body of the young Harmodius, who is striking down the tyrant with his sword, which he holds above the head, pointing down his back. Aristogeiton held his scabbard in his left hand, while the pale streak across the chest of the Naples Harmodius proved that he had been equipped with a sword-belt of bronze, from which the scabbard may have hung. The order of the limbs in the two figures is carefully contrasted; the left foot of one corresponds to the right in the other, the left side in the one balancing the right in the other. Hereby a certain symmetry is attained when the statues are juxtaposed, giving a fine impression of vigorous and concerted action. When the bodies are closely examined they are seen to be covered with a confused mass of anatomical detail, adequately conveying the effect of strained muscles on lean and powerful frames though thoroughly inaccurate from the scientific standpoint.

The tree-trunks form a support necessary to marble statues though superfluous to bronze, of which material the original group was made; they are therefore an addition of the copyist. The right arm of Aristogeiton, the arms, right leg and lower left leg of Harmodius are restored; moreover, the head at present on the statue of Aristogeiton is obviously incongruous, being in fact of a fourth-century style that may be attributed to Scopas with some measure of probability. A

<sup>1</sup> *Guida*, Nos. 103-4; Br. Br. 326-8.

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bearded head, the original of which must plainly be associated with the same school as the Harmodius, was found, like the group, in Hadrian's Villa near Tivoli: it has been claimed as the missing head of Aristogeiton, and may well be so, but no certainty can be reached on the point.<sup>1</sup> This head, which is now in Madrid,<sup>2</sup> has been mounted on a bust inscribed 'Pherecydes,' and is commonly known under that name; another copy has recently been extracted from the cellars of the Vatican.<sup>3</sup> A head of Harmodius, now in New York, is an improvement on the Naples copy.

Critius and Nesiotes are also known to have made a portrait-statue of an armed runner, Epicharinus, of which a bronze statuette in Tübingen is believed to be a reflection.<sup>4</sup> The inscription of the original work survives, bearing the names of both artists, but the omission by Pausanias of Nesiotes' name in his mention of the statue had offered a loophole for a theory which contests the equality of the collaborators, making Nesiotes merely the bronze-founder of this figure and of the Tyrannicide group: although the exact relationship of the two men cannot be determined, the theory is obviously too positive for its foundation. With these artists is also associated, on the evidence of its similarity to the Tyrannicides, the figure of a young boy, broken off at the knees, which was found in the wreckage on the Acropolis.<sup>5</sup> It has the advantage of being an original, and is important as an illustration of the passing of the old *kouros* type with its simple stance; the weight is now thrown chiefly on one leg, in this case the left, consequently the left hip is raised and the median line no longer rigid. Another torso of a boy in the Boston Museum<sup>6</sup> closely resembles this figure but seems slightly later, within the period 480-460.

There should also be mentioned in this connection a bronze torso in the Archæological Museum at Florence, a work associated on

<sup>1</sup> Schröder has suggested a different type, represented by the Towneley head in the British Museum, *Jahrb.*, xxviii, 1913, p. 26, pls. i, ii.

<sup>2</sup> A.B., 541, 542.

<sup>3</sup> *Handbook*, p. 252, fig. 176.

<sup>4</sup> Bulle, 89; Neugebauer, *Antike Bronzestatuetten*, pl. 31; Hyde, *Olympic Victor Mon.*, fig. 42.

<sup>5</sup> C. A. H., *Plates*, ii, 34a; Hyde, *Olympic Victor Mon.*, fig. 17; Br. Br., 461b; Bulle, 40, figs. 14, 15.

<sup>6</sup> Cat. No. 14.

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insufficient grounds with a Samian school.<sup>1</sup> The narrow waist and feminine curves of the hips have now completely disappeared and instead due prominence is given to the ligament from the hip to the groin which characterizes the male figure, whereas in the Strangford Apollo it is merely engraved on the surface; and for the anchor-like markings on the epigastrium a more naturalistic treatment of detail is substituted in the torso.

To a contemporary of Critius and Nesiotes must be due the bronze charioteer at Delphi (Pl. 26), which was found north of the Temple, at a spot where a wall running east and west was built in the fourth century to prevent rocks and earth of the mountain slope from tumbling into the temple terrace. The chariot group must have gone down in some landslide, perhaps that of 373 B.C., and become buried too deeply in rubbish for discovery during later building operations, even during the laying of a drain from the theatre above in the reign of Domitian. Its position saved it from the melting-pot – the usual fate of ancient bronze statues during the Christian era. The lower half of the figure was found first and the upper part some days later; with it were recovered a piece of a stone base on which it presumably had stood, bits of the chariot pole, two hind legs of horses, a tail and hoof, remnants of reins and a child's arm.

The base, which Homolle considers to have been in three blocks, was supplied in Delphi since it is composed of the limestone quarried in the neighbourhood, and on the block preserved is the end of a metrical inscription assigning the dedication to Polyzalus, the third son of Deinomenes of Syracuse. That he was not the original dedicator, however, is suggested by traces of an erased inscription; the first reading gave the dedicator's name an ending in *ilas*, and the conjecture that it referred to Anaxilas of Rhegium, the father-in-law of Hieron, is still admissible.<sup>2</sup> Another theory, based upon this reading, is now generally discredited: it connected the statue with a chariot-group by an obscure artist, Amphion of Cnossus, a dedication by King Arcesilas of Cyrene after his success in the chariot-race of 466; but the surviving statue must have been buried long before the time of Pausanias, who mentions the Cyrenaic group as

<sup>1</sup> Buschor and Hamann, *Skulpturen des Zeustempels zu Olympia*, fig. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Von Duhn, *Ausonia*, vii, 1913, p. 37.

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though he had seen it and is unlikely to have quoted a notice of it from some earlier author. An alternative reading has been proposed by Keramopoulos,<sup>1</sup> who substitutes *-elas*, restored as the genitive *Gelas*, meaning 'of the city Gela'; this amendment, coming from a scholar whose residence at Delphi gave him frequent opportunities of studying the inscription, is obviously most likely to be correct.

If, then, the dedication of the group finally erected by Polyzalus be originally due to a ruler of Gela, Gelon himself is improbable because, after 485, he called himself a Syracusan instead of Ruler of Gela, and the style of the statue is against a date in the 'eighties. Polyzalus may have won a race in 478 or 474; the second date is most likely, since Pindar sympathizes with Hieron for his defeat, which may have been especially bitter if the winner were Polyzalus, the brother with whom he had quarrelled and with whom he was but superficially reconciled in 475: hence it is possible that Polyzalus was himself the original dedicator and was obliged by Hieron to erase his title of ruler of Gela. A further suggestion is that Hieron ordered the group after his victory of 470, leaving the fulfilment of his vow to Polyzalus. However, the question is immaterial, the important point being that 480-470 is the likely date, both from external evidence, and from the internal evidence of the style of the statue itself.

The complete group would consist of four horses and a chariot containing the figures of the prince and the victorious charioteer; two grooms would be holding the bridles of the outer horses of the team, standing or mounted, and perhaps the arm belongs to one of them, but Keramopoulos suggests that it belonged to a youthful Nike perched on the car. No doubt the group was placed on a high terrace above the 'bronze-crowned' sanctuary. The charioteer seems to have been set up in three-quarters view presenting the right side to the spectator; this is suggested by the lack of symmetry in the features, the right eye being longer than the left, and the left side of the face uplifted. The race is not in progress and the quiet stance of the figure of the charioteer indicates the drive round the course at walking pace after the victory. Everywhere the figure is finished with the exquisite care of the Acropolis *korai*, even to the feet, which would have been concealed behind the rim of the car. Moreover

<sup>1</sup> *Ath. Mitt.*, xxxiv, 1909, p. 33.

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the statue would generally be viewed at a distance and the only concession to the exigencies of the position is that lengthening of the right eye and raising of the left side of the face. It is a work of the greatest discretion and balance between stylization and naturalism, lively, but not lifelike. The fold of the long Ionic chiton, the dress of the charioteer as well as of the musician, falls easily from the constraining girdle, away from the figure – in contrast to the purely schematic arrangement of the drapery on the *korai* – but it falls straightly and simply – in contrast with the puckered or billowing drapery of the end of the century, on figures by the pupils of Pheidias; in the same way the gathering of material under the arm and on the shoulder is skilfully patterned without being stiff. The hair, too, is real but stylized and lies as quietly at the confining band. The body is long, 6 feet in height, the limbs slender, the neck strong but not heavy and the head small. The head is turned slightly to the right, while the right arm bends in the opposite direction, imparting a pleasant and gentle rhythm. There is no trace of the ‘archaic smile’ or the grin which succeeded it on the Ægina pediments; the lips are well marked and lightly parted, to show a line of teeth rendered in silver; the cheeks are narrow, but the bones are not so prominent as in earlier works; the eyes are straight set, almost almond-shaped, and the filling of white enamel and onyx is well preserved; eyelashes of inserted bronze spikes also remain. The crown of the head is high and dome-shaped, unlike the Attic or Doric, low, flattish crown with prominent occiput. The rendering of the muscles surpasses the work of the sculptors of Ægina; here the biceps swell gently, while the skin-folds in the hands, the vein in the inner side of the elbow, the tendons and veins of the ankles and feet are kept within the bounds of a stylized naturalism.

It remains to discuss the sculptor, although it must be confessed that no certainty can be reached as to his identity. The Sicilian princes employed for similar works in Olympia, the Athenian Calamis, and the Æginetan Onatas,<sup>1</sup> and in other groups Onatas collaborates with his compatriot Glaucias.<sup>2</sup> For the golden Nike of the tripod group at Delphi, Gelon employed Bion the Milesian (tripods were, of course, especially suitable objects to offer to Apollo). The other great artists of the time were Pythagoras of Rhegium, author

<sup>1</sup> Overbeck, 524.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 429.

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of a four-horse chariot at Olympia,<sup>1</sup> and Ageladas of Argos, who was rather too early. Calamis of Athens and Pythagoras are the two most likely names, the Æginetans being practically out of the question because of a lack of any resemblance to the pedimental sculptures from Ægina: yet even they have been considered.

Neither original nor assured copy exists to witness to the style of Calamis, the Athenian, with the result that works of the most diverse qualities have been assigned to him (see next chapter). To judge by the notices of ancient authors,<sup>2</sup> he might well be the sculptor of the charioteer. He made many statues of gods, including especially a chryselephantine Asclepius at Sicyon, the Hermes carrying a ram at Tanagra and the Apollo *Alexikakos* (Averter) at Athens: the two latter were dedicated after plagues, the Apollo being traditionally connected with the great epidemic of 429, an impossible date applied also to the Heracles *Alexikakos* of Ageladas (a younger sculptor of the same name has been invented in each case, sooner than disregard a legend obviously worthless). He supplied statues of boys mounted on race-horses for the Sicilian dedication at Olympia in 467, Onatas contributing the chariot-group. He was indeed peculiarly famous for his horses, and Pliny has a tale that Praxiteles 'placed a charioteer of his own on a four-horse chariot by Calamis, in order that an artist better at representing horses should not be accused of failure in the case of human beings.' The poses of Calamis were considered less rigid than those of Canachus, less supple than those of Myron. Another general comment, by Dio of Halicarnassus, compares the oratory of Lysias with the sculpture of Calamis, 'for grace and delicacy,' while he parallels the oratory of Isocrates with the art of Polycleitus and Myron, for strength and grandeur.

It remains to consider the claims of Pythagoras, a Samian by birth, but naturalized at Rhegium (Reggio) in South Italy: <sup>3</sup> he presumably took part in the emigration of 496, when the Samian exiles settled at Messina and fell under the domination of Anaxilas, tyrant of Rhegium. On the base of his statue of the boxer Euthymus (erected after a third victory at Olympia in 472), he signs himself as a Samian. His figure of 'the lame man, the pain of whose wound seems to be felt by those who look on him,' testifies to unusual

<sup>1</sup> Pausanias, vi, 18.

<sup>2</sup> Overbeck, 508-532.

<sup>3</sup> Lechat, *Pythagoras de Rhégion*, 1905.

powers for an early sculptor. All works of his which are described are of bronze and, with the one exception of a Europa on the bull, are male figures; most, moreover, are of victors in the games. One of his figures, a Theban as Citharoedus, wore the same long chiton as the Delphi charioteer. The figures of a Cyrenian, Cratisthenes, and Victory stood in the chariot with which he commemorated a race won at Olympia, and the former must likewise have resembled the Delphi statue. That he was skilful in representing details like muscles, veins and hair is proved by Pliny's remark that he was the first to 'work out' the subject carefully (xxxiv. 58); veins were marked in the frieze of the Siphnian Treasury and in the pediments of Ægina, but Pliny may be correct in the sense that he was the first to treat the subject scientifically. Pliny's authority was Antigonus of Carystus, who followed that of the sculptor Xenocrates. According to Diogenes Lærtius (viii. 46) Pythagoras was thought 'to have been the first to aim at rhythm and proportion.' Such characteristics and virtues would suit the sculptor of the charioteer, but of course they do not prove that its sculptor was Pythagoras; a strong argument for his authorship would lie in the fact that he was a subject of Rhegium, were it certain that the Tyrant of this town had commissioned the statue dedicated by Polyzeus.<sup>1</sup>

The charioteer appears to be unique, differing in some point from all comparable works; perhaps individuality was stronger in this period, just before the age of the great masters who dominated the mid-fifth century. There exists, certainly, all the difference in the world between the charioteer and the last notable work of its period to come to light, the statue of a warrior at Sparta.<sup>2</sup> Its discoverer may well be justified in seeing in this crude but powerful figure the memorial of no less a man than the Leonidas who fell at Thermopylæ. In its broad, expressionless face and large eyes, as well as in the sculptor's interest in the body, it forecasts the later Peloponnesian developments of the Olympia artisans and the Polyclitan school.

<sup>1</sup> For a group of torsos attributed to Pythagoras see L. Curtius, text to Br. Br., 601.

<sup>2</sup> Woodward, *B. S. A.*, xxvi, 1923-5, p. 253, pls. xviii-xx.



# THE MASTERS OF THE FIFTH CENTURY: THE GREATNESS OF ATHENS (470-433 B.C.)

## § 1. *The Generation after the Wars*

THE Persian wars of archæological terminology are confined to the invasions of 490 and 480, the only times at which the majority of the Greek states were simultaneously at war with Persia. In these crises the Athenians had offered the most decisive resistance on the sea, and, since they possessed the largest fleet, were chosen to head the Maritime League formed in 479 by the Ægean population for future safeguard. The annual subscription of money by the allies enriched the Athenians as much as it damaged Persia, and with the transference in 450 of the treasury of the League from Delos to Athens was founded what, for lack of a more exact term, may be called the Athenian Empire. Immediately after the transference, Pericles, now the leading politician at Athens, ended the sporadic hostilities against Persia; nevertheless the allies were still compelled to pay tribute. The Athenians, financed partly by the tribute and partly by the profits from their mines in Attica and Thrace, were now ready to adopt that programme of unstinted embellishment of their city which Pericles desired.

Until his rise to power few public works had been carried out in Athens or elsewhere, in fact the one great monument of the second quarter of the fifth century is the Temple of Zeus at Olympia, built at some time between 480 and 452; it was probably begun after 470 and was sufficiently complete in 457 for the Spartans to offer a golden shield to be placed on the roof. Sculptures, in Parian marble, of one and a half times life-size, which survive in excellent condition, filled the pediments, and twelve metopes too were sculptured.<sup>1</sup>

Pausanias (v. 10) attributes the western pediment to Alcamenes, the eastern to Pæonius, but this information is highly questionable. The ascription of one pediment to Pæonius has not found many defenders, for the Victory signed by this artist (Pl. 68) is a work of

<sup>1</sup> Gardiner, *Olympia*, p. 234, figs. 76-113; Buschor and Hamann, *Skulpturen des Zeustempels zu Olympia*, 1924.

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forty or fifty years later, and few profess to see any points of similarity. The Nike's inscription records the acroteria – likewise Victories – as the work of Pæonius, and it has been conjectured that Pausanias was somehow misled into a belief that the pediment was included in the record – he may have misread his notes or been misinformed by the local guides.

There seems no such clear reason, however, why the name of Alcámenes should have been falsely selected for the other pediment: his claims must be considered in detail. The evidence for his date is conflicting. He is usually believed to have been an Athenian and a pupil of Pheidias, as Pliny definitely states more than once; further, Pausanias mentions a relief signed by Alcámenes, dedicated at Thebes by the Athenians who had started thence in 403 on their enterprise of expelling the Thirty Tyrants; thus so far the known dates of a sculptor named Alcámenes are as incompatible with the date of Olympia as those of Pæonius.

Elsewhere Pliny puts him in 448, among the rivals of Pheidias; the Byzantine author, Tzetzes, calls him an islander and a rival of Pheidias, and Suidas' dictionary contains an entry 'Alcámenes; proper name; native of Lemnos.' Pausanias also supplies what has been considered evidence for an older Alcámenes: 'On the road from Phaleron to Athens is a temple of Hera, with neither roof nor doors; they say it was burnt by Mardonius, son of Gobryas; the statue now within it is reputed to be by Alcámenes, in which case the Persians could not possibly have caused the destruction.' In view of Pausanias' scepticism of his authorities no reliance can be placed upon this report. Even though it seems probable that the famous Alcámenes was born shortly after Pheidias and was associated with him on terms almost of equality, he can scarcely have reached the age of twenty when the pediments were designed.

The sole reason, apart from the statement of Pausanias, for supporting the connection of any Alcámenes with Olympia is derived from a bearded herm from Pergamon inscribed: 'You shall see Alcámenes' lovely image, the Hermes before the Gate,' meaning that it was a copy of the Hermes Propylæus at Athens, a work of otherwise unrecorded authorship.<sup>1</sup> The triple row of spiral curls

<sup>1</sup> Walters, *Art of the Greeks*, pl. xl; Schrader, *Phidias*, figs. 121, 175, 177-9, with replicas.

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with which the hair terminates, recalls the single row on the Apollo of the west pediment, the beard is carved as in the centaurs, and the face is treated much in the Olympia manner. Only in the eyes, especially in some copies, does there appear any definite trace of later date, and this might be due to the copyists. It is questionable whether a young pupil of Pheidias would have so completely adopted the style of 460, though a certain amount of archaism was considered proper in herms of all periods.<sup>1</sup> But even if the Pergamene ascription to Alcamenes be accurate, this may be one of the first works of Pheidias' younger rival and is far from proving the existence of an older Alcamenes; at any rate, the best conclusion is that the famous holder of that name is as unlikely to have been responsible for a pediment at Olympia as his contemporary Pæonius.<sup>2</sup>

Looking at them without prejudice, the metopes and both pediments appear to have been designed by one artist, but at various times, from, say, 470 to 455. This 'Master of the Olympia Sculptures' must remain anonymous for the present; from certain indications he seems to have originated, neither in Athens nor in the Peloponnese, but rather on the eastern shores of the Ægean, and to have subsequently come under the influence of both those centres, gaining power especially from a study of the great mural paintings in progress at Athens.<sup>3</sup> The carving doubtless is Peloponnesian.

The master's style is visible in its earliest form<sup>4</sup> in the twelve metopes, six at either end of the building, which were placed within the colonnade over the entrance to the temple chambers. Portions of all survive, distributed between the Olympia Museum and the Louvre; for a French expedition in 1829 found and removed some large fragments, while many others were recovered during the German excavations later in the century. The metopes represent the twelve Labours of Heracles, in every case introducing Athena, the friend and patron of the hero. The slabs are of Parian marble, 5 feet in width and slightly more in height; they were brightly coloured, the backgrounds contrasting with the figures. The subject of the

<sup>1</sup> A series from Alcamenes onwards is illustrated in *Jahrb.*, xxxii, 1917, p. 81, figs. 47-55.

<sup>2</sup> Walston, *Alcamenes*, is the latest exposition of the contrary opinion, which has been generally discredited of recent years.

<sup>3</sup> Rodenwaldt, *Jahrb.*, xli, 1926, p. 205.

<sup>4</sup> Views on chronological order, *ibid.* and by Buschor, *Ath. Mitt.*, li, 1926, p. 163.

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cleansing of the Augean stables, after which achievement Heracles was said to have founded the Olympic Games, naturally took pride of place (at the beginning of the front end of the temple) because of its local connection (Pl. 39): Heracles is pushing at the heap of filth with a broom, while Athena seems to direct his efforts with her spear. In some cases the Labour itself is not represented but its ending, as when Heracles stands exhausted upon the dead body of the Nemean lion, watched sympathetically by Athena, or when he hands the Stymphalian birds to her as she sits upon a rock (Pl. 38*b*).

In these metopes there is a beauty of part that is lacking in the more splendid pediments; the rendering of details is superior, because the position was nearer to the spectator and required a finer finish, not because the carving was entrusted to a different group of artisans. The metopes display round heads with protruding occiputs, thick eyelids, pouting mouths, elaborate but naturalistic hair, muscular bodies, and leathery drapery. The nearest parallel yet noted to the draped figures – some *korai* wearing the peplos from Xanthus <sup>1</sup> – bears out the suggestion of the Master's Ionian origin.

For structural reasons, the metopes had of course to occupy their places on the temple before the pediments could be undertaken. The sculptures for the gables need not have been prepared till some years had elapsed, which explains the marked stiffness of the metopes in comparison with these later compositions. From stylistic indications it is uncertain whether the figures for the western or the eastern pediment were the next to be taken in hand.

Of the west pediment, which he ascribed to Alcamenes, Pausanias writes: 'His work in the gable represents the battle of the Lapiths and Centaurs at the wedding of Peirithous. At the middle of the gable is Peirithous: beside him, on the one hand are Eurytion, who has snatched up the wife of Peirithous, and Cæneus, who is succouring Peirithous; on the other hand is Theseus repelling the Centaurs with an axe; one Centaur has caught up a maiden, another a blooming youth. Alcamenes, it seems to me, has represented this scene because he learned from Homer that Peirithous was a son of Zeus and because he knew that Theseus was a great-grandson of Pelops.'

The arrangement of the recovered fragments (Pl. 36 shows the

<sup>1</sup> Buschor and Hamann, *op. cit.*, figs. 18, 19.

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more central groups) has been subject to some discussion, especially since the Master took pains to supply each figure or group on the one side of the pediment with an exactly equivalent figure or group on the other side, and it is difficult to decide sometimes which should stand on the right and which one the left. But the sculptors were by no means eager to waste labour on portions invisible from below, so that except when a figure was intended to be placed facing straight to the front, the unfinished condition of its inner side usually establishes its original angle, and hence its position on the left or right of the gable; sometimes, too, the omission of some part of a figure to make room for the next discloses the arrangement.

The interpretation by Pausanias of the central figure in the west pediment as that of Peirithous is surely false, for the hero would not stand serenely apart from the fray, leaving a drunken Centaur to abduct his bride. It is undoubtedly a deity, standing here as an arbiter of the brawl, and from the youthfulness of the figure and the remnants of a bow he must be Apollo, the ancestor of the Lapiths: the figure of Peirithous should be sought in one of the two men nearest to the god, his friend Theseus being the other. The roughness or finish of the figures are here a great aid in placing them correctly, although it is of course impossible to say which of the two vigorous figures on either side of Apollo is Peirithous. Both attack Centaurs whose tails are turned towards the centre and each of whom carries a woman in his forelegs; next come, on either side, balancing groups of a Lapith struggling with a Centaur, followed by groups of three, of a woman, a Lapith and a Centaur (Pausanias mistook one of these women for a youth); finally in each angle lie an old woman and a young one watching the battle.

Three of these corner figures and an arm of a fourth are carved in Pentelic marble instead of the Parian marble of the rest; moreover their style stamps them as later restorations. An earthquake in 40 B.C. damaged the roof and the repairs may have been necessitated by this event, although some scholars favour an earlier date. The three Pentelic figures are so like the fourth, where the arm only is restored, that they must be exact copies of the originals. Their subjects have caused much discussion; in all likelihood the old women are slaves of the younger, who are Lapiths, escaped from the Centaurs and awaiting the outcome of the fight.

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The east pediment illustrates a local legend of King Œnomaus, who was unwilling to give his daughter Hippodameia in marriage because of a prophecy that he himself would be killed by his son-in-law. Any suitor that presented himself was made to run a chariot race from the River Cladeus at Olympia to the altar of Poseidon on the Isthmus of Corinth: he was allowed the first start, carrying with him the princess, and Œnomaus after sacrificing a ram to Zeus set off with his charioteer in pursuit, to kill the suitor if he overtook him. Thirteen perished in this manner, but finally Pelops bribed the charioteer, Myrtilus, to remove the pins from the wheels of Œnomaus' chariot, so causing the king to fall to the ground. Pausanias' description gives a better idea of the action than do the fragments themselves: 'there is represented the chariot race between Pelops and Œnomaus about to begin; both are preparing for the race. An image of Zeus stands just at the middle of the gable: on the right of Zeus is Œnomaus with a helmet on his head, and beside him is his wife Sterope, one of the daughters of Atlas. Myrtilus, who drove the chariot of Œnomaus, is seated in front of the horses: his horses are four in number. After him there are two men: they have no names but they were also ordered by Œnomaus to look after the horses. At the very extremity Cladeus is lying down; with the exception of the Alpheus, the Cladeus is the river most honoured by the Eleans. On the left of Zeus are Pelops and Hippodameia, and the charioteer of Pelops, and the horses and two men supposed to be grooms of Pelops. Where the gable again narrows down, Alpheus is represented.' It is this pediment which Pausanias ascribed to Pæonius.

In spite of the fact that Pausanias describes the east pediment with greater detail than the west, its composition remains more problematical.<sup>1</sup> The figure of Zeus, of superhuman stature, may, of course, be placed with certainty in the centre, between the two rivals, as the invisible arbiter of the contest. But the latest disposition by Studniczka reverses the order of other figures (which in the photograph, Pl. 35, are set up in the arrangement of Curtius, adopted in the Olympia Museum), so that the young, unbearded Pelops stands on the right and lucky side of the deity, which seems to contradict the assertion of Pausanias until one remembers that

<sup>1</sup> Summary of the proposed restorations, Winter, *Ath. Mitt.*, I, 1925, p. 1.

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he may have looked at the arrangement from the spectator's point of view; the youthful female figure must represent Hippodameia, and should therefore come behind that of Pelops, and the more matronly figure must be that of Sterope and should be placed behind that of Œnomaus. With certainty the two reclining figures of the river-gods (Cladeus, Pl. 37*b*) may be placed in the angles of the gables, but the arrangement of the intervening spaces on either side is more doubtful: probably the groom Myrtilus should squat between Sterope and the chariot, and beyond the chariot should come two seated figures, one of them the Seer, brooding on the approaching fate of his master Œnomaus, and the other a woman (mistaken by Pausanias for a man): on the side of Pelops, a squatting groom should again be placed between the woman and the chariot, which must be followed by the two remaining seated figures to match those of the Seer and his female companion on the other side. Thus the symmetry is perfectly maintained and the heads pass down from the peak of the gable to the angles in even graduation.

In some respects these pediments stand at the highest point of Greek achievement. The carving has little detail, firstly because figures destined to be placed 60 feet above the eye-level required bold treatment like stage scenery, and secondly because the addition of paint once made finish in certain parts superfluous. It must be confessed, however, that the sculptors had their limitations – excelling at heads and the nude, they failed in drapery. Their greatness is displayed in the magnificent action of the bodies, the beauty of the limbs, the range of expression from the serenity of the gods through the vigour of the heroes to the bestiality of the Centaurs. It is an art incompetent in detail compared with that of the Parthenon, but one that approaches nearer to the spirit of the twentieth century: it is significant that Meštrović, perhaps the greatest sculptor of the present day, has obviously been influenced by the Olympia pediments.

/ Of statues contemporary with the Olympia sculptures many are known, though in most cases only in copies, but their division among the various schools and artists of the time cannot yet be effected with any approach to confidence, owing to the complete absence of signed works. The style of Critius and Nesiotes is of course dimly known, through the copies of their Tyrannicides, and the presump-

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tion that Pythagoras of Rhegium made the Delphi Charioteer is perhaps strong enough to be admitted as a working hypothesis; some criticisms of the works of Calamis can be taken as sound evidence (see previous chapter). But absolutely nothing can be said of the style of the many contemporaries whose names are coupled with short lists or notices of their work – the Athenian Hegias (a name misspelled by many ancient writers as Hegesias), who is recorded by one author as the teacher of Pheidias; Micon, more celebrated as a painter; Glaucus and Dionysius of Argos; Callon of Elis; Menæchmus and Soidas of Naupactus; the Æginetans, Simon, Callon, Onatas, Glaucias, Anaxagoras. Yet if the extant remains of this period can be taken as truly representative of its art, it would appear that the work of all these masters differed but little; certainly no peculiar and distinct personality can be felt, except in the Olympia sculptures, until the appearance of Myron at the middle of the century.

The great achievement in sculpture of the generation immediately after the Persian invasion was the establishment of the classical types, whereby figures scarcely varied in proportions one from another and all faces and all bodies looked much alike. That this crystallization of Greek ideals did not take place in accordance with a precise imitation of nature is made especially clear by the adoption of such an abnormality as the 'classic profile,' in which the nose and forehead run practically in one straight line: the convention did not come into use before the fifth century and cannot have corresponded with any physical peculiarity of the Hellenic race.

In male figures of the third quarter of the century the *kouros* motive predominates, now in most instances applying to Apollo, not to athletes. The most archaic is the type represented by the Choiseul-Gouffier statue in the British Museum (Pl. 41a) and other copies, including an almost complete statue found in the Theatre at Athens close to an omphalos, and hence often miscalled 'Apollo on the Omphalos.'<sup>1</sup> As a matter of fact, the thongs carved on the tree-stump in Choiseul-Gouffier's figure indicate a boxer, while a quiver appears on two other copies as an attribute of Apollo. The original no doubt stood at Athens, but its identity is unknown: the Apollo *Alexikakos* by Calamis is the most plausible suggestion.<sup>2</sup> Another

<sup>1</sup> Br. Br., 42.

<sup>2</sup> Amelung, *Jahrb.*, xli, 1926, p. 247.



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Attic original of great popularity is best seen in the Apollo at Cassel <sup>1</sup>: this type has a more dignified carriage and a nobler expression than the Choiseul-Gouffier, and has obvious affinities to heads by Myron, though some scholars believe it to be a youthful work of Pheidias and yet others have compared the youth of the Acropolis, attributed to Critius and Nesiotes. It is illustrated on late coins of Athens, holding a bow in the left hand and a lustral branch in the right. Another type sometimes associated with the young Pheidias, sometimes with Calamis, survives in a copy found in the Tiber, now in the Terme Museum, and in another at Cherchel in Algeria.<sup>2</sup> In these the right knee is allowed to sag forward so far as to weaken the composition.

A totally different ideal is active in the youthful athlete of which there remain a complete copy signed by Stephanus and several fragmentary copies.<sup>3</sup> Here a tall slim figure of little muscular development is topped with an unduly small head. A related work is the Apollo of which there survive a marble copy at Mantua and a bronze from Pompei.<sup>4</sup> The originals have been ascribed to Ageladas of Argos, an improbable theory in the first place because that sculptor's career had begun as early as 520 and can scarcely have outlasted the Persian wars. The proportions, while comparable with those of a Thasian relief (Pl. 29*b*), have less relationship to the sturdy works of the Argive or Sicyonian master, Polycleitus, by which alone can the Argive school be judged: that artist's career reached its acme between the years 450-420 and will therefore be considered towards the end of the chapter.

The simple Doric peplos worn by the women of Olympia is seen to best advantage in the Terme statue (Pl. 38*a*),<sup>5</sup> and a number of other replicas of the same type, which obviously originated in one of the Greek schools after the Persian wars; the plainness and heavy, wide folds of this garment completely ousted the elaborate Ionic costume of the previous age – another mark of the reaction in favour

<sup>1</sup> Bieber, *Skulpturen in Kassel*, pls. i-vi; Br. Br. 676-7; *M.*, figs. 80-82.

<sup>2</sup> *M.*, figs. 8-9; *Mon. Piot*, xxii, 1916, pls. vii, viii.

<sup>3</sup> Br. Br., 301; Hyde, *Olympic Victor Mon.*, pl. 9; Poulsen, *Portraits in English Collections*, p. 21, fig. 24; *M.*, fig. 92.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 302-3; Bulle, 43; *M.*, fig. 10.

<sup>5</sup> Helbig, 1287; Br. Br., 357; Amelung on replicas, *Röm. Mitt.*, l, 1925, p. 190, fig. 8.

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of severity which characterizes the fifth century. The Terme statue was not a product of the group which executed the Olympia sculptures, for the hard, distinct carving contrasts with the softer, more contoured modelling of Olympia. The head, too, is slighter, more precise; on the Terme figure, however, the head is a cast from one in the Lateran Museum, known to be proper to this type of body because a complete copy exists in Crete.<sup>1</sup> That figure itself and perhaps one or two others, seem to belong to the Greek period, while the rest are Roman copies. Bronze is presumed to have been the material of the original, especially since the hair is rendered by streaks; of the sculptor nothing can be said except that his work sufficiently resembles that of Polycleitus to hint at the group of Argos and Sicyon. A related type is offered by the so-called Gius-tiniani Hestia,<sup>2</sup> whose left arm is stretched out to the side holding a long sceptre, and who is thereby identified as a goddess. A Thessalian stela (Pl. 22*b*),<sup>3</sup> of about the same time, retains touches of archaism, which lasted in this local school until the close of the century; at this period it was a generation behind the times, especially in its treatment of the eyes.

Another female statue of the same date is best seen in two copies at Berlin: one of the head, the other of the body, fitted with a Roman portrait head<sup>4</sup>; the figure is draped in a Doric himation, passed over the head and right round the front of the body, while the garment beneath, showing just at the feet, falls in many narrow folds which suggest the greater width and thinner material of the Ionic chiton. This type possibly reproduces the most famous work of Calamis, a statue known as the Sosandra (Saviour of Men) which apparently represented Aphrodite. Lucian, when composing his ideal beauty, borrows for his imaginary figure its 'dignity, and the noble, unconscious smile, and the decorative neatness of the dress – but the head shall not be covered.' Whatever delicacy the original possessed has been lost in these copies, together with the smile, the mention of which recalls the *korai*, now dying out (the latest statue of the type is of 480–470, Acropolis Museum, No. 688). The long, thin face with its severe expression forms a striking contrast with another work of the age, which answers better to accounts of the style of

<sup>1</sup> *Bull. Comm.*, xxv, 1897, pls. xii, xiii.

<sup>2</sup> Bulle, pl. 118; Br. Br., 491.

<sup>3</sup> Athens, No. 733.

<sup>4</sup> Nos. 1518, 605; Bulle, 1127.

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Calamis; this head, acquired by the Louvre from the Humphrey Ward collection (Pl. 34a),<sup>1</sup> has long eyes and a broad face, recalling the *korai*.

Of another statue of the time there exists a copy in the Vatican (Pl. 40a).<sup>2</sup> The original may have been an honorary statue of one of the Peloponnesian girls who competed in the races in honour of Hera at Olympia. The palm laid against the tree-trunk refers to a victory, but the whole support may be an addition of the copyist, required in a marble copy but superfluous in the bronze original – the undercutting of the drapery round the thighs would be anomalous in a marble statue of such an early time. The block beneath the right foot would also be unnecessary in a bronze, and the foot would be left in the air. An attitude of arrest suggests that the girl is stopping to look at some object on the ground, so that the statue may represent Atalanta in the act of picking up the apple, which cost her the race and freedom. The left arm at first was held pressed to the side, for there remains a prop which joined it to the girdle, but it must have been bent at the elbow, otherwise the hand would not have cleared the top of the support; the right arm should be restored fairly close to the side. The unsightly arms of the Vatican statue, added by a careless restorer, have been removed in the illustration; the point of the nose is also new.

Of a related style are the two 'Thrones' discovered in the Ludovisi Gardens (Pls. 30–33); one has remained in Rome, transferred with the rest of the Ludovisi Collection to the Terme Museum, while the counterpart is now at Boston. The authenticity of the latter, once questioned, is now generally admitted. These monuments are large, rectangular blocks of marble, cut into a strange shape; they are hollowed out to leave two shorter sides and a longer side which look like the arms and back of an armchair, for the two shorter sides slope downwards away from the longer. The two blocks were placed with their shorter sides touching, enclosing a rectangular space in which some object may have rested: it has, for example, been suggested that the 'Thrones' originally screened the top edge of a sacred pit at Locri in South Italy, formed the sacred bed of Hera at her Argive temple, or sheltered an altar. At all events

<sup>1</sup> *J. H. S.*, xiv, 1894, p. 204, pl. v; Strong, *Strena Helbigiana*, p. 203.  
p. 199 Helbig, 364.

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the correspondence in shape between the two blocks is sufficient to establish the certainty of their original connection, whatever their purpose. The interpretation of the subjects of the reliefs on the outer sides has varied considerably, and none of the suggestions quite meets the requirements of the sculptures. On the Ludovisi Throne the front (Pl. 30) is occupied by two female figures stooping to lift a third, who rises from a hole in the pebbly ground between their feet; the lower part of her body is concealed by a cloth upheld for that purpose. The side-panels (Pl. 31) contain a nude girl playing the double flute and a veiled woman dropping incense on a candelabrum. The central relief presumably represents a goddess rising at birth from the earth or sea – Earth or Persephone in the first case, Aphrodite in the second – or else being raised from a ritual bath and drawing on a ceremonial robe – both rites common to many goddesses; the figures on the side-panels evidently represent votaries of the goddess. Similarly the sides of the Boston counterpart represent votaries, a young man playing the lyre and an old woman holding an object of uncertain nature. Here the central scene (Pl. 32) shows a winged youth, doubtless Eros, from whose hands once hung a metal balance; in each scale is a small figure of a youth, and by the heavier sits a rejoicing woman, by the lighter a mourner. This group may illustrate the souls of men being weighed in the presence of deities, Eros weighing out the chance of offspring to two wives, the end of the rivalry between Aphrodite and Persephone for Adonis, etc., etc. An association with marriage forms the soundest link between the two Thrones, whichever goddess be involved, but the flood of possible explanations still continues; Caskey's *Catalogue of the Greek and Roman Sculptures* at Boston (No. 16) contains an inventory complete to the date of publication (1925).

The original situation assigned to the reliefs varies according to the interpretation – Athens or somewhere in Attica, Locri, Argos, and so on. On stylistic grounds the balance of probability lies against an Attic origin.<sup>1</sup> As with the Esquiline and Albani stelæ (Pls. 27a, 28), a resemblance to Locri terracottas is very noticeable, but the style has affinities also in the Eastern Ægean area. Thus a relief from Xanthus in the British Museum<sup>2</sup> carries old women rather like those on the side-panel of the Boston Throne (Pl. 33), while the elongated

<sup>1</sup> Kjellberg, *A. R.*, p. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Strong, *Apotheosis and After Life*, pl. xx.

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figures in the scales are paralleled in a relief from Thasos (Pl. 29b<sup>1</sup>). This scene of family life is an early instance of the 'Funeral Banquet' motive, that constantly recurs throughout classical art, perhaps with reference to the joys of the After-world. A tall youth, built rather like Stephanus' athlete, is drawing a jug of wine from a huge mixing-bowl; the man upon a couch holds out his empty cup impatiently, while behind him sits his wife, busy with her distaff. The man's helmet and shield are hung upon the wall, a dog noses around under the table and a bird sits beneath the housewife's chair. The whole slab is roughly 4 feet long.

Of slightly later date, perhaps about 450, is a sarcophagus from the royal cemetery at Sidon, preserved with its fellows in the Constantinople Museum.<sup>2</sup> Four sculptured sarcophagi from this tomb are of importance from the classical point of view: for previous interments there had been used a type of stone coffin resembling the Egyptian mummy-case, equipped with a human head but otherwise left almost shapeless. These coffins continued in use among the Phœnicians into the fourth century, by which time the heads had lost their Egyptian character and become completely Hellenized – the Greek style being thus adopted by one of the peoples who helped to create it. But the reliefs on the four sarcophagi in question prove them to have been made by foreigners, the earliest by a Greek of the Eastern regions.

This is known as the Satrap's sarcophagus, because three of its sides introduce an Oriental prince or satrap of the Persian Empire. On one of the longer sides (Pl. 42), he is seen enthroned, leaning upon a sceptre: a chariot and a saddled horse are led up, and he chooses the latter, conveying his wishes through an official who stands in front of the chariot. The opposite side contains the sequel, a hunting scene in which the prince has just slain a deer and is attacking a leopard. On one of the ends (Pl. 43), he is feasting in the presence of his wife and courtiers, on the other four young men are standing engaged in conversation. Outwardly the sarcophagus takes the form of a temple, but the interior is hollowed out to the shape of the body, showing a dependence on the old Phœnician type: the

<sup>1</sup> Constantinople, No. 578; *Jahrb.*, xxviii, 1913, p. 309, pl. xxvi.

<sup>2</sup> Best illustrated in Hamdy and Reinach, *Necropole royale à Sidon*; later literature summarized by Mendel in the Catalogue, I, No. 9.

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sculptures on the other hand are purely Greek, and from their relations to the Harpy Tomb may confidently be ascribed to an Eastern school. The close parallel folds of the drapery contain the characteristic trace of archaism absent in the works of Greece itself; nevertheless the school was not altogether backward, especially in the manner in which the clothing billows out in the wind – a manner which prevails in Attic art only at the end of the fifth century. Both the strength and weakness of the Eastern school – with which the Italian artists seem to have been affiliated – lies in its conception of art as pure decoration. The position of political dependency on Persia contributed to maintain the Oriental characteristics of Ionian art: moreover Ionian sculptors were sometimes employed at the Persian court, and even in Asia Minor they came into contact with their Oriental colleagues, for reliefs of Persian style have been found near the residence of the satraps of Phrygia. A preoccupation with the agreeable lines of draped figures is common to both Persian and Ionian art, and faces are immobile in both: such work is pleasing but had no future.

Meanwhile Greece was the scene of rapid advances towards unfettered art. Prominent among the older sculptors was Myron of Eleutheræ, a village on the borders of Attica and Bœotia. His *Discolobus* has long been recognized in numerous copies, a group of Athena and Marsyas has also been reconstructed and his style has been discerned with varying degrees of probability in other works.<sup>1</sup> These sculptures may be dated close to 450, although the artist himself must have been born before the Persian wars, for he worked for Ægina (depopulated in 456) and made statues of athletes victorious in 456, 448, 444; moreover his son, Lycius, practised sculpture between 446 and 421. His teacher's name has not been recorded, but the sources of his art can be detected in the Athenian Treasury at Delphi and related works. His versatility was remarkable; among the list of his works are statues of gods and goddesses, athletes of all kinds, and cows. Petronius, best of Roman critics, says that he almost catches the breath of life in his bronze men and animals, while Pliny on the other hand grumbles that he expressed no emotions and that he was concerned only with the body, failing even in this line to improve upon the ancient method of carving hair. The

<sup>1</sup> In general see Mirone, *Mirone d'Eleutere*, 1921.

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criticisms are unjustified, based only upon the Discobolus, it would seem.

The Discobolus can be best appreciated in a reconstruction formed of the Terme torso and the head of the Lancelotti copy which is still in a private collection in Rome (Pls. 44*b*, 45).<sup>1</sup> In other copies, in the British Museum and the Vatican, the head has been restored gazing forwards, although the attitude is known from Lucian's description: 'He is stooping to make the throw, turning round towards the hand that holds the discus and slightly bending over one knee to straighten himself after his throw.' A bronze statuette in Munich,<sup>2</sup> although not an accurate copy – it is supplied with a totally different head – is important because it expresses the action with greater vigour than could be attempted in a marble copy; the whole body is about to swing violently towards the left, pivoting on the right leg, behind which the left leg trails in momentary idleness. The statue is intended to be viewed from one position only. The lack of co-ordination between the trunk and the legs reveals Myron as more susceptible to the limitations of his age than might at first be thought; his long skull with its protruding occiput clings, too, to the type of Critius and Nesiotes.

All the sculptor's works seem to have been in bronze, a material which offered him the choice of almost any conceivable pose, since he could model his figure in clay – a material easily handled and pliable – and the process of casting in bronze was purely mechanical. Another statue by Myron, of Ladas who died some time after winning a race at Olympia, showed a daring attitude; no copy of it exists, but to judge by the epigrams the figures stood on tiptoe, straining forward as though running.<sup>3</sup> Equally unconventional was the group of Athena and Marsyas, now reconstructed, on the evidence of a relief, a coin and a vase-painting, from statues in Frank-

<sup>1</sup> Walters, *Art of the Greeks*, pl. xxx, for Lancelotti statue; others, Hyde, *Olympic Victor Mon.*, figs. 34, 35, pls. 22, 23; head at Basle, *Arch. Anz.*, 1925, p. 22, figs. 5–7.

<sup>2</sup> Br. Br., 681; Sieveking, *Münchener Jahrbuch*, x, 1916–17, p. 234, for front and back views.

<sup>3</sup> H. S. Jones, *Ancient Writers on Greek Sculpture*, No. 92; this statue has been attributed to Myron the Younger, a sculptor of the second century, but its fame points to his greater namesake.

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furt and the Lateran respectively (Pl. 46).<sup>1</sup> Since the originals are known to have been of bronze, the supports added by the copyists, on translating them into marble, have been removed in these casts.

According to a popular legend the invention of the double-flute was due to Athena, who noticed, however, that the effort of playing distended the cheeks to an unsightly degree; she therefore flung it away, whereupon Marsyas picked it up gleefully, to the annoyance of the goddess. Myron has illustrated the moment when the satyr, dancing forward on tiptoe with excitement, suddenly started back, surprised by an angry movement on the part of Athena, just as he was on the point of stooping to seize the marvellous novelty that lay at his feet. He has not given up his intention, for there is no visible danger; although repulsed for the moment by a reflex impulse of fear, he is still bent on obtaining the flute, from which he can scarcely raise his eyes to note that the inventor looks contemptuously and rather aggressively antagonized.

The artist's gift of catching the fleeting, dramatic moment is as finely displayed here as in the Discobolus, whose strong, well-trained body is like Marsyas', and of more slender proportions than most athletes' of the fifth century, whether earlier or later in date. The slightness of the young goddess contrasts with the heavy build of the Parthenos or the female figures of the Parthenon. Another peculiarity which in antiquity was considered among the artist's faults, his summary treatment of the hair, can be detected in the Discobolus, but it was not, as Pliny infers, invariable; in the best replica of the Marsyas head, in the Barracco collection, a restless ebb and flow of lock upon lock of close-lying wavy hair outlines the skull and swells high over the lips and chin. The expression of surprise, delight and alarm that flashes over the satyr's face, so that the eyebrows crinkle down over his snub nose, comes well within the border of burlesque, and perhaps another touch of the comic lies in the disgust felt by a composed young lady at the sight of such ridiculous eagerness. The contrast of vertical and oblique figures is characteristic of the grouping of this period.

Closely allied to the Discobolus is a head of an athlete of which Dresden possesses a copy found at Perinthus;<sup>2</sup> a head, identified by

<sup>1</sup> *Arch. Anz.*, 1912, p. 1; *Rev. Arch.*, 1926, II, p. 188; *Jahresh.*, xii, 1909, p. 154, pls. ii-v.

<sup>2</sup> *M.*, fig. 70; *Br. Br.*, 542.



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its winged cap (*petasos*) as Perseus or Hermes, resembles the Athena, and perhaps the Rondanini head of Medusa at Munich should be classed with it, as copies of 'Myron's Perseus who has wreaked his purpose upon Medusa,' seen by Pausanias upon the Acropolis at Athens.<sup>1</sup> The gulf between these heads and the purely athletic, brainless types from the same hand, shows that Myron varied his style to suit his subject to a degree rarely equalled by a Greek artist. The probability that the Cassel Apollo should be ascribed to him has already been mentioned; other statues have been unconvincingly conjectured to be his work on slight points of likeness.

Among anonymous sculptures of the middle of the fifth century the most striking is the Minotaur, of which the Terme and Vatican contain copies, and which should perhaps be grouped with a Theseus represented by a 'charioteer' torso in the Terme.<sup>2</sup> The monster is given a bull's head upon a powerful human body. In a charioteer in the Conservatori, one of the rare instances in which nudity has been thought suitable for this windy occupation, the body is mapped out in the same formal manner;<sup>3</sup> the position of the figure, stepping into a chariot, is paralleled on the Satrap sarcophagus (Pl. 42).

A modest but pleasing work is the Mourning Athena.<sup>4</sup> The goddess, represented as in Myron's statue, is wearing no armour except a helmet and is leaning on a spear, gazing sorrowfully or thoughtfully at a tall stone, usually interpreted as the gravestone of an Athenian soldier or a state decree. When the paint was still preserved the motive was no doubt perfectly clear. The drapery follows the sloping line of the body instead of falling vertically as in nature. More ambitious is the large relief from Eleusis, 8 feet in height, which shows Demeter and Persephone standing on either side of the boy Triptolemus.<sup>5</sup> The relief is extremely low and the hollows of the drapery have been cut deeply into the surface instead of the folds being raised above the rest. This enhances that stiff, flat effect which endures in Attic work up to the time of the Parthenon frieze.

<sup>1</sup> Br. Br., 602-4; *M.*, fig. 63, pl. ix; E. A. Gardner, *J. H. S.*, xliii, 1923, p. 139, fig. 2, pl. v.

<sup>2</sup> *Mon. Antichi*, vii, p. 377, pls. x-xii.

<sup>3</sup> *Cat.*, p. 211; *Bull. Comm.*, xvi, 1888, pls. xv, xvi.

<sup>4</sup> Acropolis Museum, No. 695; Picard, *Sculpture Antique*, i, fig. 101.

<sup>5</sup> Picard, *Sculpture Antique*, i, fig. 68; Br. Br., 7.

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A frieze of an Ionic temple which once stood outside Athens on the Ilissus, has some interest as an example of a running composition.<sup>1</sup>

In the relief at the Villa Albani (Pl. 47) is preserved a fragment of another frieze belonging to the middle of the fifth century.<sup>2</sup> The figure was formerly believed to be complete in itself, representing Capaneus or Salmoneus sinking under the thunderbolts of Zeus, but it has now been recognized that this was a mistake: rather the man has been brought to his knees with a wound in the neck, yet is still endeavouring to protect himself with his shield (which should be thought of as turned further out), covering the side of the body against an opponent who has been broken away with the right edge of the slab. The restorations include part of the shield and the shin, but not the foot or the rocky basis. A king or priest is indicated by the broad ribbon binding the head and by the nobility of the features compared with those of an ordinary soldier. Many parallels to the position of the drapery and the manner of rendering the folds occur in the art of the fifth century, among them some in the Olympia pediments, and this relief should be placed between the Olympia pediments and the Parthenon metopes. Its tense, decided modelling contrasts with the feeble treatment of a Sicilian relief of Artemis turning her dogs on to Actæon (Pl. 34*b*). This and three others formed the metopes of the Heræum at Selinus and are carved in local limestone, with the nude portions of the female figure added in marble. The height of each slab is about 5½ feet.

A female type found in both statue form and in high relief, the so-called Penelope<sup>3</sup> has considerable interest as a bridge between the Boston Throne and the Parthenon pediments: the woman sits on a stool under which rests a basket, she leans her cheek on her right hand while her left lies on the edge of the stool. Her dress combines the Ionic chiton and Doric himation, the latter being pulled over the head as a veil. The statue thus unites the motives of the two seated figures on the front of the Boston Throne, but the drapery is deeper cut and the folds are less symmetrical; the crinkly surface, which archaic sculptors use to render the full, linen chiton, is still retained.

<sup>1</sup> *Ant. Denkmäler*, iii, pl. 36; Studniczka, *Jahrb.*, xxxi, 1916, p. 169; Kjellberg, *A. R.*, p. 38.

<sup>2</sup> *Br. Br.*, 607*a*; Helbig, 1831.

<sup>3</sup> *Ant. Denkmäler*, i, pls. 31, 32; Helbig, 89; Kjellberg, *A. R.*, p. 36.

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Further links between the Parthenon and previous sculptures are the head of a youth found on the Acropolis (Pl. 44a),<sup>1</sup> and the stela of a boy from the sanctuary at Sunium (Pl. 37a).<sup>2</sup> The latter, a fragment 2 feet high, represents a victor putting a crown on his head – a row of holes was bored to attach the metal crown – and is probably a votive offering since sepulchral monuments were not placed in holy ground. The other head, from its resemblance to the metopes of the Parthenon has been attributed to the hand of Pheidias; it was thought to have been carved as a model for the subordinate sculptors, since it seemed to have been left unfinished in unimportant points, but it is as complete as many of the heads of the Olympia figures, which only call for a little paint, so that this attractive theory loses its ground. Nevertheless the head stands out among the sculptures of 450 as the work of an exceptional artist, who may conceivably have been no less than Pheidias himself.

### § 2. *The Pheidian School*

The life story of Pheidias can barely be disentangled from the contradictory legends which grew up in later times.<sup>3</sup> He was an Athenian, the son of Charmides; his master is usually recorded as Ageladas, which is almost impossible on chronological grounds, but Dio Chrysostom gives the name of Hegias, if a textual emendation be accepted (reading the genitive *Hegiou* instead of the manuscript forms, *Hepou* or *Hippou*). Pliny states that he began life as a painter and that a shield painted by him was preserved at Athens; no confirmation of this tradition exists. His earliest recorded works are said by Pausanias to have been paid for out of the spoils of Marathon; but they were probably dedicated long afterwards if indeed the ascription to Pheidias be sound. Among them is a large image of Athena at Plataea made for a temple built from the spoils (the Plataeans assisted the Athenians on that occasion). It was 'of gilt and wood, with face and hands and feet of Pentelic marble, not much smaller than the bronze statue on the Acropolis which the Athenians dedicated as first-fruits of their battle at Marathon.'<sup>4</sup>

The latter statue, known as the Promachus or Champion, stood

<sup>1</sup> Cat. No. 699.

<sup>2</sup> *Arch. Anz.*, 1921, p. 326, figs. 5, 6.

<sup>3</sup> Lippold's views are followed here as expressed in *Jahrb.*, xlviii-ix, 1923-4, p. 150.

<sup>4</sup> Pausanias, ix, 4.

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in the open air, for we hear that the point of its spear and crest of its helmet were visible out at sea. The pedestal remains on the Acropolis and its dimensions indicate that it carried a figure of approximately 55 feet in height. A platform of dark Eleusinian stone was incorporated in the Pentelic marble of the base; a similar dark patch lay before the Zeus of Olympia and the Parthenos, its function being to show up the statue more clearly. An inscription, which can be dated before 447 by the style of its lettering, presumably refers to the Promachus, for it contains the accounts of the outlay for a statue that took nine years to complete and cost half a million drachmas – at the present value of silver equivalent to £10,000 or \$50,000, but in purchasing power perhaps ten times that sum.<sup>1</sup> The Promachus is represented on coins of Athens,<sup>2</sup> but no copy survives, except perhaps among bronze statuettes.<sup>3</sup> Neither does a detailed description exist, unless the statue be identical with a bronze Athena which stood in the Forum of Constantine at Constantinople till it perished in a riot in 1203; an author of A.D. 900 refers to a bronze Athena by Pheidias preserved in that place, but the historian Nicetas, who gives a lengthy account of the figure destroyed by the mob, states its height as a mere 30 feet and does not mention either the artist's name or the spear.<sup>4</sup>

The date of these Pheidian Athenas must in each case be at least a dozen years after 490, in spite of Pausanias' connection of them with Marathon, for otherwise the statues would have perished in Xerxes' invasion: it seems that the Athenians long continued to erect memorials of this, the most important battle in their history. At Delphi, where the base beside the Athenian Treasury, if not the Treasury itself, already stood in its commemoration, Pheidias added another group of figures, including Athena, Apollo, the general Miltiades, seven heroes, whose names were born by the 'tribes' of Athens, and three other heroes – Theseus, Codrus and Phyleus. These again were said to have come out of the apparently inexhaustible booty. Allowing for a certain amount of inaccuracy in these statements, for his name became attached to many a sculpture by a minor artist, it

<sup>1</sup> Dinsmoor, *A. J. A.*, xxv, 1921, p. 118.

<sup>2</sup> *N. C. P.*, pl. Z, i–vii.

<sup>3</sup> Reinach, *Gazette de Beaux Arts*, 1922, p. 15.

<sup>4</sup> H. S. Jones, *Ancient Writers on Greek Sculpture*, No. 101; Frazer, *Pausanias*, ii, p. 348.

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would appear that Pheidias had already been entrusted with important monuments by 460, but his greatest works followed after the middle of the century.

At this time he was a friend of Pericles, the leader of Athenian politics from 460 to 430, and is stated to have directed the artistic works of the time, the most splendid of which was the Parthenon (446-433). The cult-statue for the temple was complete in 438 and was made, at least in part, by Pheidias himself; a considerable share of the designs followed in the decorative sculptures of the building must also have fallen to him. Between 445 and 433 Pheidias can have had no leisure: his other great statue, the Zeus of Olympia, must therefore be dated before or after this period. The decoration of the temple of Zeus had been practically or entirely finished by 457 and it is unlikely that no cult-statue was installed for another quarter of a century. On the other hand legends assert that the Zeus was Pheidias' last work; and one of its subsidiary figures was held to be a likeness of an Elean youth victorious in the Games of 436.

In 438 or 432, probably the latter year, Pheidias was brought to trial at Athens on the charge of embezzling the precious materials of the Parthenos statue, which had required, it is said, more than a ton of gold and a great quantity of ivory. The gold could be weighed since it was detachable, and in this respect the charge failed; he was convicted, however, of misappropriating public funds avowedly expended on ivory, and was further accused of sacrilege by representing himself and Pericles on the statue's shield. This accusation was especially aimed at Pericles, against whose prestige indeed the whole proceeding was in reality directed, even though it was probably well-grounded. Pheidias died in prison according to Plutarch, although an anonymous commentator on Aristophanes <sup>1</sup> produces a jumbled account of how he fled to Olympia, made the Zeus, and was there executed by local authorities for theft. This latter story is in all likelihood a complete fabrication; at least it is incompatible with the reverence in which the Eleans held the memory of Pheidias, whereas the former may be true since Plutarch is generally a reliable historian. From a hopelessly broken papyrus document, a record of the sculptor's liberation by the Athenians on bail, for the purpose of going to Elis to make the Zeus statue, has been pieced together; but

<sup>1</sup> Overbeck, No. 629.

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apart from the deplorable condition of the papyrus – which has given rise to doubts as to its very subject – the enormous amount of the bail offered by the Eleans (14 talents, over £3,000) is against credibility.<sup>1</sup> The priority of the Zeus to the Parthenos seems probable, although the state of the evidence leaves the decision a matter for individual judgment. A likely date is the year 448, given by Pliny as the *floruit* of Pheidias and of his brother or nephew, Panænus, who painted the interior of the shield of Athena at Elis; this statue was made by Colotes, a pupil of Pheidias, who collaborated with him in the Olympian Zeus.

The general appearance of that masterpiece is learnt from various imitations in other mediums, particularly from the Roman coins of

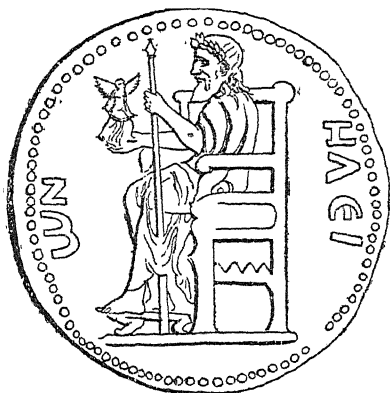


FIG. 27. – Hadrianic Coin with Olympian Zeus

Elis, one of which is reproduced in Fig. 27. But the descriptions of ancient writers are so lengthy that detailed restorations have been attempted.<sup>2</sup> Pausanias gives a full, if dry description.<sup>3</sup> 'The god is seated on a throne: he is made of gold and ivory: on his head is a wreath made in imitation of sprays of olive. In his right hand he carries a Victory, also of ivory and gold: she wears a ribbon, and on her head a wreath. In the left hand of the god is a sceptre, curiously

<sup>1</sup> Pareti, *Röm. Mitt.*, xxiv, 1909, p. 271.

<sup>2</sup> The latest is the coloured drawing in A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, ii. 2, pl. xlv, in end-pocket.

<sup>3</sup> Frazer, I, p. 251.

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wrought in all the metals: the bird perched on the sceptre is the eagle. The sandals of the god are of gold, and so is his robe. On the robe are wrought figures of animals and lily flowers. The throne is adorned with gold and precious stones, also with ebony and ivory; and there are figures painted and images wrought on it. There are four Victories, in the attitude of dancing, on each leg of the throne, and two others at the foot of each leg. On each of the two front feet are Theban children carried off by sphinxes, and under the sphinxes Apollo and Artemis are shooting down the children of Niobe with arrows.

‘Between the feet of the throne are four bars, each extending from foot to foot. On the bar which faces the entrance there are seven images: the eighth image has disappeared, they know not how. These may be representations of the ancient contests, for the contests for boys were not yet instituted in the time of Pheidias. They say that the boy binding his head with a ribbon is a likeness of Pantarces, an Elean youth said to have been a favourite of Pheidias. . . . On the other bars is the troop that fought on the side of Hercules against the Amazons. The total number of figures is twenty-nine. Theseus is arrayed amongst the allies of Hercules.

‘The throne is supported not by the feet only, but also by an equal number of pillars which stand between the feet. But it is not possible to pass under the throne in the way that we pass into the interior of the throne at Amyclæ; for in Olympia people are kept off by barriers made like walls. Of these barriers, the one facing the door is painted blue simply: the rest exhibit paintings by Panænus. Amongst these paintings is seen Atlas upholding heaven and earth, and beside him stands Hercules wishing to take the burden of Atlas on himself; also Theseus and Peirithous, and Greece and Salamis holding in her hand the figure-head of a ship; and there is the struggle of Hercules with the Nemean lion; and the outrage offered by Ajax to Cassandra; and Hippodameia, daughter of Cœnomaus, with her mother; and Prometheus still in fetters, and Hercules is born aloft to him . . . the last paintings are Penthesilia giving up the ghost and Achilles supporting her, and two Hesperids bearing the apples. . . .

‘On the uppermost parts of the throne, above the head of the image, Pheidias has made, on one side, the Graces, on the other side the Seasons, three of each; for in poetry the Seasons are also des-

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cribed as the daughters of Zeus. . . . The foot-stool, or, as people in Attica call it, the *thranion*, under the feet of Zeus has golden lions, and the battle of Theseus with the Amazons is wrought in relief on it. This battle was the first deed of valour done by the Athenians against foreign foes. On the pedestal, which supports the throne and the whole gorgeous image of Zeus, there are figures of gold, the Sun mounted in a car, and Zeus and Hera . . . and beside him one of the Graces, and next to her Hermes, and next to Hermes Hestia; and after Hestia there is Love receiving Aphrodite as she rises from the sea, and Persuasion is crowning Aphrodite. Apollo, too, and Artemis are wrought in relief on it, and Athena and Hercules; and at the end of the pedestal Amphitrite and Poseidon, and the Moon riding what seems to me a horse. Some say however that the goddess is riding a mule, not a horse. . . .

‘I know that the measurements of the height and breadth of Zeus at Olympia have been recorded, but I cannot commend the men who took the measurements. For even the measurements they mention fall far short of the impression made by the image on the spectator. Why, the god himself, they say, bore witness to the art of Pheidias. For when the image was completed Pheidias prayed that the god would give a sign if the work was to his mind, and straightway, they say, the god hurled a thunderbolt into the ground at the spot where the bronze urn stood to my time. The ground in front of the image is flagged, not with white but with black stone.’

The pedestal was 3 feet high and 22 feet long, while the statue must have been nearly 40 feet, that is about eight times life-size. But cult-statues were always colossal and, as Pausanias declares, the size was not responsible for the unique impression which the statue made upon spectators, especially those of the Roman Age. ‘Its beauty seems to have added something to the received religion,’ writes Quintilian. Unlike most cult-images it appealed to the philosophic rather than to the superstitious or the hysterical, so that Epictetus taught his disciples that it was a misfortune to die without having seen it. Perhaps its qualities prevented the Oriental gods and their cults from invading Olympia as they invaded the other sanctuaries of Greece, although it is very possible that the worship of Demeter revived in answer to the baser needs of humanity.

The Parthenon, or temple of Athena the Virgin, is a Doric build-



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ing, rather more sculptured than usual, for in addition to the sculptures of the pediments and metopes, a continuous frieze ran level with the metopes, on the outer wall of the internal chamber. In this position it was only visible from a distance in occasional glimpses between the columns, while to those who walked inside the colonnade, in a space ten feet wide, only a distorted view was possible, and that by much craning of the neck. But in the Athens of Pericles this was a matter of indifference; it proved to the weaker allies, whose money was pressed into the service of the glorification of Athens, that the city could afford richness even in beauties which would remain almost inaccessible. Indeed, when with the removal of the Persian menace Athens set itself to represent all that was most Greek, it became the centre of a very orgy of public building and artistic adornment, carried sometimes to the point of absurdity, as when the figures destined for the pediments of the Parthenon were carefully carved on the sides which would be turned away from the spectators.

The graceful refinements which the architect Ictinus introduced into the actual building are no concern of this book: the sculptures<sup>1</sup> comprise one of the most remarkable sets of architectural decoration ever known, yet they attracted little attention in ancient times, perhaps on account of their inaccessibility on the building; some diminutive copies of the pedimental groups and Pausanias' brief note on the subjects of the pediments, alone witness to what interest they aroused. For almost two thousand years the Parthenon stood unharmed, except that the east end was transformed into an apse to meet the requirements of Christian worship, thus destroying the centre of the pediment, and some minor alterations were needed to convert the building from a church into a mosque. But in 1687, during a Venetian bombardment, a shell dropped into the powder magazine which the Turks had installed therein, and the explosion blew out the sides, without however injuring the pediments of the temple. The Venetians attempted to remove the west pediment, unfortunately with faulty tackle, and the central group fell, to be splintered on the rock at the foot of the building. Fortunately a draughtsman who visited Athens in 1674, in the suite of a French ambassador, had recorded a large proportion of the sculptures in

<sup>1</sup> Best illustrations in A. H. Smith, *Sculptures of the Parthenon*, 1910; the Museum sells useful sets of postcards.

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rough sketches of fair accuracy, allowing for the conditions under which he was obliged to work. This artist was probably an unknown Fleming, though formerly identified as one Jacques Carrey, whose name remains attached to the drawings for the sake of convenience.

Subsequent travellers deplored the constant destruction of the sculptures, which continued till 1801, when Lord Elgin, then British Ambassador to Turkey, gained permission to remove such portions as he desired. His anxiety not to injure the structure itself induced him to leave much of the frieze and metopes in position, and these have since suffered much deterioration from atmospheric action. Elgin's collection passed to the British Museum, fragments brought to Europe by other travellers have chiefly been assembled there or in the Louvre, whilst the Greek excavations of last century disclosed a large number of pieces of well preserved surface, which are housed in the museum built on the Acropolis.

The metopes were first undertaken and must have been started soon after the temple itself; they were incorporated some years before 438, when the roof was completed, possibly about 442, at which time the walls reached their full height, to judge by the building accounts preserved in the inscriptions of the Treasury officials. They originally totalled ninety-two, of which thirty-two were on the north and south sides, and fourteen on either end. Each slab is over 4 feet square, and is carved in very high relief, some parts of the figures standing almost in the round. Eleven or twelve metopes are in position on the north side of the building, too defaced for their subjects to be recognizable, but most at least are scenes from the Siege of Troy. Of the metopes on the south side fifteen are in the British Museum, one is in the Louvre, one in Athens, and one is still in position; the remaining fourteen may only be seen in the 'Carrey' drawings. The subject of the extant slabs is the battle of the Lapiths and Centaurs, and it has been hazarded that nine of the missing slabs relate the story of Erichthonius. The fourteen metopes, except Nos. 6 and 7 of the western front of the Parthenon, are still in position, and are so defaced as to be almost unrecognizable, but the best preserved appears to represent a battle between Greeks and Amazons. A cast of the first metope is in the British Museum and contains a figure on horseback with a chlamys flying behind; the right hand is drawn back as if to hurl a weapon. A drawing by Pars makes out the figure to be

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male, although what remains of the waist and breast suggest an Amazon. As far as can be told from the mutilated metopes of the east end, all of which are in position, a Gigantomachy was represented. (On these and the north metopes, see Praschniker, *Parthenon Studien.*)

The style varies greatly, for some sculptors retained archaic qualities which others had discarded, and some possess far greater merit than others; obviously detailed models were not supplied, but the director of the work, whether Pheidias or someone else, specified his requirements and gave a general design, leaving the details to individuals. One of the finer metopes bearing a combat between a Lapith and a Centaur is in the British Museum (No. 319) (Pl. 51). In this slab, from the south side, the Centaur has the advantage; having seized the hair of his opponent, he is pressing him downwards with his forelegs, while the Lapith grasps a stone in his left hand and with his right, which may have held a sword, attempts to protect himself. Both heads are austere treated, but that of the Lapith reveals suffering, and the bodies are well modelled.

More homogeneous in style although clearly carved by many different hands is the frieze, which seems to have been designed by one artist – a tremendous task, for it surrounded the large chambers with their adjacent porticoes and had a total length of 524 feet, with a height of nearly 3 feet 4 inches: of the whole there remain 423 feet, reconstructed in the British Museum, while 56 feet are recorded in drawings and 45 feet are lost without trace. The work of individual sculptors is frequently recognizable,<sup>1</sup> but they were allowed little scope to display themselves, so detailed was the design from which they carved. To each slab were allotted two or more sculptors who took a figure each. It seems probable that the carving was not undertaken until the blocks were in place, that is to say before 442, if Dinsmoor's interpretation of the inscriptions be correct; according to the same authority they may have been completed before the roof was added in 438, though the evidence for this point is not conclusive. To compensate for its inaccessible position, the whole surface is tilted over by the greater projection of the relief at the top, averaging  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches but attaining  $2\frac{1}{4}$  inches in places, while its maximum projection at the bottom is but  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inches. Unfortunately 'Carrey' drew

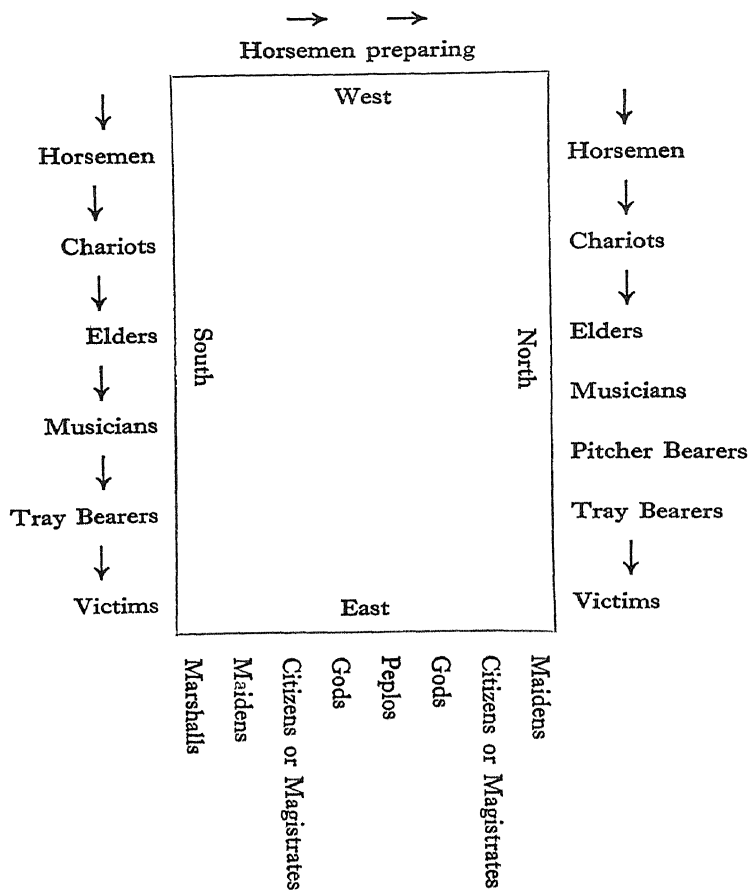
<sup>1</sup> Kjellberg, *A. R.*, p. 45.

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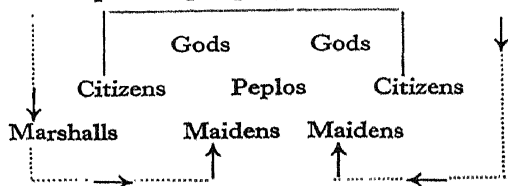
only the west end of the frieze, which was almost perfect in his day but suffered considerably in the explosion. The subject is generally accepted to be the Panathenaic procession, for the contents of the frieze agree with the main features of the festival. It was held in honour of Athena Polias, whose worship was associated with that of Erechtheus on the Acropolis, and its central feature was the offering of the peplos, woven anew every four years to be hung on her ancient wooden image, after being carried through the city, in later times being displayed upon the mast of a ship. The participants in the procession were the Athenian maidens carrying baskets of objects necessary for the sacrifice (Canephoroi); the stool-bearers (Diphrophori); men who bore trays of cakes and offerings (Scaphephori); elder citizens with olive-branches (Thallophori); and also the maidens who had woven the peplos (Ergastinæ). Peisistratus had reorganized the old annual festival, appointing one of special pomp and significance every four years, the Greater Panathenaia, to which each town, containing Athenian settlers, sent animals for sacrifice. The procession was completed by chariots, horsemen and an escort of infantry, and marshalled by the Demarchus, Hipparchus and a special order of heralds, the Eunidæ.

The accompanying diagram will explain the arrangement of the frieze. The procession starts from the west side, with the group of knights, and advances along both north and south sides, on the one from right to left, on the other from left to right, to converge upon the east side. Beyond the first group of knights is another group, moving on their way, and before them are warriors and chariots; next come various bodies of men, behind the sacrificial animals. Finally, on the east end, the maidens advance with their implements towards the officials and the central group, of which the chief figure is the priest holding a garment of much discussed nature – either the old peplos being folded away or the new peplos ready to take its place. The gods to either side should be imagined as grouped instead of lined up in a row, as they appear upon the actual relief, and instead of breaking the continuity of the procession they should be regarded as invisible spectators seated in the background. The slabs illustrated in Pl. 54, from the east end, contain the figures of two seated gods and a seated goddess; the older, bearded god may be Poseidon, but in the absence of attributes it is impossible to say with certainty; the younger,

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Perspective grouping of the East Frieze.



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unbearded god, in whose hair holes are left where a metal wreath was attached, must be Apollo or Dionysus, and the goddess has been named Artemis or Demeter, although the Ionic chiton does not suit the habits of Artemis nor does the youth of the figure suit Demeter; Peitho (Persuasion) has also been suggested, on the grounds that she was associated with the worship of Aphrodite Pandemos on the south side of the Acropolis, and that abstractions are common on the building. The two youthful figures might indeed represent almost any of the younger deities, owing to the loss of their attributes, but they are generally accepted as Apollo and Artemis. In spite of the low relief the figures are well contoured, with the drapery and anatomy mapped out in a careful scheme of stylized naturalism. On Pl. 55 is a group from the western end, of youths and a horse; one youth stands at the horse's head, holding the reins, and by the side of the animal stands a taller man in an attitude of command, with a whip in his left hand (the rivet-holes show that it was prolonged in bronze): behind the horse an attendant waits with a thick chlamys over his shoulder. Again the same discretion is observed, and the delicacy of the composition is unspoilt by too violent action, or too unguarded naturalism.

In the year 438 Pheidias completed his colossal statue of gold and ivory for the new temple; 40 feet in height, it stood towards the end of a cella, 90 feet long by 60 feet wide. The copies can only be trusted within narrow limits, for their small scale prohibits the richness of detail which the original certainly possessed; of these the Varvakeion statuette (Pl. 48*a*) and a copy signed by Antiochus or Metiochus<sup>1</sup> are the best.<sup>2</sup> The head is better known, thanks to marble copies (Pl. 48*b*) and to imitations on gems and on gold or terracotta medallions.<sup>3</sup> As any colossal figure must be, it was constructed upon solid dignified lines, with a heavy body covered by the Doric peplos with its wide, sober folds and thick material, and a broad severe face, but as a cult-statue to be seen in the subdued light of a temple cella, it was richly and colourfully decorated; indeed,

<sup>1</sup> Helbig, 1304; Br. Br., 253.

<sup>2</sup> A bust at Princeton is fairly well carved, *A. J. A.*, xxviii, 1924, p. 117.

<sup>3</sup> Marbles in Berlin, No. 76*a*, and Terme, Br. Br., 253, are the best. Cf. also Louvre marble, *Mon. Piot*, vii, 1900, pl. xv; Ny Carlsberg marble, No. 98; Corinth terracotta and marble, *A. J. A.*, xv, 1911, p. 482.

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according to the descriptions of ancient authors every possible part of its surface was covered.<sup>1</sup> This richness of detail overlying a simple foundation rather reproduces the impression given by the richness of the decoration upon the stiff archaic figures of *korai*, and the Parthenos certainly has the air of a statue executed earlier than the other sculptures of the Parthenon.

The ornaments of the helmet consisted of a sphinx in the centre and two winged horses, each supporting a plume; across the forehead ran a row of the foreparts of animals, while griffins were embossed upon the upturned cheek-pieces, scraps of which remain projecting above the ears in the Berlin head. Elaborate rings also hung from the ears, the nature of which can be best realized by the gold earring in Boston, in the shape of a Victory driving a chariot, which must have been attached to a colossal cult-image of the same period.

The shield, which in the Varvakeion copy bears only a Gorgon's head, originally carried battle-scenes between gods and giants on the inner side and between Greeks and Amazons on its outer side. Other statuettes at Athens<sup>2</sup> and fragmentary copies of the shield alone, from the Strangford Collection<sup>3</sup> and in the Vatican,<sup>4</sup> give a rough idea of the Amazonomachy, a loose composition arranged in groups of two or three figures apiece. A legend recorded by Plutarch states that Pheidias represented himself on the shield as a bald old man raising a boulder in both hands, while Pericles also appeared, though scarcely recognizable because an arm stretched across his face in the act of thrusting with a spear. But this may be an anecdote of late invention to explain both the artist's fall and the surprising individuality of some of the combatant figures. In the Strangford copy, traces of red paint remain on the snakes around the Gorgon's head, on various portions of the drapery and on the shield carried by one of the Greeks; painted figures are visible as well on the inner side. On the base of the statue was carved the legend of the birth of Pandora; even the edges of the sandals were ornamented with a struggle between Lapiths and Centaurs. Indeed only a coloured restoration can offer a true idea of the statue's appearance.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Overbeck, 645-690.

<sup>2</sup> One from Patras, *B. S. A.*, iii, pl. ix; Lenormant's copy from Athens itself, *Br. Br.*, 38.    <sup>3</sup> Schrader, *Phidias*, fig. 3; *Arch. Zeitung*, 1865, pls. 196, 197.

<sup>4</sup> *Cat. i*, No. 300, pl. 54.    <sup>5</sup> A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, ii, 2, pl. xlv, in pocket.

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The mechanical difficulties of a work of such dimensions were great, for its consequent weight necessitated stronger supports for the projecting portions than could be afforded by reliance only on the inner framework, upon which the gold and ivory were applied. Against the left shoulder leaned a spear, grasped in the left hand, which also rested on the shield; the latter was firmly kept in place by the holy serpent coiled inside it. For the right hand a pillar was provided, for it had to uphold a statue of Victory, 6 feet high, which held a wreath. Although not mentioned by ancient authors and omitted in most reproductions, the pillar occurs in a relief and a lead ticket, as well as in the Varvakeion statuette, and must therefore have been present in the original; it is true that it may be a later addition to the statue, for the necessity of a further support may not have been evident at first. The copies imply that it took the form of a Corinthian column.

The goddess wore her peplos open at the side, like a girl, but the edges overlapped to conceal the limbs; the overfall reached below the waist, and over it lay an extra girdle, a peculiarity of the 'Peplos of Athena.' On the chest lay the ægis, with serpents writhing in and out of the Gorgon's hair to either side; the tongue protruded from the mouth, following the archaic custom. Wavy locks of hair fell over the goddess's shoulder on to the ægis, while the space between them was diversified by an ornate necklace; bracelets, too, were worn on the arm.

The weight of the body was evenly distributed, except that one knee was relaxed very slightly, not enough to upset the symmetry which was the predominant feature of the pose. The head, too, was turned very slightly towards the right, presumably towards the Victory, although the gaze is not directed downwards in the statuette; the hair fell equally to either side and the knot of the ægis and belt lay precisely on the central line of the body; the arms formed the same angle with the shoulders and the mass of the shield balanced that of the pillar on the right. The folds of the overfall ran in evenly to the girdle, to fall in vertical lines, broken temporarily by the advance of the left knee. In fact the whole composition of the figure befits the temple itself, in which slight deviations and curves add to its symmetry a refinement lacking in the uncompromising, vertical and horizontal straightness of the ordinary Doric temple. The majesty of the



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colossal figure, attested unanimously by eye-witnesses, has disappeared under the unskilful treatment accorded to the small copies; it is indeed almost impossible to imagine that the thick-set, somewhat vulgar young woman of the Varvakeion statuette can have been drawn from a statue of great merit.

The style of Pheidias can be best appreciated from copies of another Athena, which Furtwängler<sup>1</sup> plausibly identified with his 'Lemnian,' dedicated on the Acropolis by the Athenian colonists in Lemnos, who may have settled there about 450. This was held by both Lucian and Pausanias to be his masterpiece; Lucian particularly remarks the beautiful outline of the face, the delicacy of the cheeks and the finely proportioned nose. It was presumably of normal size, since nothing is said on that point. Apart from these grains of certain information, there is a fair chance that the Lemnia should be identified, too, with the bare-headed Athena by Pheidias to which an orator refers, or with the 'bronze Athena of extreme loveliness' noted by Pliny. Of the type selected by Furtwängler there remain two statues at Dresden, one of them headless and the other complete, and a head at Bologna; the complete figure (Pl. 49) has no restoration of consequence apart from the nose and lips, and the Bologna head (Pl. 50a) is in perfect condition. The stylistic resemblance of the complete figure to the Parthenos, especially in the treatment of the drapery, is extraordinarily close, while the head bears out Lucian's comments. Their original was certainly by Pheidias and almost certainly in bronze; hence the identification with the Lemnian, although still open to doubt (some scholars consider this an Argive type), may be accepted as a working hypothesis.

The colossal Medici torso in Paris is another relic of the Pheidian school. It has been wrongly identified with the Promachus, which was still larger and is known from coins to have had a spear resting against the shoulder, a feature absent in this torso; neither can it represent the Lemnia, nor the Athena by Colotes at Elis.<sup>2</sup>

The last of the Parthenon sculptures to be completed were the pedimental groups. It should be observed that the frieze includes examples of the styles adopted both in the more developed metopes

<sup>1</sup> *M.*, p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, fig. 6; a head which may belong to the body is published in *Röm. Mitt.*, xl, 1925, p. 137, pls. ix, x.

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and in the pediments: there is indeed a single main style common to all the sculptures and no particular variety of it is confined to any one section of the building. The pediment statues, of which the later character appears more pronouncedly owing to their dimensions, may have been designed while the frieze was still unfinished, for the clamps intended to hold them in position were built into the wall – a proof that rough models at least were prepared before 438. An inscription of 433 mentions the expenditure of 16,392 drachmas in ‘sculptors’ wages for the pediments’; despite the fragmentary condition of the passage the reading is almost certain, especially since the unusually large sum must have been expended on an important piece of work, amounting indeed to more than half of the year’s expenditure on buildings. Stylistic divergences between the statues suggest that the models had not been carried out in full detail; in truth Attic carvers of this generation had now had so much experience of teamwork that they could be trusted not to produce incongruous details, and only required to know the main outlines of a composition. The first sketches were due, it seems, to one master, presumably Pheidias, but the models may have been prepared by others, for there exist stylistic divergences between the pediments too great to have been introduced merely in the carving. The extent to which the actual sculptors varied in style is illustrated in the three statues of Pl. 53, which, though obviously derived from models by one artist, appear to have been executed by different hands; the drapery of the upright figure is inferior to that of the others.<sup>1</sup>

Pausanias’ brief note, to the effect that the birth of Athena was represented on the east pediment of the Parthenon, is the only guide to the subject of the pediment that we possess. Probably it was the moment after the goddess had sprung in full armour from the skull of her father, Zeus, which was cleft by Hephestus (or, following an Attic tradition, by Prometheus). Long before the time of ‘Carrey’ the central group, presumably consisting of the birth scene with Zeus and Athena as the chief figures, had been removed to make room for the apse of the Christian church. Working from the left angle, there remain now the neck and shoulders and outstretched arms of a man guiding a four-horse chariot, who may be identified with certainty as the sun-god Helios (A; the letters refer throughout

<sup>1</sup> Kjellberg, *A. R.*, p. 76.

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to the Museum numbering as marked on the 'Carrey' drawing, Fig. 28). The god with his chariot is seen emerging from the sea, which is indicated by a mattress-like floor. Two of the horses in the British Museum (B, C) are carved out of one block of marble, the head of the outermost projecting from the pediment in a spirited manner; drill-holes mark the position of metal trappings. The two inner horses remain on the pediment. Next comes a reclining figure (D) – complete except for part of each forearm, the hands, part of each leg and the feet – which is commonly known as 'Theseus' (Pls. 52, 56a). He is resting upon a rock, covered with a lion or leopard skin; traces of plaited hair lie on his neck and drill-holes near the ankles indicate the metal boots which he wore. Two female figures, seated upon chests, and a third in an attitude of running (E, F, G, Pl. 53), complete the surviving members of the left side of the gable. All three are headless and handless, but are whole from the neck to the feet; the two figures on the chest are carved from one block of marble. These are commonly accepted as Demeter, Persephone and Iris.<sup>1</sup> A powerful torso, from neck to groin (H), is thought to belong to the central group, to the Hephæstus or Prometheus. On the right of the central gap is the group, known with fair reason as the Fates (K, L, M), of two seated women, against the further of whom a third reclines; these, too, are headless and armless. Finally, there comes Selene, the moon-goddess (N), driving her horses into the waves; the torso of Selene is not shown in 'Carrey's' drawing since she had already fallen down and was found only after Elgin's time, in excavations on the Acropolis. An excellent head of one of her horses (O) was removed by Elgin, two others remain in their original position.

Thus the birth takes place beneath the whole vault of heaven, with the rising sun on one side and the setting moon on the other side.

It has been suggested that the hero Theseus would not be present at such an event and that the figure in the angle must represent one of the gods – from the lion or panther skin, Dionysus or Heracles. Yet he does not seem to be concerned by the events happening in the centre and may not be an inhabitant of Olympus; for that reason his identification as the Attic hero has been supported; similarly, Furtwängler suggested that he was the ideal hunter, Cephalus, beloved

<sup>1</sup> A prototype of the Iris has been found in the running girl from a pediment at Eleusis, *Jahrb.*, xli, 1926, p. 139, fig. 1.

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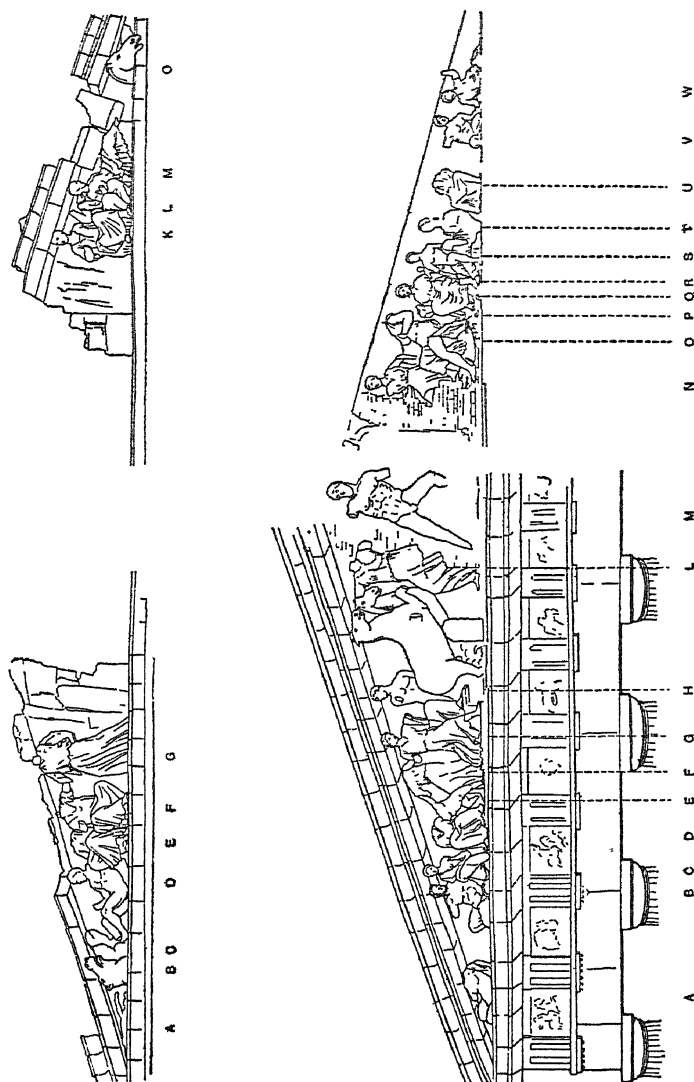


FIG. 28. - The 'Carrey' Drawings of the East and West Pediments of the Parthenon

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by Eos, awakened by the first sun-gleams from his sleep on Mount Hymettus; Brunn believed the figure to personify Mount Olympus, touched by the first rays of the sun, and it is significant that the corner near by is lighted only by the early morning sun.<sup>1</sup> The next two figures are generally identified, as already stated, as Persephone and Demeter, and the fact that they are seated upon a chest, one of their attributes, upholds this view: moreover, in Attica their cult came next in importance to that of Athena herself. If, however, the 'Theseus' be admittedly not an Olympian, it is as likely that the three figures (including the running figure) are the Horæ (Hours), who were the watchers of Olympia, opening and closing the doors of cloud, and who would therefore be the deities furthestest from the centre and nearest to the world of mortals. This is Furtwängler's interpretation. The running statue lacks the wings which Iris should bear; whoever she be, the undeveloped breasts indicate one of the younger goddesses.

Beyond the central gap the slight distance between one figure from the other two 'Fates' suggests possibly that the three do not form a single group. The head of the first figure turns towards the centre, while the outermost seated figure and the one reclining against her seem utterly unconscious of any unusual happening; the position and expression of all three bear analogies to the corresponding group on the other side. The first woman has therefore been variously called Hestia, the other two, Aphrodite and Thalassa (Sea) or Peitho (Persuasion), or Thalassa in the lap of Gaia (Earth). Again, taking the figures as a group, the names of the three daughters of Cecrops, the Dew Maidens, who held a prominent position in Attic legend, have been put forward. But the Fates are the most probable, since they cannot be absent at any birth, least of all at one of such importance; the fact they are seated far from the centre, turning their heads towards Night, may be explained by their filial relationship to Night. It is unfortunate that all the hands, with the attributes they probably held, are broken off.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Figures of mountains from Roman reliefs are collected by Waldstein, *Essays on Art of Phidias*, p. 173.

<sup>2</sup> In the restoration by Cook, *Zeus*, ii, 2 (in the pocket): the names given are as follows—Helios, Dionysus, Demeter, Persephone, Eileithyia [Heracles, Hebe, Hera], Hephæstus [Zeus, Nike, Athena, Poseidon, Aphrodite, Eros, Apollo, Artemis, Hermes], Clotho, Lachesis, Atropus, Selene.

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A relief of the same subject, upon a puteal (well-head) in Madrid, perhaps throws light upon the pediment; there an enthroned Zeus looks towards the right, to the armed Athena, a small Victory between them flies to place a wreath upon her head. On the left behind Zeus stands Hephæstus with an axe, and on the extreme right, behind Athena, are the three Fates.

A discreet naturalism, in which the sense of pattern is never overwhelmed, marks the rendering of the nude, while richness is the prevailing quality of the drapery. The design of the whole is, however, the best quality of the pediment with the figures skilfully graded to fit the slope of the roof, rising gradually from the head and shoulders of the sun-god with his horses to the reclining 'Theseus,' the seated women, the slight figure of the young goddess, to the grand, upright figures of the centre; then falling again to seated figures, reclining figures, and finally to the Moon-goddess and her disappearing chariot.

For the subject of the west pediment, Pausanias is again the sole informant and he only mentions that 'the subjects at the rear of the temple are the contest of Poseidon with Athena for the land.' Tradition placed the scene of that mythical contest upon the Acropolis, on a spot covered by the joint temple of Eretheus and Athena Polias. Athena showed her power by causing an olive tree to spring from the soil, while Poseidon produced a salt-spring, or, according to some versions, a horse; Cecrops was judge or witness before a bench of deities.

The 'Carrey' drawing (Fig. 28) was taken before the explosion of 1687 and the attempted removal of the central group by Morosini, so that it gives a fair idea of the whole. In the left corner is a recumbent figure (A), interpreted, by the analogy of the temple of Zeus at Olympia, as one of the Attic rivers, Ilissus or Cephissus. The head, parts of the arms and the leg below the knee are missing, but from the attitude he must have rested his left hand upon the bottom of the pediment, to support himself. A space, in which traces of another figure remain on the floor of the gable, intervenes between the river-god and the next two figures (B, C), which are interpreted as Cecrops and a woman of his house, perhaps his daughter, Pandrosus; his left thigh carries the main weight of the body, which leans towards the right, and his companion, also kneeling, has her arm about his

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shoulders; surprise is expressed in her attitude. Cecrops in literature is snake-legged, but here the snake lies near him. These two are still in position on the temple. Next comes in the drawing a group of two women, one seated, with a boy between them (D, E, F), of which nothing survives. The charioteer of Athena (G) survives only in fragments, of which one is possibly the head obtained by Count Laborde from Venice. A male torso (now the sole remnant of the figure H, complete in the drawing) is perhaps Hermes, the friend of Athena and skilled traveller, helping the charioteer with the horses.

Of the two central figures (L, M), the Athena's ruined head (rediscovered after 'Carrey's' time in recent excavations), neck and one shoulder and bust survive, together with the upper part of the torso of Poseidon. The goddess is identified by the ægis lying across her breast; holes show the place of the snake fringe and another hole marks the position of the head of Medusa. Among the fragments found on the Acropolis were parts of an olive tree which would fit into the pediment, but neither in the drawing nor among the fragments is there any sign of Poseidon's spring.

On the right the first remaining figure (N) is the flying torso of a girl, possibly Iris, the female messenger of the gods, which figure was formerly placed in the east pediment as the first survivor on the right side (J), and called Victory.<sup>1</sup> The torso of the female charioteer of Poseidon (O) follows next and is shown by the dolphin in 'Carrey' to be that of Amphitrite, the wife of Poseidon, or of some Nereid. Close to her come the lower limbs of a seated woman, who held the torso of a boy (now lost) on her right knee (P, Q); she is possibly Leucothea (a sea-goddess) with her son Palæmon. The 'Carrey' figures, R, S, T, U, are missing; R is represented as a child. A nude male (V) squatting upon his heels, probably a local personification, and the recumbent draped female figure, interpreted as the nymph of the spring Callirhoe, complete the gable: since the spring was closely connected with the Ilissus, the squatting youth (V) has been identified with the god of that river with greater probability than the figure A.

The general interpretation is then, that on the left side behind the

<sup>1</sup> Neither in the drawing of 1674 nor in that of Pars (1765) is the figure put in the east pediment; it is also absent in the restoration made by Feodore, 1801-2, for Lord Elgin. For further points in favour of placing it in the west, see *British Museum Guide to the Sculptures of the Parthenon*.

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Athena were placed her supporters, Attic heroes and deities, while on the right side were marine deities, sympathizers of Poseidon. Furtwängler, however, believed that a hero cult was represented on the right side as well as the left: Erechtheus and his daughters were on the side of Poseidon, while Cecrops and his family supported Athena. In the present condition of the sculptures no definite ground exists whereby any theory can be proved or disproved. Brunn even evolved an ingenious topographical explanation in which the whole coast of Attica is personified.

Apart from the 'Theseus' (Pl. 56a), no head, that retains its face, undoubtedly came from the pediments, but there is one which almost certainly did so; this head, acquired by the Louvre from the Laborde Collection,<sup>1</sup> once belonged to a Venetian family, a member of which served as a secretary to Morosini, when he tried to remove the central group of the west pediment to Venice; although the style and dimensions leave little doubt as to the source (and a groove at the back suggests that it fitted into the right side of a pediment), the features have so perished that it does not deserve illustration in this place.

Contemporary sculptures unconnected with the Parthenon give a better idea of the style. In the Hope type of Athena and its Naples variant (Pl. 50b),<sup>2</sup> it is customary to descry a late work by Pheidias, and an imitation by one of his pupils; but this view should not be accepted as unquestionable and both statues may come from the one hand. An identification of either type with the Athena Hygieia by Pyrrhus, dedicated after a plague in 429, fails because the feet do not suit the indications on the base, which has been found upon the Acropolis. In the Naples copy the arms and upper part of the animals on the helmet are modern. Another anonymous work of the Pheidian school is copied in the Zeus at Dresden, a standing figure in the style of the Parthenon frieze: <sup>3</sup> a seated goddess at Athens was perhaps copied from a cult-statue that came from the hands of the same sculptors; <sup>4</sup> and the British Museum statue (called the Farnese Diadumenus) of a boy binding a diadem round his head, <sup>5</sup> close in style to

<sup>1</sup> Br. Br., 362; Sauer, *Weber Laborde'sche Kopf*.

<sup>2</sup> *M.*, p. 73, figs. 25-28; Pfuhl, *Jahrb.*, xxvii, 1912, p. 88, pls. ix-xi.

<sup>3</sup> *J. H. S.*, xliii, p. 180, fig. 2; Treu, *Festschrift Benndorf*, p. 99, pls. ii, iii.

<sup>4</sup> Bieber, *Ath. Mitt.*, xxxvii, 1912, p. 159, pls. xi, xii.

<sup>5</sup> Hyde, *Olympic Victor Mon.*, pl. 17; Br. Br., 271; Bulle, 49.



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the Parthenon frieze, may reproduce the *Anadoumenos* dedicated by Pheidias at Olympia; but this is, of course, conjecture. In a headless statue of a goddess in Berlin the drapery is treated in the same way as in the east pediment;<sup>1</sup> she probably rested one arm on a small image of herself and one foot upon some object about 6 inches high. This *may* be a copy of the chryselephantine cult-statue of Aphrodite Urania which Pheidias made at Elis, in which one foot is known to have rested on a tortoise, 'as an injunction to wives to keep silent': but other extant types have been traced to this original and the conjecture carries little weight in each case. A statuette of Aphrodite which stands somewhat in the same pose, leaning on an archaic image, again resembles the frieze in its drapery.<sup>2</sup> The 'Suppliant Woman' in the Barberini Gallery at Rome seems to be a poor original; although the woman appears to be sitting on an altar, she may have been destined for a tomb or a pediment.<sup>3</sup>

The only other architectural sculptures which claim attention are the friezes and metopes of the Doric temple at Athens, commonly known as the Theseum, although its deity was probably Hephæstus.<sup>4</sup> Its date has been a matter for controversy, for the metopes have a more archaic feeling than those of the Parthenon, while the frieze seems to be a clear, if mediocre, imitation of the frieze of the greater temple, containing also something of the style of its metopes. In dating architectural sculptures of the Pheidian Age purely on stylistic grounds, considerable allowance must be made for the slight variations in the age of the sculptors employed and for the consequent divergences in their style; in this particular instance it is more than usually futile to debate on the chances of the priority of any particular piece of sculpture, for the composition and carving are undistinguished and may be backward, being the work of mere masons; moreover the state of preservation is poor.

One point, however, deserves mention in speaking of the Theseum; the frieze is designed, not in the continuous pictorial band of the

<sup>1</sup> Cat. No. 1459; Kekule von Stradonitz, *Über eine weibliche Gewandstatue aus des Werkstatt der Parthenongiebelfiguren*, 1894.

<sup>2</sup> Berlin, No. 586; Br. Br., 673 left.

<sup>3</sup> Hauser, *Jahresh.*, xvi, 1913, p. 57. No grounds for a proposed connection with a sculptor Deinomenes.

<sup>4</sup> Sauer, *Das sogenannte Theseion und sein plastische Schmuck*, 1899; Br. Br., 152, 153, 406-8; Kjellberg, *A. R.*, p. 78.

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Parthenon, but in a series of groups, such as would be more suitable to metopes. A continuous frieze is properly a feature of the Ionic temple; it seems therefore that the designer of the Theseum was more accustomed to the Doric temple. A further indication of this fact lies in his preference for views in full-face or absolute profile; for the metopes and pediments of early Doric buildings bore figures practically in the round, with a composition of stiff-posed figures like archaic statues, while the Ionic frieze, with its lower relief, aimed at giving an illusion of three dimensions, to which aim three-quarter views proved more adaptable. The Theseum retains the indigenous Doric method, while the Parthenon combines features of both Ionic and Doric.<sup>1</sup>

### § 3. *The Other Schools of the Pheidian Age*

The non-Attic artists of the Pheidian Age must now be considered. Of two only have works been recognized in copies of the Roman Age, although these were the most eminent – Polycleitus and Cresilas. The latter was the less influential, but his connection with the Attic school makes it more convenient to treat him first: although born at Cydonia in Crete, he found employment especially in Athens, where three of his signatures have been discovered, and he was even entrusted with the statue of Pericles dedicated on the Acropolis soon after his death in 429.

Three copies exist of its head, in the British Museum (Pl. 57*b*), the Vatican<sup>2</sup> and Berlin (No. 530): the first is known by the lettering to be of late Hellenistic workmanship and is the finest copy, if less true to the bronze character of the original than the Vatican bust. The Pericles was in reality no portrait but an ideal head of a godlike statesman – the Greeks at this period set no value on the portrayal of individual character. The presence of the helmet has been foolishly thought to be a device to conceal the peculiar shape of Pericles' skull; it is unlikely that a sculptor who could represent an aged man as though in the prime of life, would need a device to slur over any physical oddness. In truth the practice of representing a statesman helmeted goes back as far as the beginning of the

<sup>1</sup> Blümel has analysed the Attic buildings of the century from this standpoint, *Zwei Strömungen in der attischen Kunst des v. Jahrhunderts*, 1924.

<sup>2</sup> Br. Br., 156.

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century, on the evidence of a head called 'Miltiades' at Munich (No. 172; Hekler, 16). A facial resemblance to the Pericles has been traced in the Athena of Velletri, which has the same narrowed eyes and heavy lids (Pl. 57a).<sup>1</sup> The hands are restored in the Louvre statue, the only whole copy extant, and its right arm should be bent more sharply at the elbow to allow the hand to rest on a spear, while the left hand held a cup.

On the assumption that the Velletri type belongs to the late period of Cresilas, one of his early works has been recognized in the colossal goddess, probably an Artemis, of which the first complete copy was brought to light at Ariccia in 1919.<sup>2</sup> Obviously related to the Parthenos, this heavy figure in austere drapery yet differs so widely in its details from its Pheidian source that it can safely be attributed to some artist outside the Pheidian school, and comparison with the Pericles and Velletri Athena allows the name of Cresilas to pass, at least provisionally.

The same degree of doubt attaches to the attribution to Cresilas of the figure of Diomedes carrying the Palladium;<sup>3</sup> the Terme head of a bearded man wearing a leather cap may be part of an Odysseus in the same group.<sup>4</sup> There exists no obvious copy of the 'bronze statue of Diitrephes shot with arrows,' which Pausanias saw on the Acropolis; the base is extant and bears the signature of Cresilas. It may perhaps be identical with 'the man dying of wounds' noticed by Pliny, together with the Pericles and the wounded Amazon, as specimens of the artist's work.

The apportioning of the various types of Amazon among the sculptors of the time has not been achieved with much success. Improbable though it sounds, Pliny's story of their origin may contain some grains of truth: 'The most illustrious sculptors, both old and young, were led into rivalry, since they had made statues of Amazons for dedication in the Temple of Artemis at Ephesus; it was decided to choose the one most highly rated by the artists themselves, for they were there present. As it happened this was the one which each man

<sup>1</sup> Furtwängler, *M.*, p. 141, figs. 58, 59.

<sup>2</sup> Amelung, *Jahrb.*, xxxvii, 1922, p. 112, pls. ii-v; Picard, *Sculpture Antique*, II, fig. 4; Pfuhl, *Jahrb.*, xli, 1926, p. 1, who states the latest views on the works of Cresilas.

<sup>3</sup> Hyde, *Olympic Victor Mon.*, pl. 21; *M.*, p. 146, figs. 60-62.

<sup>4</sup> Pfuhl, *Röm. Mitt.*, xvi, 1901, p. 33, pl. iii.

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placed second to his own work; this was Polycleitus', the second place was gained by Pheidias, the third by Cresilas, the fourth by Cydon, the fifth by Phradmon.' The name Cydon must be a mistake, explained by the fact that Cresilas came from Cydon. Phradmon was an Argive, dated 420 by Pliny, but otherwise only known as the sculptor of a boy wrestler at Olympia and of a group of twelve cows.<sup>1</sup>

Of these Amazons, the Polycleitan statue is the only one recognized with any approach to certainty (Pl. 64*b*):<sup>2</sup> it is the type most frequently copied in antiquity. A relief from Ephesus proves that the nose, right arm, left forearm, feet, pillar and base are correctly restored in the Berlin copy. The right arm rests upon the head in an attitude conventionally expressive of pain, yet the wound, which is in the right breast, would become more painful if the muscles were stretched; the pose is therefore contrary to nature. The undeveloped but athletic form suits the virile conception of the Amazon. Another type, the 'Capitoline' is often ascribed to Cresilas, though a likeness to the Diadumenus has been traced in the best copy of the head, that in the Conservatori (Pl. 56*c*).<sup>3</sup> This Amazon has a rounded face and more voluptuous body, and wears a chlamys as well as the usual short peplos; she stands with her right hand above her head, resting on a spear; the ripe beauty of the side is disclosed to the waist, for the left hand draws the drapery away from the wounds, situated below the right breast. Neither this somewhat meretricious conceit nor the full development of the body would be expected to arise in the athletic school of Argos, and the choice therefore lies rather between Cresilas and Pheidias; the eyes and mouth speak for the former. In a third, unwounded, type, best represented by the Mattei statue in the Vatican,<sup>4</sup> the right arm is bent across the top of the head to hold a spear, which rests on the ground close to the left foot; the left arm droops along the shaft. It was once believed that the attitude was that of one about to leap on to a horse, but the explanation is no longer accepted: when similarly posed figures occur on late sarco-

<sup>1</sup> Overbeck, 1015-17.

<sup>2</sup> Berlin, No. 7; Br. Br. 248; cf. Lansdowne copy, *M.*, fig. 55, pl. viii. For a summary of theories as regards the Amazons, see Johnson, *Lysippos*, p. 29, from whose views the present writer dissents in favour of the previous beliefs.

<sup>3</sup> For the whole statue see Helbig, 852; *M.*, figs. 53, 54; Br. Br., 349.

<sup>4</sup> Helbig, 192; Br. Br., 350.

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phagi they are employed in maintaining the balance of objects on tall shafts, usually trophies. The head survives only in a piece of decorative work in Athens;<sup>1</sup> another copy was found with a 'Capitoline' head that apparently belonged to it;<sup>2</sup> to the authorship Pheidias has some claims. Furtwängler sought a fourth type in a torso known only by one example in the Doria-Pamphili collection;<sup>3</sup> it has been restored as Artemis, perhaps with justice, for when the attributes are broken off it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between the goddess and the similarly dressed Amazons.

The ascription of the most popular type to Polycleitus is borne out in his other works, of which copies abound.<sup>4</sup> Pliny states this sculptor to be a Sicyonian by birth, though according to his own signatures and other authorities he was an Argive; with most other distinguished sculptors his teaching is fathered by Pliny on Ageladas, in defiance of chronological impossibilities. Little faith can be put in Plato's statement that his sons were adult in 433 or 432 or in Xenophon's testimony to his residence in Athens towards 430, because both passages occur in books of semi-fictitious intent written many years later. He must have lived till some years after 423, when the Argive Heræum was burnt, because the chryselephantine cult-statue for the new temple was made by him; his statue of Cyniscus, whose victory at Olympia is best placed in 460, need not have been executed immediately after the event, although his activity may well have begun at that period. His dating is complicated by the existence in the fourth century of a younger Polycleitus, to whom may have been due the Aphrodite of Amyclæ, reputed to have commemorated the battle of Ægospotami in 405, and the marble Zeus at Argos, dedicated in expiation of a massacre which Pausanias dates in 418 but which may have been perpetrated as late as 370. If, however, the earlier dating be correct, this is the only marble statue attributed to the older Polycleitus.

He devoted most of his time to athletic statues in bronze, which

<sup>1</sup> *Jahrb.*, xxxiii, 1918, p. 74, fig. 15.

<sup>2</sup> Sogliano, *Museion*, II, 1924, p. 1.

<sup>3</sup> *M.*, fig. 52; *Br. Br.*, 688-9.

<sup>4</sup> Furtwängler's study of the artist, *M.*, p. 223, was so thorough that little has been securely added since he wrote; the latest monograph is by Anti, *Mon. Antichi*, xxvi, 1920, p. 501.

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were, according to Varro, 'squarely built and inclined to be all of one pattern.' Like many artists of progressive periods (Dürer and Leonardo are instances), he endeavoured to work out an ideal scheme of proportions for the human body, and embodied his results, expressed in terms of so many fingers and palms (i.e., the breadth of the hand at the base of the fingers), in a book and a statue, both called his Canon. Thus the foot measured 3 palms, the lower leg 6, the thigh 6, the space from navel to ear 6; the foot was as long as one-sixth of the total height, the face one-tenth, the head one-seventh. The statue was more often known as the Doryphorus, or spear-holder (Pls. 61, 62); he has been interpreted as a hero rather than an athlete, because the spear is of a variety used only in war, and Achilles has been suggested: yet the subject may be simply a youth undergoing military service. In this statue the convention of archaic statuary has yielded still further to naturalism, the old composition intelligible only from the front or the four cardinal points is replaced by an attitude intelligible from several points; perfect omnifaciality is found in very few ancient figures, and those of much later date.

The Doryphorus also offers a new distribution of weight, by means of a walking attitude, introduced by Polycleitus himself or an immediate predecessor. In the older statues, such as the Chaiseul-Gouffier Apollo and the youth from the Acropolis, the weight rests on the backward foot, usually the left; but the right and foremost leg of the Doryphorus carries the weight, so projecting the body forward as though it were advancing towards the spectator. The balanced distribution of tense and relaxed muscles, given on the one side by the stiffened right leg and hanging right arm, and on the other side by the loosened left leg supported on the toes, and stiffened left arm carrying the spear, is no novelty, for it is found in the Chaiseul-Gouffier Apollo (Pl. 41a) and other statues. The veins are marked; the muscles of biceps, chest and abdomen all respond to the requirements of the movement of the body, but the sharp edge of the pectoral plane, caused by the working of powerful chest muscles, is unduly emphasized, and this is not the sole instance, though the most striking, of a love of well-defined planes, which gives the whole body, but especially the chest and abdomen, a formal aspect, which was not lost till the rounder, less broken surfaces of the fourth century take their place. On the whole the complaints of ancient authors as

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to the 'squareness' of Polycleitan figures are justified. The art out of which the Doryphorus grew had perhaps some specifically Argive qualities, although such qualities cannot be well singled out: the bronze statuette of a stocky youth from Ligourio <sup>1</sup> and the Munich statue of Zeus <sup>2</sup> were classed by Furtwängler among Argive prototypes, of 460, but neither of these need be earlier than the youth of Polycleitus, so that they themselves may have been influenced by that master, whose Doryphorus may be dated somewhere between 450 and 440.

The Diadumenus (Pls. 63, 64*a*), a youth binding the fillet of victory round his head, had a less severe aspect than the older statue: Pliny's epigrammatic judgment, borrowed doubtless from some earlier source, described the two as *molliter iuvenis* and *viriliter puer*. The difference can be explained on grounds of date, though Attic influence, resulting from the artist's dubious residence at Athens in 430, has been adduced to account for this softening of style; in reality a similar tendency prevailed everywhere. The difference between the statues lies in the treatment of the heads rather than of the bodies. Nose and lips are restored in the excellent Dresden head <sup>3</sup> of this statue (Pl. 64*a*). The curls of the head are raised well above the skull, springing out from beneath the confining ribbon. The bend of the head is more appealing and the lines of the chin and mouth softer. The Delos copy (Pl. 63) is of Hellenistic date, and although of greater artistic merit does not follow its original as closely as other replicas: its addition of a chlamys and quiver on a tree-stump characterizes it as Apollo. The Canon, as we know it, applies only to adults, for several statues of boys, of much slimmer build, can be attributed to Polycleitus on stylistic evidence, among them one of which the British Museum possesses the best copy in the 'Westmacott Boy.' <sup>4</sup> Here the feet match the base of the Cyniscus statue, but Polycleitus varied his poses so little that the identity of the two remains questionable. The boy stood upon his advanced left leg and with his right hand placed a wreath upon his bent head. Judging by the smooth features, it is not a work of the artist's early life, so that the proposed

<sup>1</sup> Hyde, *Olympic Victor Monuments*, fig. 16; Furtwängler, 50, *Winckelmannsfeste*, Berlin, 1890, *Eine argivische Bronze*.

<sup>2</sup> *M.*, figs. 90, 91.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pls. x, xi.

<sup>4</sup> Hyde, *Olympic Victor Mon.*, pl. 19; *M.*, fig. 105; Br. Br., 46.

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association with the Cyniscus is weakened. The 'Dresden boy'<sup>1</sup> also stands on one leg with head bent downwards towards the side, but both his hands were lowered, probably holding athlete's implements. Like the Berlin Amazon, the 'Narcissus'<sup>2</sup> rests the left arm on a pillar, but leans the cheek against the hunched-up shoulder; again the weight is carried on one leg and the other drawn slightly back, but in addition the body is curved over the pillar. Other types and attitudes have been noted in copies, differing so slightly that they become monotonous, with their rather stolid build and heavy faces. But the dullness may be the fault of the copyists, for it cannot be imputed to the exquisite bronze head of a boy Diadumenus at Oxford, the only surviving scrap of original work produced in the Polycleitan school during the Master's lifetime, if not by his own hands.<sup>3</sup>

Polycleitus was inclined to plot his figures as mathematical exercises, yet technically he was excellent, and his very academic mind preserved him from attempting too much naturalism. Moreover his system of proportions had a great and steadying influence upon later sculptors; even though his Canon was soon modified in details, the principles of his book were generally accepted and it survived until the Roman empire, when it was read and approved by no less an authority than Galen, the physician.

The other schools of Greece claim small attention, being dependent on Athens or Argos for innovations in their style. In Bœotia a large series of fine gravestones testifies to considerable activity in this humbler industry; it centred at Thespiæ, so far as is known, but its sphere extended widely over the neighbouring parts of Greece.<sup>4</sup> The horseman of the Vatican (Pl. 60), of which the material has proved to be a Bœotian marble, was once believed to have formed part of the Parthenon frieze, a circumstance which testifies both to its excellence and to the Attic influence exerted in this region.

To some non-Attic school – perhaps to the Macedonian sculptor, Pæonius of Mende – belong some statues of Niobids, a youth and a girl<sup>5</sup> in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek (Nos. 399, 398) and a girl in the

<sup>1</sup> *M.*, pl. 12, fig. 112.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, fig. 115.

<sup>3</sup> P. Gardner, *J. H. S.*, xxxix, 1919, p. 69, pl. i.

<sup>4</sup> Rodenwaldt, *Jahrb.*, xxviii, 1913, p. 309, pls. 24–30.

<sup>5</sup> Schrader, *Phidias*, figs. 293, 295–7, 303.



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Terme.<sup>1</sup> The first of these (Pl. 58) is lying moribund, the second is running for her life, the third (Pl. 59) has been struck in the back by an arrow, and the posture of the head conveys an impression of pain although the features remain calm. This statue is to many the most pleasing of its age, because of its mingling of naturalism, idealism and formalism, its singularly fine proportions and firm modelling. Yet it is by no means devoid of mistakes; the neck, for example, is too thick. In the brother, too, a courageous attempt has been made to grapple with anatomical problems, but in spite of such observations as the humping of the left shoulder, the flattening of the left armpit and the droop of the genitals (a point neglected in the pediments of Ægina and Olympia), there was still more to learn before such an attitude could be successfully rendered. The 'Cephissus' or 'Ilissus' from the west pediment of the Parthenon has an easier pose, for the head and shoulders are raised, producing a single curve instead of two. Judged especially by the close correspondence of the Terme girl's drapery and the Parthenon frieze, the date of these statues must fall between 450 and 435; their sculptor was in close touch with developments at Athens, but an Ionian element appears in his wide eyes, smooth, rounded surfaces, and independent, wind-blown drapery – features present in the Victory carved by Pæonius a quarter of a century later (Pls. 68, 69a). A pediment would seem the natural place for figures of such diverse composition.

Less adept are reliefs from North Greece, among which may be classed a Berlin stela (Pl. 40b), formerly in a Venetian collection – the provenance is unknown.<sup>2</sup> A girl wearing a Doric peplos with a short overfall, holds an open box such as was often used for jewellery; she has put the lid on the floor by her feet and is removing from the box some object which must have been represented in paint. Toying with jewellery is a motive frequent on gravestones, perhaps as a reminder of the enjoyment the dead woman drew from her ornaments. The simple, vertical lines of the drapery are bent below the arm, in sympathy with the angle at which the box is held; head and arm lie roughly at an angle of 45 degrees to the body, the line of the neck being continued by the cross-bands of the hair-ribbon, while the

<sup>1</sup> Della Seta, *Ausonia*, ii, p. 3, pls. i–iii; Schrader, *Phidias*, figs. 120, 288–9, 298, 302.

<sup>2</sup> No. 1482; Br. Br., 417c.

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hair is collected into a knot at the back which produces a line prolonging the most marked line of the drapery. The figure is crushed against the edge of the stela to allow as much space as possible to the hands and box; lower down, to correspond to the arms, the feet and the lid of the box extend to the right side of the slab, while unity between the figure on the left and the less important, right side of the composition is effected by the direction of the head and arms. Something of the stiffness and convention of archaic art lingers in the face, although the drapery is obviously dependent upon the Pheidian design of the peplos, first adumbrated in the temple of Zeus at Olympia. The eyes are peculiarly unsuccessful, being carved as though seen full-face; the lowness of the relief offered greater difficulty in the representation of the eye, since the surface was almost flat.

A stela from Eubœa containing a man in the style of the Parthenon epoch terminates in a similar palmette, and the same defect of pressing the figure close to the edge is present;<sup>1</sup> the frontal method of carving the eye and low planes of relief are paralleled in Thessalian gravestones,<sup>2</sup> which in other respects offer analogies with these two — the Louvre relief of two girls, called 'L'Exaltation de la fleur,' is an instance.<sup>3</sup> Thus a relationship between the stela of the girl with the box and others from Northern Greece, especially Thessaly, is established, but no such works can be cited from the south. It is in fact one of the finest examples of the 'North Greek School,' bearing valuable evidence to the art of the less cultured regions at the middle of the fifth century. The date may be later than it superficially appears, for provincial work is apt to be conservative, but must in any case fall within the years of Pheidias' activity, as it witnesses to that transition from stiffness to unconstrained calm, which was effected largely through his influence. His own style seems to have been far more austere than that of his pupils and with his removal closed an epoch in Greek sculpture.

<sup>1</sup> Berlin, No. 736; Furtwängler, *Sammlung Sabouroff*, pl. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Casson, *Macedonia*, p. 229.

<sup>3</sup> Rayet, *Mon. de l'art antique*, i, pl. 12; Br. Br., 58.

TRANSITION: THE CITY-STATES AT  
WAR (433-370 B.C.)§ 1. *Attic Sculpture of the late Fifth Century*

IN 431 opened that war between Athens and Sparta which was to end in 404 with the downfall of Athens; plagues in 430 and 429 and the death of Pericles in the latter year set the city on its decline. At the same time there came a change in sculpture; the grandeur and monumental character of the Periclean Age are replaced by charm and elaboration, strong lines change to delicate curves, and calm dreamy countenances are enlivened by emotion. The goal is a more interesting, if less inspiring, art than the Pheidian, but the technical equipment of sculptors still restrained their desires, and prevented an exuberant naturalism or emotional expression. It was not until after the experiments of the first quarter of the fourth century that sculptors gained the power to realize their new ideals. Politically all the period of transition was occupied with wars, the balance of power being maintained by a series of combinations, which changed whenever there seemed a chance that chaos would be terminated. No great programme of public works could be carried out by any of the Greek states; considering their poor financial position it is remarkable that they achieved so much.

At Athens many famous sculptors survived to the end of the fifth century. To Myron's son, Lycius, is attributed a portrait of the athlete Autolycus, victor in 421, which stood in the Prytaneum at Athens; no dates are attached to his bronze statues of the Argonauts, of a boy holding a holy-water sprinkler, of a boy blowing up the embers of a fire and a boy offering incense, but his large monument at Olympia commemorated an event which probably took place about 431, the capture of Thronium by the inhabitants of Apollonia, a Greek colony in Albania. This consisted of a semi-circular pedestal of stone, on the middle of which stood the figures of Zeus, Thetis and Day, between several pairs of figures, Achilles and Memnon, Diomedes and Æneas, and other famous antagonists. Lycius' group of two horsemen at the entrance to the Propylæa at Athens was dedicated, as its base records, 'out of the spoil of their

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enemies, by cavalry commanded by Lacedæmonius, Xenophon and Pronapus,' the occasion being, it seems, the conquest of Eubœa in 446.

The two notable pupils of Pheidias, Alcamenes and Agoracritus, apparently were younger men, especially the latter, to judge by his relations to Pheidias. Pheidias was, says Pliny (and his information is confirmed by other authorities), 'attracted by his pupil, Agoracritus of Paros, because of his youthful charms, and therefore allowed him to sign several of his (Pheidias') works. However, both pupils competed against another with figures of Aphrodite, and Alcamenes won, not because his statue had greater merit but because the citizens voted in his favour against the foreigner. So they say that Agoracritus sold his statue on the condition that it should not stand in Athens, and called it Nemesis; it was placed at Rhamnus, a village in Attica. Varro preferred it to any other statue.' This Nemesis was commonly attributed to Pheidias, in spite of the signature of Agoracritus, which seems indeed to have been removed by Pausanias' time, no doubt to enable the local priesthood to proclaim their treasure as a work of Pheidias, rather than of his less distinguished pupil. Pheidias is reputed to have carved the statue from the very block of Parian marble which the presumptuous Persians brought to make into a trophy after their conquest of Athens. The figure stood on a pedestal covered with reliefs of legends connected with the life-story of Nemesis. Of the figure itself Pausanias writes: 'On the head of the goddess is a crown ornamented with deers and small victories: in her left hand she carries an apple bow, in her right a bowl, on which are worked figures of Ethiopians.'<sup>1</sup> The association of the statue with the Persian wars is suggested by the position of Rhamnus, between Eretria and Marathon, the scene of the Persian triumph and disaster in 490; of course the story of the block of marble is merely a legend.

Part of the head, twice life-size, survives in the British Museum;<sup>2</sup> the lower eyelid, cheek and some of the hair on the right side are preserved, and resemble the Laborde head, which is attributed to the Parthenon pediments, so that the Nemesis can be ascribed to the thirties of the century. The outbreak of the Peloponnesian War in

<sup>1</sup> A restoration, founded on this description, in A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, i, pl. xxiii.

<sup>2</sup> *J. H. S.*, xxxi, 1911, p. 70, fig. 5.

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431 forms an apparent *terminus ante quem* for sculptures outside Athens, since the country was occupied periodically by Spartan invaders, while the prominence of Peloponnesian heroes on the base argues against the truce of 421-413. On the other hand the forty fragments of the base in the Athens Museum will not permit a date long previous to 431, because the drapery has a later character than the Parthenon pediments, which seem to have been carved in 433. The discrepancy may be explained on the ground that the models of the pediments had existed for several years before their reproduction in marble; moreover, Agoracritus may have had a less conservative disposition than Pheidias.

A free copy of part of the base has been recognized at Stockholm: <sup>1</sup> it contains four figures, all facing more or less towards the spectator's right and therefore derived from the left side of the relief. They are standing in a row, like independent statues put side by side, reflecting small credit on Agoracritus' powers of composition. The style of the copy can bear little resemblance to that of the original, but the correspondence of subjects with those of the extant fragments on the base can leave no doubt of its derivation; the copyist adopted in the drapery the style of his own day, the early Roman empire, rather than reproduce the hesitating lines of the close of the fifth century, which make the garment cling to the body and give an appearance of wetness.

A further stage of this development led to the statue known as the Venus Genetrix, because it occurs on Roman coins with that legend, soon after Arcesilaus had made a statue known by that epithet for the forum of Julius Caesar, who claimed descent from the goddess through Æneas. But this is not the only type that occurs on coins and the connection with Arcesilaus is disputable; if correct he can only have copied a well-known original of which several copies exist, the best being the headless example in the Terme (Pl. 72b).<sup>2</sup> With one hand the goddess lifts the end of her drapery over her shoulder, like a figure on the Rhamnus base; in the other hand she holds the apple awarded by Paris to the most beautiful of goddesses. Furtwängler identified this statue as Alcamenes' 'Aphrodite in the Gardens' which

<sup>1</sup> Kjellberg, *A. R.*, p. 105, pls. vii, viii; fragments of the original illustrated on his pls. i-iv, cf. *Br. Br.*, 464.

<sup>2</sup> For others see Harcum, *A. J. A.*, xxxi, 1927, p. 141, pl. vii; *Br. Br.*, 473.

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stood outside Athens, and it has also been referred to Callimachus, but it might with far greater likelihood be assigned to Agoracritus, because of its resemblance to the Nemesis base: his other known works have perished utterly, except that the statue at Athens variously ascribed to him or Pheidias must have inspired the seated Cybele found on several votive reliefs.<sup>1</sup>

The Aphrodite of Alcamenes was selected by Lucian to contribute to his ideal beauty 'the front parts of the face as well as the hands and well-proportioned wrists and slender flexible fingers.' Pliny remarks that Pheidias was said to have put the finishing touches to this statue, of which, however, the pose is quite unknown, and equally unknown is Alcamenes' other famous work, the Hephæstus, where lameness was tactfully suggested. This statue stood in the temple of the god at Athens, in all probability the building now known as the Theseum. An inscription of expenses on public works in 420-417 apparently refers to this statue and to its companion, which possessed a shield supported on foliage and may be presumed to have represented Athena. Now an Athena, whose shield rests upon an acanthus by her side, survives in copies at Cherchel and elsewhere,<sup>2</sup> while a similar Athena appears conversing with Hephæstus on a relief from Epidaurus. An ascription to Alcamenes has therefore much to commend it.

Alcamenes also made a chryselephantine Dionysus and statues of Ares and Asclepius. His Hermes Propylæus has already been noted among the evidence for his continuous activity throughout the second half of the century (p. 167); a copy of his three-bodied Hecate, which stood in the Propylæa, has been more plausibly recognized in a group at Berlin,<sup>3</sup> than in a totally different one at Vienna.<sup>4</sup>

We reach firmer ground with a life-size group now in the Acropolis Museum,<sup>5</sup> for this statue of a woman with a boy pressed against

<sup>1</sup> Von Salis, *Jahrb.*, xxviii, 1913, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Jahresh.*, I, 1898, p. 55, pl. iii; Bieber, *Arch. Anz.*, 1914, p. 16, fig. 8, for the best head; others published by Amelung, *Neue Jahrbücher*, v, 1900, p. 13, pl. ii.

<sup>3</sup> Schröder, *Alkamenes-Studien*, 79, *Winckelmannsprogramm*, Berlin, 1921, pl. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Picard, *Sculpture Antique*, II, fig. 16; *Jahresh.*, xiii, 1910, p. 87, pls. iii, iv.

<sup>5</sup> Schröder, fig. 2; Praschniker, *Jahresh.*, xvi, 1913, p. 121, pl. iii; *Antike Denkmäler*, II, pl. 22.

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her side must surely be identical with one seen by Pausanias – 'A group representing Procne and Itys, at the moment when Procne has taken her resolution against the boy, was dedicated by Alcamenes'; by this Alcamenes he obviously meant the sculptor. The group offers a poor impression now, with the boy mutilated and half of the woman's face and her arms broken away, but at least it confirms the presence of the master's style in the Berlin Hecate, and implies further that to him is due the original of a headless female statue from Pergamon<sup>1</sup> as well as the caryatids of the Erechtheum (Pl. 66), for in every case the drapery is treated in the same manner; moreover the wide face and strong neck are common to both Procne and the caryatids.

The latter, rather more than life-size, are used as pillars to support the roof of a porch that projects from the main building; four *korai* scarcely differing from one another stand along the front, and one more on each side wall. The design is copied in St. Pancras' Church in London. One of the figures was removed by Lord Elgin and now rests in the British Museum, all the others remain in their original position. The idea is no novelty, having been used in the Delphian Treasuries more than a century earlier, but the Erechtheum statues<sup>2</sup> are better adapted to their purpose than were their prototypes, because the body retains the same thickness throughout instead of tapering to the feet like an ordinary archaic *kore*; at both periods a thick mass of hair is used to strengthen the back of the neck. The construction of the caryatid porch can be placed, on the evidence of the inscribed accounts of the Building Committee, between the commencement of the temple (421?) and its temporary stoppage (413?); the statues were certainly in place before 409 and their likeness to some figures on the Parthenon frieze, of girls carrying water-pots on their heads, favours the earliest date permissible.

The originals of two reliefs, one of Orpheus, Eurydice and Hermes in the Underworld, the other of Medea and the daughters of Pelias busied about a tripod, can be attributed from the style to Alcamenes or his group.<sup>3</sup>

In the light of the Procne it becomes impossible to admit the identity of the Genetrix with the Aphrodite in the Gardens, and it

<sup>1</sup> Schröder, *op. cit.*, fig. 3; *Pergamon*, vii, pls. vi, vii.

<sup>2</sup> Architecturally considered by Ronczewski, *Arch. Anz.*, 1922, p. 174.

<sup>3</sup> Picard, *Sculpture Antique*, II, fig. 24; Schröder, fig. 7; *Br. Br.*, 341.

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must be assigned rather to Agoracritus or some associated sculptor. Other works of the same *virtuosi* include the statues of Demeter at Eleusis,<sup>1</sup> and of Demeter or Hera in the Vatican;<sup>2</sup> the latter alone retains its head, which closely resembles that of the Nemesis of Rhamnus.

In the present state of knowledge the Borghese type of Ares (Pl. 69b)<sup>3</sup> cannot be ascribed to any particular Attic master, though the Ares of Alcamenes naturally comes to mind. The god, wearing the helmet and sword-belt as his attributes, stands on the left leg, with the right leg advanced and to the side. The pose and anatomy recall the Doryphorus: in each the right leg is advanced and the left arm is bent upwards at the elbow, but in the Doryphorus the weight rests on the forward foot in the attitude of walking and the right arm hangs slack by the side, while in the Ares the entire right side is relaxed, the entire left side tense, so that the symmetry of the earlier statue is lacking.

A quaint idea of the time was the bronze horse representing the Wooden Horse of Troy, with heroes climbing out of its back. Two statues of this type are known; one by Antiphanes of Argos at Delphi, commemorating an Argive victory in 414; the other, a work of Strongylion, was dedicated on the Acropolis at Athens slightly earlier, for in the *Birds* of Aristophanes, first acted in that year, there seems to be a topical allusion in the phrase 'horses as big as the Wooden Horse'; the base of this particular horse is over 11 feet in length. Its artist is also credited by Pliny with 'the Amazon called *eucnemus* (well-legged) because of its admirable legs, for the sake of which it travelled around in Nero's retinue. He likewise made the boy of which Brutus (the hero of Philippi) was so fond that the glory of his own name has rested upon it.' Speaking of a group of Muses upon Mount Helicon, composed of three statues apiece by Strongylion, Cephisodotus and Olympiosthenes, Pausanias remarks that the first-named was excellent at representations of oxen and horses.

Of uncertain authorship is the frieze of the temple of Athena Nike, less accurately named of Wingless Victory (*Nike Apteros*), a small Ionic temple standing on a bastion at the entrance to the Acropolis at Athens, thereby preventing the expansion of the Propylæa to its

<sup>1</sup> Br. Br., 536.

<sup>2</sup> *M.*, fig. 35; Br. Br., 172.

<sup>3</sup> Complete statue in the Louvre; Br. Br., 63.



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natural limits; the fact that it obstructs the completion of the Periclean plan explains the circumstance that a building started in 450 remained incomplete longer than the Parthenon, for Pericles obviously would be reluctant to press on the work and it would be left to an opposition government. The frieze, less than a foot and a half in height, consists of battle-scenes on three sides and an assembly of deities on the fourth side; some of the slabs were removed by Elgin and acquired by the British Museum; others have now been replaced in the reconstructed building. On the section illustrated (Pl. 65*a*) Greeks and Persians are engaged in a confused struggle in which the Persians can be distinguished by their long loose skirts and trousered legs, which contrast with the nude bodies of the Greeks and lend variety to the scene.

The style, from the height of the relief itself, the violent attitudes, the grouping of the figures as often in twos or threes as in larger units, resembles that of the metopes rather than the frieze of the Parthenon: the tall lithe figures, however, are a new departure, and the use of floating drapery to fill gaps in the composition is carried further. The ingeniously varied and forceful design has been executed by inferior workmen, thus the bold foreshortening of the Persian on the extreme left gives him a leg of superhuman length; perhaps the mason or masons had received insufficient training on the technique of perspective, for the same exaggeration occurs in the figure of a Greek on the extreme right, and the foot of another Greek appears to grow out of the head of a dead Persian. That the drapery of one Greek, who has seized a Persian by the hair, is scarcely visible where it falls between his thighs, indicates the workman's reliance on the easier method of painting in the garment; possibly other pieces of clothing were not sculptured at all, and have consequently disappeared.

The frieze is constantly varying in style, so much so that Blümel, who made a detailed study of it,<sup>1</sup> considered that the execution of its 86 feet stretched over the whole forty years, from about 450 to 410: this absurd conjecture met its proper fate when Praschniker noticed that two scraps assigned to the earliest and latest periods fitted together. The differences between the sections of the frieze may adequately be explained by the difference in the age of the carvers,

<sup>1</sup> *Fries des Tempels der Athena Nike*, 1923.

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and in their personal conservatism or progressiveness, and the whole is best placed ten or fifteen years later than the Parthenon, about 420.<sup>1</sup>

A temple at Delos, the construction of which was completed by the Athenians about 417, had, for its acroteria, groups of Boreas and Eos abducting girls, as well as separate female figures, most of which survive in fair condition.<sup>2</sup> The style of these statues connects them, as is natural, less with the Parthenon than with the frieze of the Nike temple.

The balustrade of sculptured slabs that surrounded the Nike temple, standing with their backs against the edge of the bastion, may be dated towards the end of the century, about 406-404.<sup>3</sup> The slabs often seem complete in themselves, but they compose a frieze in which winged Victories appear in various attitudes – two of them are leading a cow to the sacrifice, another kneels on a cow's back to kill it with a knife, another is fastening her sandal (Pl. 72a), while still others are constructing a trophy, by placing a helmet on a pole. An Athena with a shield, seated at one end of the parapet, is the original to which can be traced the Britannia of English pennies. Five or six sculptors seem to have been employed, but the better slabs, especially that of the Victory fastening her sandal, carry the ideal of the clinging drapery as far as the Genetrix, and for the designer's name none more suitable than that of Agoracritus has been brought forward.

Stylistically little need be said of the contemporary and less distinguished friezes of the Erechtheum, which contained white marble figures pegged on to a background composed of the dark stone of Eleusis; no figures remain *in situ* and the arrangement of the fragments is beyond human powers. Figures slightly over 2 feet high come from the north porch,<sup>4</sup> smaller figures from the cella.<sup>5</sup> Great historical value attaches to an inscription of the building commission recording the expenditure on the cella frieze in 407, at the rate of sixty drachmas a figure (the rate of wages for ordinary labour was a drachma per day, equivalent to fivepence or ten cents at the present

<sup>1</sup> Kjellberg, *A. R.*, p. 121.

<sup>2</sup> In Delos Museum; *B. C. H.*, III, 1879, pls. x-xii; Courby, *B. C. H.*, xlv, 1921, p. 174, for identification of source.

<sup>3</sup> Casson, *Acropolis Cat.*, ii, No. 972, etc.; Dinsmoor, *A. J. A.*, xxx, 1926, p. 1.

<sup>4</sup> *Antike Denkmäler*, II, pls. 31, 32.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pls. 33, 34.

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market price of silver, but with perhaps ten times the purchasing power). The workmen include foreigners, whose Attic residence is stated, as well as Attic citizens, whose demes (parishes) are mentioned. The preserved part of the inscription runs:

'To Phyromachus of Cephisia for the youth beside the breastplate	60 dr.
To Praxias, resident at Melite, for the horse and the man seen behind it who is turning it	120 dr.
To Antiphanes of Cerameis, for the chariot and the youth and the pair of horses being yoked	240 dr.
To Phyromachus of Cephisia, for the man leading the horse	60 dr.
To Mynnion, resident at Argyle, for the horse and the man striking it. He afterwards added the pillar	127 dr.
To Socles, resident at Alopeke, for the man holding the bridle	60 dr.
To Phyromachus of Cephisia, for the man leaning upon his staff beside the altar	60 dr.
To Jason of Collytus, for the woman whom the child has embraced	80 dr.
Total expenditure on sculpture	3,315 dr.
Received, 4,302 dr. 1 obol.	
Disbursed, the same sum.	
To . . . for the young man writing and the man who is standing beside him	120 dr.
To . . . resident at Collytus, for the . . . and the chariot (but not the pair of mules)	80 dr.
To Agathanor, resident at Alopeke, for the woman beside the chariot and the pair of mules	180 dr.'

Each individual seems, therefore, to have executed a very small share, but only a third of the whole account has been preserved and the same names may have recurred on other sections as constantly as that of Phyromachus in this portion.

### § 2. *Peloponnesian Sculpture of the late Fifth Century*

In the Peloponnese the style associated with Agoracritus was common even in the lifetime of Polycleitus. The temple of Hera near

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Argos, destroyed by fire in 423, was rebuilt about 420, and decorated with sculptures designed in this manner with coils of floating drapery. 'Of the sculptures over the columns,' says Pausanias, 'some represent the birth of Zeus and the battle of the gods and giants, others scenes of the Trojan wars and the capture of Troy.' It seems that the first and last of these refer to the east and west pediments, for the subjects are more suitable to pedimental composition than the progressive action of the battles scenes, which would divide easily into groups and therefore probably formed the contents of the metopes; other metopes must have shown battles between Greeks and Amazons, for there remain portions of female figures in rapid motion, but these may, it is suggested, be only those Amazons who took part in the Trojan War. These and other fragments of figures of less than life-size are ascribed to the metopes, while pieces of natural size such as the female head (Pl. 71*b*) fit the pediments; this head in fact belongs to the west pediment, as do two curious groups of an archaic image embraced by a suppliant, which obviously refer to the fall of Troy. The marbles have all been shattered, and the latest examination of the remains <sup>1</sup> has ended any hope that reconstruction on a large scale could be effected. A controversy as to whether the style was Attic or Argive, subsequently broadened by Eichler's support of a North Greek school, goes to prove the inadequacy of local distinctions, especially in important works. Masons, as well as sculptors of superior standing, were habitual wanderers throughout the history of Greek and Roman art. An Argive architect was certainly employed and the cult-statue was made by Polycleitus, but the designer and carvers of the decorative sculptures were not necessarily local men: probably if the accounts were extant, the masons would be found to be of mixed habitation, as in the case of the Erechtheum.

The cult-statue of the Heræum was a colossal seated figure of gold and ivory: 'on the head is a crown upon which the Graces and Seasons are wrought in relief; in one hand she carries a pomegranate, in the other a sceptre. The story about the pomegranate I shall omit because of its mystic nature, but the cuckoo perched on the sceptre is explained by a story that when Zeus was in love with the girl Hera

<sup>1</sup> By Eichler, *Jahresh.*, xix-xx, 1919, p. 15; better plates in Waldstein, *Argive Heræum*.

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he changed himself into this bird and Hera caught it to play with.' So Pausanias writes, and his account is substantiated by coins, some of which even show the cuckoo.<sup>1</sup> But the style cannot be gathered from the coins, and the attempts to recognize copies of the head cannot be admitted as more than possibilities; the least doubtful example is the British Museum head.<sup>2</sup>

Polycleitan works of the end of the fifth century are numerous. An Attic element enters into the Louvre head of an athlete from Benevento;<sup>3</sup> this clever piece fails to please because of the restless artificiality of the curly hair, and if an original it is of poor quality. The bronze boy at Munich (Pl. 71a), whose lips are inlaid with silver, is a sensuous masterpiece that far surpasses in expressiveness anything by Polycleitus himself: a basalt figure in the Terme, of a boy wearing the olive-wreath of the Olympic victor, and a head in the Lateran, are perhaps copies of other works by this artist.<sup>4</sup> The style of Polycleitus is more closely followed in the bronze statue at Florence, '*Il Idolino*' (Pl. 70),<sup>5</sup> which was found in Pesaro and was considered an indisputable original until a basalt copy of the head was discovered in the Vatican cellars; the objection was then raised that an original in so remote a town would not have been copied. It is true that the details of the bronze are not oversharpe, and the more critical portions may have been cast from the original statue, though the uncontaminated Argive elements prevent it from being considered an ordinary imperial copy.<sup>6</sup> The Munich head on the other hand looks like the finished production of a great artist and, were it not for a marble replica, Lippold would find no support for his contention<sup>7</sup> that it is a cast; the phallus found with the head is no sound evidence that both formed part of a herm, and therefore were of later date (in Hellenic times herms were not in use for heads other than those of Hermes), for unconnected sculptures are often inextricably mixed up when unearthed. A bronze youth from Pompei<sup>8</sup> can plainly be no more than a copy of some original resembling the

<sup>1</sup> N. C. P., pl. 1, xii-xiv.

<sup>2</sup> J. H. S., xxi, 1901, pls. ii, iii.

<sup>3</sup> M., pl. xiv; Johnson, *Lysippos*, p. 32; Br. Br., 324.

<sup>4</sup> Br. Br., 700; Johnson, *Lysippos*, p. 36.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 274-7.

<sup>6</sup> Lippold, *Kopien*, p. 125.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 124.

<sup>8</sup> Naples, *Guida*, No. 834, fig. 50; Sogliano, *Mon. Antichi*, x, 1901, p. 641, pls. xvi-xxvi.

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*Idolino*, while other copies of work of the same school include the bronze youth with long hair (Apollo?) of which the first complete copy was recently discovered at Pompei,<sup>1</sup> a bronze bust of a young man from Herculaneum,<sup>2</sup> and a marble *Hermes* from Cyrene.<sup>3</sup> In these sculptures an Attic influence sometimes displays itself, in return for the Argive elements borrowed by Attic sculptors, but the schools do not completely merge: the Argive head retains its elongated shape, its flat cheeks and sharp separation from the neck, and sometimes a bar of flesh over the nose is present. The sculptors of this class of work presumably included the large band of pupils of Polykleitos, many of whose names are recorded,<sup>4</sup> but who remain otherwise unknown; their one large commission was a group of thirty-seven statues at Delphi, a memorial of the Spartan victory at Ægos-potami in 405.<sup>5</sup> Theocosmus (pp. 61, 62) made a portrait for it.

It was perhaps a member of the Argive school who designed the frieze of Phigaleia, now preserved in the British Museum. High up on the hillside at Bassæ, stood what Pausanias considered the second temple in the Peloponnese, erected by the Arcadian town of Phigaleia in gratitude to Apollo the Helper, to whose intervention was ascribed its freedom from a plague which had ravaged the neighbourhood during the Peloponnesian War. This was not the celebrated plague of 430, for although that decimated Athens it spared the Peloponnese, but another outbreak of probably ten years later, with which date the style of the building and its sculpture agrees. The name of the architect is recorded, perhaps wrongly, as Ictinus, who worked on the Parthenon; at Bassae an unparalleled plan combines the Doric, Ionic and Corinthian orders. Among other peculiarities the frieze was placed inside instead of outside the building, round the walls of a room which was chiefly open to the sky, only the small cella, at the end containing the cult-statue, being roofed. The whole frieze could therefore be seen at once, whereas under the normal arrangement of temples never more than two sides were displayed at once, and there was no need for a symmetrical design. By another

<sup>1</sup> Rizzo, *Bull. Comm.*, liii, 1926, p. 13, pls. i-iv.

<sup>2</sup> Naples, *Guida*, No. 855; Br. Br., 339; *M.*, fig. 12.

<sup>3</sup> Ghislanzoni, *Notiziario Archeologico*, ii, 1916, p. 85, figs. 41-43, pl. iv.

<sup>4</sup> Overbeck, 978-985.

<sup>5</sup> Deductions from the extant base, Johnson, *Lysippos*, p. 7.

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departure from the regular custom, the frieze was not built into or carved upon the wall, but wrought on thin sheets of marble which were fastened thereto by clamps and pins; two pins were used for each slab, the holes through which they passed being visible behind the head of the right-hand Centaur and in the drapery beside the child, in Pl. 67. As a consequence of this method the junctions of the slabs were necessarily left bare of figures – no projecting foot or arm binds the composition together – hence the original order cannot be decided throughout.

In compensation for lack of co-ordination, the treatment is unusually vigorous; more than half the blocks are occupied by a battle between Greeks and Amazons, the remainder with a battle between Greeks and Centaurs, while the gods, whose figures divide the two scenes, take part on the side of the Greeks. Sensational groups are designed; a soldier throws an Amazon off her horse by her shoulder and foot, a Centaur fixes his teeth in the neck of one adversary while kicking out with his hoofs at another, who protects himself behind his shield, and a Centaur seizes a woman before she can escape with her child (Pl. 67); two other women take refuge at an archaic image and a suppliant is dragged away from the altar. Wildly flying drapery fits the confusion of the scene, but the faces are as impassive as those of the sedate young men on the Parthenon frieze, for this was an age of transition.

From the thick proportions of the figures, reminiscent of Argive works, the sculptors may be classed as Peloponnesian, with traits allaying them to the sculptors of the Argive Heræum and of the slightly later sanctuary at Epidaurus, near Argos.<sup>1</sup> Architecturally, too, the Argive and Phigaleian temples have much in common. Although the slap-dash carving falls far short of the delicacy of Attic relief, producing an effect of a date later than the fifth century, yet there is evidence of Attic influence: one of the groups reproduces a motive from the frieze of the Theseum; moreover the composition is based on the same principles as that of the frieze of the temple of Athena Nike – close groups of single combats, diversified in each by longer stretches of narrative, in which the only touches of quiescence are given by the dead and wounded. Similarly the scanty remains of

<sup>1</sup> An Epidaurus fragment, No. 158 in the National Museum at Athens, comes particularly near to the style of the frieze.

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the temple's metopes are clearly related to the Victory Balustrade. Obviously some person familiar with Athens designed the sculpture, which was then executed mainly by Peloponnesians, in the Dolianà marble of Arcadia. In some respects, notably the drapery, they failed to do justice to the bold design, and they handled the male figure considerably better than they did the female, as indeed might be expected from the athletic tradition of their school. Moreover they evidently relied more upon the help of paint than was customary at Athens.

### § 3. *The Northern and Eastern Area*

A better work of the same age has been preserved in the Victory by Pæonius of Mende, a Greek town in E. Macedonia (Pls., 68, 69a).<sup>1</sup> This statue, noticed by Pausanias at Olympia, was identified beyond question by the inscription on the plinth: 'The Messenians and Naupactians dedicated to Olympian Zeus the tenth part of the spoil of their enemies. Pæonius of Mende made it; he also won the competition for making the temple's acroteria.' Messenian refugees settled at Naupactus in 456, and the combined forces won a success in 452 by taking a town in that district; this was the battle to which Pausanias referred the dedication of the statue, but comparison with the Iris of the Parthenon (Pl. 53) suggests that such a date is impossibly early, and the expensive nature of the monument makes it probable that the proceeds of some more considerable battle, say in the Peloponnesian War, were drawn on. As legends, rejected by Pausanias, pointed to a victory won in 424, the statue was doubtless commissioned after the peace of 421. Pomtow has asserted that a bronze Nike at Delphi formed the original from which the Olympian statue was copied contemporaneously, but the extant base of the bronze shows that the statues were not identical.

In spite of its fragmentary condition on discovery, it has been possible to restore the Olympia figure without risk of error in any essential point, though whether the object grasped by the right hand was a crown or ribbon to place round the head of the victor, or a palm leaf or other emblem, it is impossible to state. From a scrap of the back of the head, complete heads with the same arrangement of hair

<sup>1</sup> Kjellberg, *A. R.*, p. 93; Br. Br., 444-5; *Olympia*, iii, p. 182, pls. 46-48.



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have been recognized as copies.<sup>1</sup> In the reconstructions, however, a head from the pediments of the temple of Zeus is employed. The goddess is represented flying down from Olympus to bring victory to the men of Naupactus, and to show that she was still hurrying through the air an eagle was placed beneath her feet; the bird was only in part carved out, being in part represented in paint, thus helping to conceal the block (coloured sky-blue no doubt) that supported the statue. The pedestal was about 30 feet high, tapering sharply upwards, and triangular in form so that the spectator should not see more than one side at once: the solidity of a square mass of the same dimensions would have been much more apparent and would have utterly destroyed the illusion of flying through the air.

Dedication of statues of Victory was a common practice in the wars of antiquity, the finest of such being the Nike of Samothrace in the Louvre, a figure more than a century later; for an earlier work may be cited the Nike placed on the hand of the Athena Parthenos, from which type a great advance had been quickly made, whether by Pæonius or by one of his contemporaries we know not. The goddess is leaning forwards like a runner, and to counterbalance the forward and downward pull of gravity her cloak is blown far behind her. A happy expedient gives support to what would otherwise be dangerously thin sections of marble, for the overfall of drapery that covers the breast is also driven back by the wind. It was perhaps to strengthen the lower part of the statue that the peplos was made to open down both sides of the body – an unusual mode, although it was common for one side to be left open – so that the garment was held only by the belt and the brooch on the right shoulder, while the outstretched hands alone prevented the cloak from blowing away altogether. The wings that sprung from the shoulders gave direction to the flight, and their presence would remove that appearance of aimlessness which detracts from the statue; they also served as struts for the upper border of the cloak. But peplos and overfall, cloak, arms, wings, all fit so naturally into their places that the technical reasons for so placing them need to be thought out: this is a triumph for such an early sculptor.

The acroteria mentioned in the dedicator's inscription were also

<sup>1</sup> *Röm. Mitt.*, ix, 1894, p. 163, pl. 7; Sauer, *Jahrb.*, xxi, 1906, p. 163, figs. 3-7; *Boll. d'Arte*, 1921-2, p. 40, 2 figs.

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figures of Victory; statuettes in the same style were used for this purpose at Epidaurus. Pausanias' attribution to Pæonius of the east pediment of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia has already been discussed and the statement explained as a clerical error which read 'pediment' instead of 'acroteria.' Incidentally the completion of the temple by 457, when the Spartans hung a golden shield on the gable end, implies the priority of the acroteria to the other Victory, for it is hardly conceivable that the building should be left without acroteria for a whole generation. Their probable appearance may be surmised from the daughters of Niobe in Copenhagen and the Terme, particularly from the former (p. 213).

The assumption that the Victory of the Naupactians itself dates from the middle of the century is scarcely credible, because of its resemblance to the sculptures of the Argive Heræum and other late works. Nor is the question solved by a facile ascription of the Heræum to some North Greek school, represented by Pæonius, which in the carving of drapery had outstripped all its contemporaries by the middle of the century – a view which contradicts all known facts about the conditions of sculpture in Northern Greece. On the evidence of the Satrap sarcophagus (Pl. 42) it is however admissible to see Eastern Greek influence in the drapery of Pæonius and his colleagues. The contemporary Parthenon sculptures evince the same interest in naturalistic drapery, without exhibiting the mannerisms whereby folds are blown straight out behind the body but 'lick back around it, leaving a deep trough between it and them. The adoption of this mannerism by Pæonius seems to prove his dependence upon the Eastern school, and his acroteria may well have resembled the Victory in this point, though the full development of the 'damp' rendering of drapery was reserved for Attic sculptors of 430–420, to whom Pæonius must have owed many of the effects present in his colossal statue. The pictorial character of the style suggests that the painters of the time were largely responsible for its evolution, and the greatest of them, Polygnotus of Lemnos, has been particularly mentioned in this connection, because the invention of transparent drapery is traditionally given to his credit: yet the limbs appear through the drapery in vase-paintings of the sixth century, and knowledge of the style of Polygnotus is very indefinite.

Sculpture in the northern islands, in which Polygnotus was born,

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is best represented by a relief of Zeus and Iris, on a gateway built at Thasos in 411; this is backward work that recalls the Harpy Tomb; the local schools of Thessaly likewise remain behind the times.<sup>1</sup>

The work of the Eastern school is seen in a number of Lycian tombs and in another sarcophagus from the royal cemetery of Sidon.<sup>2</sup> The shape of this sarcophagus, with its two long sides and two short ends and high vaulted roof, is one frequently used in Lycia for tombs, apparently reproducing a type of wooden building. Except for the dragons on one end (Pl. 73) the reliefs contain no foreign element, and the sculptor was probably a Lycian who had been apprenticed to a Greek. On one side (Pl. 74), young men in chariots are hunting a lion, on the other two groups of young men gallop up on horseback from left to right in pursuit of the huge boar which runs through the centre of the field; the sculptor could not represent the hunt coming straight forwards towards the spectator and therefore adopted this unsatisfactory compromise. One end (Pl. 73) contains a fight between two Centaurs and a Lapith, with a pair of dragons in the gable, the other shows two Centaurs disputing the possession of the body of a deer, and a pair of sphinxes occupies the gable, their pointed wings stretching up to the peak. In many respects the reliefs of this sarcophagus recall the Parthenon metopes and frieze, but the date cannot be earlier than 400, and may indeed be later, for the chronology of this school can only be vaguely ascertained in the absence of dated monuments.

Thus the date of the Nereid Monument in the British Museum has been allowed to range over a whole century, from 460 to 360.<sup>3</sup> This singular building at Xanthus<sup>4</sup> was in reality a tomb, taking the shape of a temple set upon a high podium or base, which was diversified by two friezes; a third surrounded the cella and another ran along the architrave above the columns, while the pediments, too,

<sup>1</sup> Casson, *Macedonia*, p. 229, on Thessaly, p. 233, on Thasos; Picard, *Rev. Arch.*, 1912, I, p. 43, on the Gate illustrated in *B. C. H.*, xxiv, 1900, p. 561, pls. xiv, xv.

<sup>2</sup> Constantinople Cat., No. 63. An attempt to distinguish the Ionian style of the later fifth century from its relatives is made by Pfuhl, *Jahrb.*, xli, 1926, p. 129.

<sup>3</sup> Cat. Nos. 850-944; Kjellberg, *A. R.*, p. 97, pl. xviii; Br. Br., 211-216; Krischen, *Ath. Mitt.*, xlviii, 1923, p. 69, pls. viii-xiv.

<sup>4</sup> Restoration by Niemann, *Nereiden-Monument in Xanthos*, 1921.

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were filled with sculpture and each corner of the roof bore its acroteria; between the columns stood female figures, now headless, one of which is seen in Pl. 76a. These 'Nereids' represent the spirits of the sea and air, for some have sea-birds beneath their feet. Their relation to the Iris of the Parthenon (Pl. 53) and to the Nike Balustrade (Pl. 72a) is patent, but the transparent, clinging nature of their drapery is more stressed, its wet appearance being particularly suitable to these 'Nereids.' A date before 400 thereby becomes improbable. The friezes, in which many of the heads remain in good preservation, bear out the ascription to the fourth century; the extent to which the facial expression varies according to the action of the figures, especially points to a later date. An old hypothesis held that the monument was erected by the Lycian prince, Pericles, whose capture of the city of Telmessus (towards the year 370) was thought to be represented on one of the friezes. This date seems to err on the late side, but Pericles may have constructed his tomb some years before his death, as was the custom of Oriental monarchs, and Telmessus was not the only town to be captured by him.

The first frieze, one of those on the podium, contains a battle between Greeks and barbarians, full of such varied incidents as a wounded Greek being helped off his horse by two comrades, archers taking aim, or nude Greeks struggling with their adversaries, surrounded by dead barbarians. The subject on the second frieze of the pedestal is the capture of an Oriental town, which was once believed to be Telmessus, but may equally well be some other place captured by Pericles before 370. A whole gallery of scenes proper to a siege is here depicted, troops advancing to the attack of a walled city, the storming party with ladder, a sortie, combats in the open field, groups of men carrying spoil, a parley, the satrap receiving the surrender, and finally male captives escorted by soldiers. The third frieze represents the more peaceful diversions of a monarch's life, the reception of tribute, hunting and field sport. Banquets and sacrifices occupy most of the fourth frieze; in one group a single figure leads a saddled horse, while nine figures stand conversing next to a recumbent figure on a couch. The relief is extremely shallow; the pictorial character of all the sculpture is immediately apparent, and parallels to some of the motives have been noticed in paintings.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Schröder, *Jahrb.*, xxix, 1914, p. 123.

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Another Lycian monument of the same age was removed almost in its entirety to Vienna from the remote site of Trysa, of which the modern Turkish name is generally printed in its German spelling, Gjölbashi.<sup>1</sup> An almost square enclosure with sides 70 and 80 feet in length, contained a large sarcophagus and several subordinate graves. In the south wall is the gateway, consisting of a lintel carried by two upright posts, which are plain outside and ornamented on the inner side by a pair of male dancers in relief; upon the outside of the lintel are carved the foreparts of four winged bulls with a Gorgon's head in the centre space and rosettes between the other monsters; below are seen the persons buried within, two men and two women attended by serving maids and pets. The inner face of the lintel bears a relief of dwarfs dancing and playing musical instruments, an un-Greek subject possibly connected with the cult of the Egyptian god, Bes.

The remainder of the tomb's sculptures decorated the courtyard wall, the two highest courses of masonry being occupied by reliefs all round the interior, and also round the exterior on the south side. For the most part each course bears an independent design but occasionally they coalesce to form a larger composition: the subjects chosen were the battle of the Seven against Thebes, the repulse of invaders landing from ships, Greeks fighting Amazons, Lapiths fighting Centaurs at the wedding of Peirithous, a four-horse chariot carrying a boy and his driver, Bellerophon slaying the Chimæra (a local myth), a warrior carrying a boy in his arms, a banquet and dance, Odysseus killing the suitors, the hunt of the Calydonian boar, a battle of Greeks and Amazons, the rape of the daughters of Leucippus, hunting scenes, and four of the exploits of Theseus.

When he reaches the siege depicted in Pl. 65*b*, the sculptor allows the composition to cover two strips of relief instead of one, whereby he can include a view of the interior of the town as well as of the walls where the attack is in progress. At the extreme left he has placed an upright bar in the upper field, to divide the siege from the battle illustrated on the next slab; a tree-trunk in the lower field fulfils the same purpose in addition to masking the junction of two slabs. The scene opens at a corner of the town, where a storming-party climbs up the rocks in hopes of scaling the low wall; the defenders, manning

<sup>1</sup> Benndorf, *Heroön von Gjölbashi-Trysa*; Kjellberg, *A. R.*, p. 93.

## THE CITY-STATES AT WAR

the battlements and towers, are throwing down large stones or thrusting with their spears, but the shields of the attackers keep them safe and they will soon reach the top; further on is another group endeavouring to force a passage through a postern gate, and around the next tower a third party is climbing up the face of the wall unopposed, for the defenders are hurrying to the right to help repulse the assailants who have won the second gateway (off the picture). The scene ends with a woman seated on a mule, a man in attendance, and a donkey loaded with their property; these are fugitives preparing to leave the doomed city at the point where the walls bend round to the right, away from the danger zone. As the last resource an officer stands upon the walls, with hands upraised in prayer, calling on the gods to help, while a boy by his side sacrifices a ram, his knees gripping its horned head as he lifts the knife to stab. Close by sits the aged king of the town, with a leopard under his throne and a boy crouching by its side; the queen is seated under a parasol with one of her women by her; an attendant stands with raised hands resting on his spear.

Although the siege was a frequent subject in Assyrian relief it was rare in Greek relief, indeed its presence on this and the Nereid monument suggests a specific demand of Lycian patronage. The composition of the frieze as a whole must have been inspired by paintings, for its design has no parallel in Greek sculpture, whilst Polygnotus and other famous painters of the late fifth century seem, from the accounts of ancient authors and the testimony of vase-paintings which they influenced, to have composed great pictures of similar subjects, using similar means of perspective; but the theory of Polygnotan influence at Trysa has been pushed too far.<sup>1</sup> An Attic draughtsman was perhaps responsible for drawings after which the frieze was cut. Whatever his nationality, he was accustomed to working on a flat surface, as his habit of design and use of perspective reveal; in the temple, for instance, two sides are displayed, whereas earlier artists of the fifth century, whether painters or sculptors, would have shown one side only. Moreover on a fifth-century Attic vase-painting of Odysseus killing the suitors occur several motives used for that scene of the frieze; it has, therefore, been inferred that both have borrowed from Polygnotus' picture of the subject or from some similar master-

<sup>1</sup> So Körte indicates, *Jahrb.*, xxxi, 1916, p. 257.

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piece. Analogies to individual figures may often be seen on Attic gravestones. No traces of colour can be detected in the frieze, but the absence of details which can scarcely have been omitted intentionally can only be accounted for on the conjecture that paint gave its customary aid. The carving does not reach a particularly high level, and the junctions of the blocks are clumsily prominent. The present state of the surface is deplorable, for the local variety of white limestone used in the monument has become irregularly pitted and roughened by the weather, from which it had no protection for twenty-three centuries – an earthquake had overthrown the eastern wall but otherwise the ruins were still upright when they were discovered in 1842 by a German explorer.

### § 4. *The Early Fourth Century in Greece*

The youths, dancing in tall hats, who appear upon the gate-posts at Gjölbaschi, may be compared with some types of dancing-girls, often copied in the Roman period, which seem to have originated about 400–380.<sup>1</sup> Their originals have been ascribed, on purely general grounds, to Callimachus, of whose insistence upon accurate finish Pliny is a witness: 'He was always criticizing his own work, and put endless labour into it – hence his name of *catatexitechnus* (he whose art melts away) – a noteworthy example that carefulness can be carried to excess. His Laconian dancing girls are of perfect workmanship but too much application has ruined all their charm.' These figures have been rashly identified with the three women, placed back to back, upon the capital of a floral pillar at Delphi; these appear to contain Praxitelean elements.<sup>2</sup> Pausanias and Vitruvius imply rather that his strong point lay in the technical dexterity of his marble cutting, and the former adds that he was the first to use the running drill. But the attribution to him of the invention of the Corinthian capital has been questioned, for most of these stories of inventions are false and this does not seem to provide an exception to the rule. Callimachus' date is fixed by the golden lamp made for the Erechtheum where, as worship demanded, it used to burn all the year round: that its chimney, in the form of a bronze palm tree, 'reached the roof' does not necessarily prove it to be a structural part of the

<sup>1</sup> Berlin, Nos. 1456–7; *Arch. Anz.*, 1893, p. 76; a terracotta from Crete, *A. J. A.*, v, 1901, pl. xii. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Poulsen, *D.*, p. 246, figs. 121–5.

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building, but even if separate and independent it was most probably made contemporaneously with the temple itself.<sup>1</sup> Callimachus sounds the ideal representative of this transitional period, in which an increase in technical powers was urgently needed if art was to make any headway.

An archaistic relief of Pan and three girls<sup>2</sup> bears the inscription, 'Callimachus made it,' which probably refers to the Attic artist. If so, the signature is almost certainly an ancient forgery, placed upon the relief in hopes of raising its value; it cannot be a copy of an original signed by him as the girdles are worn higher than any previous to the middle of the fourth century. Nevertheless the inscription suggests that Callimachus had a reputation as an archaistic sculptor, otherwise his name would not have been selected. Occasional reliefs of deliberate archaism occur from the Persian wars onwards,<sup>3</sup> and new cult-images often lean upon imitations of the ruder ancient statues which they displace. But the true archaistic decorative style scarcely began until the fourth century, with its reliefs of almost identical figures placed in rows, equidistant from one another. The vast majority of such works belong to the Roman Age and are therefore considered below; here it suffices to point out that such lifeless but pleasing decoration won popularity in a period of transition in art and confusion in political life.

Another Attic artist, Demetrius of Alopeke, was remarkable for his lack of idealism: he 'was fonder of accuracy than beauty,' says Quintilian; 'a maker not of gods but of men,' says Lucian, who elsewhere observes that one of his statues 'looked as though it would run off its pedestal.' Thus a statue which Lucian believed to be a portrait of Pellichus, a Corinthian general mentioned by Thucydides and therefore middle-aged at the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War, is described as 'paunchy, bald, only half-covered by his cloak; some hairs of his beard blowing in the wind and his veins protruding – an absolute likeness of the man.' Demetrius also made a portrait of Lysi-

<sup>1</sup> Upon this probability was founded a theory that Callimachus designed the sculptures of the temple; this is now discredited because of the resemblance of the caryatids to the supposed Procne of Alcamenes.

<sup>2</sup> Br. Br., 654 left; Capitoline Cat., p. 264, No. 110, pl. 61.

<sup>3</sup> Pfuhl, *Ath. Mitt.*, xlviii, 1923, p. 132, fig. 4, one of the earliest; Br. Br., 660, relief of twelve gods, perhaps of 450 B.C., now in Walters Collection, Baltimore.



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mache, who held the office of priestess of Athena for sixty-four years.<sup>1</sup> Pausanias saw it on the Acropolis and estimated its height at one cubit, which disproves the theory that a head in the British Museum of an old woman<sup>2</sup> is a copy, since it is half life-size. Another lost statue portrayed Simon, the author of a treatise on horsemanship, whom Aristophanes mentioned in the *Knights*, performed in 424. But the surviving inscriptions of Demetrius belong to the early fourth century.

For examples of Attic portraiture it is necessary to turn to the gravestones which were being produced in ever-increasing numbers. For the most part they have little artistic value and their similarity renders a large collection a monotonous sight. But they can usually be dated within narrow limits, some have even their year inscribed upon them, so that their historical importance can hardly be exaggerated. The stela of Dexileus, who was killed in action in 394, shows him spearing a prostrate enemy from his rearing charger,<sup>3</sup> and thus helps to date an even finer slab, now in the Villa Albani.<sup>4</sup> But such subjects are rare, in general the stelæ continue the peaceful motives of their predecessors, scenes of a family taking a farewell of one of its members or of daily domestic life. Of the latter class one of the most beautiful is the stela of Hegeso, who is engaged at her toilet (Pl. 75). The process of simplification, initiated after the Parthenon, had purged drapery of many unnecessary folds by the time of the Nike Balustrade, but an even further stage has now been reached. The nearest parallel to the standing girl on the gravestone is found in the Athena carved upon a treaty inscribed in 375, and a date subsequent to 400 is almost certain.<sup>5</sup>

Similar in style are two slabs from the sanctuary at Epidauros, each bearing a seated god in relief; as the dimensions are more or less suitable the Greek archæologist, Svoronos, suggested as their source the metopes of the temple of Asclepius,<sup>6</sup> but the lack of an upper border speaks against an origin as metopes.<sup>7</sup> This temple cannot be accurately dated but the neighbourhood of 375 has the most worthy

<sup>1</sup> Delbrück, *Antike Porträts*, pl. 21.      <sup>2</sup> Cat. iii, No. 2001, pl. xix.

<sup>3</sup> Walters, *Art of the Greeks*, pl. L; Br. Br., 438.

<sup>4</sup> Studniczka, *Artemis und Iphigenie*, fig. 39; Schrader, *Phidias*, fig. 260.

<sup>5</sup> Kjellberg, *A. R.*, p. 136.

<sup>6</sup> A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, ii, 2, p. 1081, figs. 924, 925.

<sup>7</sup> Neugebauer, *Jahrb.*, xli, 1926, p. 83.

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claims; an inscription states that its construction occupied four years, eight months and ten days. One of the two supposed 'metopes' represents Zeus, the other apparently Asclepius, and this may reflect the cult-statue of which Pausanias and local coins <sup>1</sup> give a fair impression. 'The statue of Asclepius is only half the size of the Olympian Zeus and is made of ivory and gold; an inscription records Thrasy-medes, son of Arignotus of Paros, as its sculptor. The god sits upon a throne, with a staff in one hand and holding the other above the head of his serpent, while his dog is seen lying down by his side. Reliefs on the throne show the exploits of Argive heroes, Bellero-phon's adventure with the Chimæra, and Perseus after the decapitation of Medusa.'

Thrasymedes also contracted, according to the inscription, to carve the ivory inlays of the roofs and doors of the temple for the sum of 9,800 drachmas. 'Timotheus contracted to construct models for 900 drachmas,' these being presumably for the pediments, although the word *typos*, translated 'model,' might also mean 'relief.'<sup>2</sup> Timotheus further 'contracted to supply acroteria for one gable for 2,240 drachmas,' while an artist named Theo . . . received 2,320(?) drachmas for the other. The name has been restored as Theon or Theotimus,<sup>3</sup> and recently as Theodotus, who was architect of the temple.<sup>4</sup> Timotheus was paid more highly for his acroteria than for the pediments because in the first case both the cost of marble and the wages of carving were included: it is possible of course that he did not carve them with his own hands, since the inscription merely implies that he must have them ready for erection. The pediments certainly were executed by other sculptors; one named Hectoridas and another, whose name likewise ends in -as, received 1,400 and 1,610 drachmas each for sections of one pediment, while the same sum, 3,010 drachmas, was allotted to one sculptor who undertook the whole of the other side. The metopes were presumably plain as no mention of them occurs – they would cost more than the mysterious 'models' or 'reliefs' which Timotheus supplied for 900 drachmas.

<sup>1</sup> *N. C. P.*, pl. L, iv, v.

<sup>2</sup> For this view, Richter, *A. J. A.*, xxxi, 1927, p. 80.

<sup>3</sup> The latter can hardly be an erroneous form of Timotheus, as has been suggested, since it occurs in other passages of this inscription.

<sup>4</sup> Neugebauer, *Jahrb.*, xli, 1926, p. 82.

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Most of the sculptures have been removed to the National Museum in Athens, though some interesting fragments are housed in a museum erected on the site. Large portions of both pediments and acroteria survive,<sup>1</sup> and their distribution over the original temple has been ascertained by comparison of their dimensions with suitable parts of the building: the pedimental groups, slightly over life-size, consist of a battle of Greeks and Amazons on the west (of which an Amazon is illustrated in Pl. 76*b*), and a battle of Greeks and Centaurs on the east: of the acroteria the best preserved figures are the Victory holding a bird, probably from the summit of the east gable, and the two Nereids or Auræ on horseback, from the outer corners of the west gable. Three statuettes of Victory have now been separated from the rest of the finds and assigned as acroteria to the smaller temple of Artemis that stood near by; these stiffly erect figures, with drapery flapping round them, obviously form a set, and the greater height of one figure indicates that it took the crest of the roof.

In style the sculptures from Epidaureus are singularly homogeneous. Indisputably some of the pedimental sculptures resemble the fragments of the Argive Heræum, but the remainder of the material is more evidently dependent on the Nike Balustrade; the folds of the drapery, however, are planned with less regularity, sometimes they swirl wildly round the body conglomerating into thick masses and leaving the limbs disclosed as if naked. Since Timotheus was the one celebrated sculptor involved, these features are usually taken as characteristic of his style. They occur in statues found elsewhere and have resulted in the attribution to Timotheus or his school of a lyre-player at Munich (No. 472), a running girl, perhaps used as an acroterion, in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek,<sup>2</sup> a Victory on the Palatine<sup>3</sup> and a Leda caressing the swan,<sup>4</sup> which very closely resembles a statue of Hygieia from the sanctuary of Epidaureus.<sup>5</sup> But naturally selection of Timotheus' work from among that of the other sculptors of Epidaureus can only be conjectural. He has also been mentioned among the sculptors of the Mausoleum, hence his career extended to

<sup>1</sup> Kavvadias, *Fouilles d'Epidaure*, pls.

<sup>2</sup> Br. Br., 664-5.

<sup>3</sup> Mariani, *Atti di Pontif. Accad.*, 2. xiv, 1920, p. 235; *Rev. Arch.*, 1918, ii, p. 348.

<sup>4</sup> Winter, on Timotheus generally, *Jahrb.*, xxxviii-ix, 1923-4, p. 49, *Beilage* plate for this Leda.

<sup>5</sup> Defrasse and Lechat, *Epidaure*, p. 187, fig.

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350; moreover an even later collection of statues has been ascribed to him (included in the next chapter).

The Argive school of the early fourth century<sup>1</sup> was dominated by the sons of Patrocles, who may have been a brother of Polycleitus; at any rate one of his sons was also named Polycleitus, the others were Naucydes, and Dædalus, who established himself at Sicyon. Naucydes appears to have been the eldest, for he made two statues of Cheimon, a wrestler victorious in 448, and his Hebe beside the Hera of Argos may have been contemporary with the cult-image; moreover he had a pupil working in 405. Copies of the Discobolus of Naucydes have been recognized in the figures of a youth standing with a discus held loosely in his left hand,<sup>2</sup> and an athlete in the Conservatori suggests a copy from an original by the same sculptor.<sup>3</sup> The figures are livelier than any of those by the elder Polycleitus, the hair rougher, the eyelids narrower and the features coarser, but fundamentally the style is a development of his. Four boxers in Dresden may be later works of the same school, and all should perhaps be dated after 370.<sup>4</sup> An Aphrodite wearing a sword-belt, found at Epidaurus, and related to the temple sculptures from that site, has been thought to be a copy of the armed Aphrodite supporting a tripod, dedicated at Amyclæ after the battle of Ægospotami (405). Pausanias gives the artist's name as Polycleitus, without specifying whether he means the elder or the younger sculptor of that name, but on chronological grounds the latter has more claim.

The influence of this Peloponnesian school can be traced in Attica. A statue from Eleusis in the Athens Museum<sup>5</sup> is almost a replica of the 'Westmacott Boy'; the weight lies entirely upon the left leg, the head is supported by the right hand, the upper arm continuing the line of the shoulder, while the left arm hangs down by the side. The body is superficially modelled and the sensual face wears a dreamy expression which points to an Attic sculptor of the fourth century. Another instance of the increasing adeptness in the rendering of ex-

<sup>1</sup> Johnson, *Lysippos*, p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Hyde, *Olympic Victor Mon.*, pl. 6; *Bull. Comm.*, xxxix, 1911, p. 97, pls. vi, vii; Br. Br., 131, 682-5.

<sup>3</sup> Ashmole, *J. H. S.*, xlii, 1922, p. 238, pl. vii.

<sup>4</sup> Johnson, *Lysippos*, pls. 55, 56.

<sup>5</sup> *Ephemeris Arch.*, 1890, pls. x, xi; *J. H. S.*, xxxi, 1911, pl. II shows this and two copies of 'Westmacott' type.

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pression is seen in the head belonging to the Fogg Museum of Harvard University (Pl. 78b).<sup>1</sup> The material is a Parian marble, so coarse that the crystals are visible in photographs. The features show but little variation from the Pheidian type of the 'Theseus' (Pl. 56a) or Ares Borghese (Pl. 69b) — the lower part of the forehead bulges rather more, the inner corners of the eyes are more deeply set and the eyes themselves are narrower; consequently the expression becomes forceful and individual in comparison with the work of the Periclean Age. It is, however, an unpleasant expression which results from the attempt to gain intensity of gaze by these means.

A head of similar type in Athens<sup>2</sup> and a related statue at Madrid, the so-called *Joven Orador* or Young Orator,<sup>3</sup> reveal Polycleitan elements so strong as to cast doubts upon the attribution to Cephisodotus the elder, whose statue of 'an orator with uplifted arm' is noted by Pliny.

Another work by this Cephisodotus was the Eirene and Plutus (Peace and Plenty), a group known from coins of Athens<sup>4</sup> and from marble copies. The finest of these is the headless and armless figure in New York,<sup>5</sup> but a statue at Munich (Pl. 78a), though of poorer quality, is complete except for the restored nose, left hand and right hand of the goddess, the child's head and arms and feet. Eirene rested her right hand on a long sceptre, the child held in his left hand a cornucopia, the symbol of abundance. The relationship between this statue and the Erechtheum *korai* is so close that the date of 403 (end of the Peloponnesian War) has been proposed,<sup>6</sup> yet the cult of Eirene was not officially recognized at Athens until 374. With this later date agree both Pliny's *floruit* of 372, and Plutarch's statement that Cephisodotus' sister was the first wife of Phocion, who lived from 402 to 317 B.C.; moreover the head bears less resemblance to the Erechtheum type than to the early works of Praxiteles, who is supposed to have been the son of Cephisodotus; probably rightly, since Praxiteles had a son of that name. Other heads<sup>7</sup> which have been ascribed to the sculptor of the Eirene, because of their similarity to

<sup>1</sup> *A. J. A.*, xxvi, 1922, p. 204, fig. 2.

<sup>2</sup> No. 189; *Einz.*, 656, 657.

<sup>3</sup> *Jahrb.*, xxvii, 1912, p. 199.

<sup>4</sup> *N. C. P.*, pl. DD, Nos. 9, 10.

<sup>5</sup> Handbook, p. 264, fig. 186; a variant at Delos, Leroux, *B. C. H.*, xxxi, 1907, p. 400, fig. 7.

<sup>6</sup> Amelung, *Arch. Anz.*, 1919, p. 49.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, *Röm. Mitt.*, xxxviii-ix, 1923-4, p. 41, pl. 1.

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that statue, seem to be older, if anything, than it: but in dealing with sculptures known only by one or two copies, and those by indifferent workmen, it is rash to argue on such premises, for the delicate curves of eyelids and lips might easily be hardened into a Pheidian aspect by the copyist.

A case in point is the Hope type of Hygieia, one of the masterpieces of this clear-cut style out of which developed the softness of Praxiteles. The Terme head (Pl. 77*a*), although itself a good copy, produces a later effect than the worse replicas. The original has been recognized in a fragment in the Acropolis Museum.<sup>1</sup> The Terme copy is perhaps of the time of Augustus or a little later; in it the ends of the mouth are disfigured by drill-holes and a blunder in the parts behind the ear results in the presence of a mass, neither hair nor bandeau, that breaks without reason into the line of the latter. Further the original was 'fresh, soft and incomparably delicate in all its transitions,' but the copyist 'plotted out the Palatine head, executed it with all the precision he could and produced a mathematical exercise, hard and almost cold.' The complete statue is known best from a copy in the Hope Collection, from which the type derives its name, and from a statuette from Epidaurus in the National Museum at Athens (Pl. 77*b*); the goddess held a box in her left hand, a saucer in her right, out of which the snake lying over her left shoulder is feeding.

Although the actual type of dress in the two statues differs, one being the Doric peplos, with himation hanging behind, the other the Ionic chiton with himation wrapped round, the drapery of the Eirene and that of the Hygieia may be compared. 'If one thinks away the difference of material and composes the actual scheme of drapery about the lower part of the legs, one finds that it amounts almost to a simple reversal. A group of three or four narrow vertical folds on the outside of the supporting leg; two, splitting into three, over the supporting leg itself, the toe of which projects; a heavy mass between the legs, composed in both of a broad fold and a narrow one slightly behind it; a heavy fold falling from the knee of the free leg, tapering and then expanding again to fall just inside the foot, to sweep up over it and to cling, a subsidiary fold or two between, to the outer

<sup>1</sup> Ashmole, *B. S. R.*, x, 1927, p. 1, pls. i-iii; from this very detailed article the remainder of this chapter is abstracted.

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side of the calf. Finally this outline of the leg framed at the upper part of the thigh by the himation, below this by the chiton, in both statues. This kind of drapery arrangement, an elaboration of the simple, explanatory scheme of the second half of the fifth century (contours of free leg shown by clinging drapery: supporting leg covered by columnar folds), is common in the time of the youth of Praxiteles, but there is no closer parallel to the Hope Hygieia than the Eirene of Cephisodotus. With this scheme of drapery is intimately connected the ponderation of the figures, and this again, except for the arms, is virtually a reversal, as well in the body as in the head. Passing from the pose to the general conception we may remark a characteristic which is apparent in both. In the Eirene as in the Hygieia one has a feeling of the posing of the figure as well as of the material upon it.'

An Athenian artist perhaps created the Hygieia, since it was dedicated in Athens. Undoubtedly later than the Parthenon, as comparison with any of the heads of that building will show, it contains a touch of sentimentality foreign to them, and a very strong element of a novel sensuality. With its deep-set, finely finished eye, less brooding than the Praxitelean eye, with its soft but not fleshy brow, it is peculiarly typical of the final stage of transition from the age of Pheidias to that of Praxiteles.

# THE MASTERS OF THE FOURTH CENTURY: THE RULE OF MACEDONIA (370-300 B.C.)

## § 1. *Praxiteles*

IN 370 Spartan control of the Peloponnese was abolished by a Theban invasion which revived the independence of the smaller states; thus ended the one solid state in Greece, which had, however, little significance in the history of art. The usual intermittent wars troubled the next generation, till Philip of Macedonia (359-336) established his supremacy over the whole country in 338. Then followed Alexander's career of conquest (336-323), whereby Greece lost also its position as the centre of art; the best artists gathered around the king and his courtiers, during his brief reign, and then found more generous employment in the newly-founded Greek cities of the East than in Greece.

This last half-century of Greek independence was another age of great artists: in sculpture its leaders were Praxiteles and Lysippus, with Scopas, Timotheus, Euphranor, Bryaxis, Leochares, Silanion, among those of the second rank; but of all these Praxiteles the Athenian, in all probability the son of Cephisodotus, though possibly his younger brother, did most to direct the currents of the time. It appears from ancient writers that his reputation under the empire stood higher than any other sculptor's, but Pausanias at least had the dislike of the religious for too much naturalism, and preferred the work of an earlier age. Thanks to his brief notice of 'a marble Hermes carrying the child Dionysus, the work of Praxiteles,' among the contents of the Heræum, the excavators at Olympia were enabled to identify their most famous find almost beyond dispute (Pls. 80b, 81):<sup>1</sup> copies of his better known works have also been recognized, and it seems likely on stylistic grounds that at least one other original survives. But the Hermes must, of course, provide the chief basis of study.

The statue had fallen off its pedestal, face-downwards, and was covered over with mud from the disintegrating walls of the temple,

<sup>1</sup> It has indeed been ascribed to Cephisodotus the Elder, whose statue of this subject is mentioned by Pliny.



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which were composed of sunburnt bricks. Hence its surface was excellently preserved, though some of the projecting portions of the body had been broken away; the child's left arm, most of the right arm of Hermes, both his legs from below the knees and the left foot, are missing still, but restoration has offered no problems except in the case of the right arm. Dionysus is obviously gazing at some object held in this hand, while Hermes himself looks dreamily into the distance; on the analogy of some later figures of satyrs the object has been explained as a bunch of grapes, a suitable bait to excite the infant wine-god. Less appropriately, other theories propose cymbals or a rattle or a purse (an attribute of Hermes himself), though the apparent inattention of Hermes can then be described as an attitude of listening to the noise produced by shaking the object in his hand. His left arm rests upon a tree-trunk, over which falls his chlamys, in rich folds that set off his smooth, naked body; the left hand seems to have held the herald's staff, the chief attribute of the god. A metal wreath must have been affixed to the hair, a deep groove for its support being visible at the back.

The material is a magnificent block of Parian marble, of creamy colour and glowing with reflected light. Great skill has been applied to maintain the difference in texture between the hair (roughly cut out with a drill), the woollen cloak, leather sandals and rough tree-trunk. No traces of colour remained at the time of discovery except on the hair and sandal, where a dark red had been used, doubtless as a base for gilding. The body had obviously been highly polished. At the back the surface has been less carefully smoothed and the marks of the chisel still show in places, so that the statue must have originally been intended to stand against a wall. This was, of course, its position in the Temple of Hera, where, however, its pedestal appears to be of later date, so that the statue may have been transferred from another part of the site.

From the amazing ability of the carving the Hermes cannot be a work of Praxiteles' youth, although the subject recalls the Eirene and Plutus and another statue assigned by Pliny to the elder Cephisodotus, 'Hermes nursing the child Dionysus' (the word *nutriens*, 'nursing', implies actual feeding), and the child has the same doll-like appearance as the Plutus.<sup>1</sup> It has been suggested that a political

<sup>1</sup> *Olympia*, iii, pl. 52.

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allusion was conveyed by the fact that Hermes, the god of Arcadia, was shown holding Dionysus, the god of Elis; symbolism of this order is familiar from its occurrence on coins, and an alliance between the two states may well have been solemnized with the dedication of Praxiteles' work. Now two suitable occasions have been recorded, the first being the reconciliation arranged after the Arcadians and Eleans had come to blows at Olympia in 363, and the second a more sincere alliance of considerable importance when in 343 the Arcadians assisted the aristocratic party in Elis to win a decisive victory over the democrats. In all probability the Hermes and Dionysus commemorate this event.

The later date is confirmed by comparison with another statue by Praxiteles of which many copies exist, securely identified by Pliny's description: 'Apollo as a boy, waiting, with his arrow ready, for a lizard to crawl up to close-quarters; this is called *sauroctonus* or the lizard-slayer.' The passage occurs among the list of the sculptor's works in bronze, and one bronze copy on half the normal scale survives in the Villa Albani.<sup>1</sup> Apollo, represented as a boy in his teens, stands with an arrow poised in his right hand to strike the lizard that walks up the tree-trunk, unconscious of its danger, since he is hidden from it round the side of the tree: the curious theme may have had reference to the practices of divination, although it may with equal likelihood be interpreted as a genre scene, for children often try to catch these quick-moving little animals, and a vase-painting shows a boy striking at one. As in the Hermes, the left arm rests on the tree, but higher up (the level varies in different copies);<sup>2</sup> the right hip is thrust outwards in the same manner, thus producing sinuous curves throughout the body. The arrangement of the arms and head is simpler in the *Sauroctonus* than in the Hermes; the left arm is raised, the right lowered, and the head bent downwards towards the left, giving an effect of weakness accentuated by the extreme slightness of the figure. The Hermes, a powerful man in his prime, avoids those willowy lines by a more erect carriage of the head, and by the reversal of the position of the arms – the uplifting of the right arm strengthens this curved side of the body. In this respect the Olympia figure has a more developed character, for the

<sup>1</sup> Br. Br., 234; Rayet, *Mon. de l'Art antique*, II, pl. 46.

<sup>2</sup> Lippold, *Kopien*, p. 135; Br. Br., 234; Bulle, 79.

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feeble pose of the Sauroctonus detracts from its effect and can scarcely have been the choice of an experienced artist; indeed in the Sauroctonus the flexion of Polycleitan boys is merely exaggerated, with no compensating adjustments. The body appears extremely weak and soft, in conformity with the indolent attitude, although the taste of the copyist may have corrupted the original style. In the head, however, the copies seem to be trustworthy (though the tip of the nose is restored in Pl. 82*a, b*); the original must have differed from Praxiteles' later works like the Hermes, being truly little more advanced than the Hygieia (Pl. 77), although in profile the line is distinctly less rigid. A similarity to the Eirene and Plutus can be traced in many details, proving that Praxiteles was only beginning to depart from the teaching of Cephisodotus. Thus the lower eyelid is marked as distinctly as the upper, in both the Apollo and Eirene, whereas in the Hermes it is scarcely raised above the eye and sinks imperceptibly into the cheek. The eye itself loses its regular form and the forehead becomes fleshier, especially in male heads, so that the brow droops over the outer corner of the eye, and a thick bar above the nose casts the inner corner into deep shadow. The convention known as the 'Greek profile,' introduced a century earlier, in which the nose continues the same straight line as the forehead, is thus modified in male heads.

Female statues by Praxiteles were not rare, but the most famous, the Cnidian Aphrodite, is the only one securely identified, and that merely in unsatisfactory copies (Pls. 79*b*, 80*a*). The Vatican statue is illustrated from a cast because the original is obscured with painted iron drapery, added by the papal authorities of long ago. Another complete copy at Munich is untrustworthy; it shows the goddess lifting up her drapery instead of laying it down on the vase before entering the bath. The gesture has been explained by enthusiasts as one of native modesty, and is at least less conscious than that of other Aphrodites surprised in their baths.

The raptures of ancient literature read strangely in the light of the clumsy bodies and dull heads which now represent the Cnidian, yet Pliny voiced the general opinion of antiquity in saying that 'the finest statue, not only of Praxiteles but of the whole world, is the Aphrodite, for the sight of which many have sailed to Cnidus. He had carved two statues and sold them at the same time; the other, a draped

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figure, was preferred by the people of Cos, who had the chance to buy whichever they wished at the same price, because they considered it more dignified and modest. The statue which they refused was bought by the Cnidians and its reputation grew out of all proportion to the chosen choice of Cos. At a later date King Nicomedes (of Bithynia, 90-74 B.C.) desired to buy it from the Cnidians, offering to redeem the whole debt of the state, which was enormous, but they preferred to put up with anything and not unwisely, because by that statue Praxiteles cast a glory on Cnidus. Its shrine is completely open to display every side of the statue, which is believed to have been made with the help of the goddess herself; it is equally admired from every position.' Indeed Lucian tells how, when the custodian opened the back door, one of his party burst into enthusiastic praise of the hinder portions of the figure.<sup>1</sup> Elsewhere Lucian equips his ideal beauty with the head of the Cnidian Aphrodite, the rest being rejected only because of its nudity; the hair and forehead and eyebrows are retained as unimprovable, as well as 'the melting, languishing eyes with their brightness and charm.' The lips were parted in a slight smile of disdain. Poetasters suggested that Praxiteles worked with the goddess herself as model, while sober authors mention Phryne or another courtesan. The chief quality in the beauty of the statue seems to have been its seductiveness, and the extremely detailed, sensual treatment of the figure must have necessitated the use of a model; its voluptuous character was expressed in the common tale of a young man's passion for the statue. A similar story was told of another female statue by Praxiteles, the Good Fortune.

Phryne was a native of Thespiæ, a Bœotian city; she is recorded to have been the mistress of Praxiteles, who made two statues of her, one of gilt bronze, dedicated at Delphi, and the other of marble, set up in a temple at Thespiæ. Here, too, stood another Aphrodite by Praxiteles and his famous statue of Eros, the special deity of the place; Phryne is said to have dedicated these statues, which were presents to her from the sculptor. The Eros was removed to Rome in the first century A.D., where it perished in a fire. From it is perhaps derived the frequent copies of a youthful Eros with large wings, best known in the replica from Centocelle in the Vatican;<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Overbeck, No. 1234.

<sup>2</sup> *M.*, figs. 134, 135; *Conservatori Cat.*, p. 156; *Br. Br.*, 379.

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the popularity of the type implies an original by a very famous sculptor, which vitiates Amelung's attribution to Cephisodotus. The god is represented as a full-grown boy standing in an easy attitude, holding the bow in the left hand; the head is sunk over the right shoulder, the eyes directed towards the right hand, which is shown empty in a Pompeian stucco, while in two other copies it holds a torch. These copies have no wings and may therefore be intended for some other deity, a genius of death; the original may have carried an arrow, for in some copies a quiver hangs on the support by the left leg. The pose has Polycleitan analogies, being indeed almost identical with that of the Dresden Boy, but the face that peers out from a profusion of locks produces an effect of captivating power totally un-Polycleitan.

The style points to the early period of Praxiteles, and the question then arises whether or not the date should precede the Theban destruction of Thespiæ in 372. The town remained unwallled at least till 343, if not till Thebes fell before Alexander in 335. The temples, of course, must have stood intact among the ruins, and the exiled population probably reassembled gradually, to live under the rule of Thebes; legend says that, when Alexander destroyed Thebes, Phryne offered to rebuild it at her own expense, a gesture of friendship inexplicable in a Thespian unless the two cities had become reconciled. At this date Phryne was wealthy and presumably no longer young, while Praxiteles must have been already dead or unable to work, otherwise his name would surely occur among the list of sculptors to whom Alexander extended his patronage. Pliny's date of 364 for the *floruit* of Praxiteles requires explanation: it may be derived from a political event (the Battle of Mantinea, commemorated by his rival, Euphranor), or may refer to some statue, in which case the Cnidian Aphrodite is plainly indicated. Pliny dates his sons in 296, and since they were both still active in the third century, a fact confirmed by other evidence, the birth of Praxiteles is best placed early in the previous century. An assertion that he worked on the Mausoleum, which rests solely on the authority of Vitruvius, brings him no lower than 350, but an altar on which he worked in the temple of Artemis at Ephesus should carry him at least as far as ten years after the destruction of the previous temple in 356; his Artemis Brauronia existed as early as 346, and the date

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suggested for the Hermes at Olympia, 343, would therefore be the latest known year of Praxiteles' activity. He had probably reached maturity by 370 and died shortly before 335.<sup>1</sup>

The Eros should therefore be placed some years later than the fall of Thespiæ, and the *floruit* may truly represent the date of the Cnidian Aphrodite, since it does not seem to belong to the latest period.<sup>2</sup> To the same intermediate period should be assigned a draped and bearded type of Dionysus, conventionally known as Sardanapalus because this name has been inscribed upon the Vatican copy;<sup>3</sup> the statue has also been ascribed to Cephisodotus and even to the Pheidian school, which is clearly impossible, and the naturalistic drapery does not support the claims of Cephisodotus. A young satyr, leaning against a tree, comes fairly late in the career of Praxiteles; in it the pointed ears of Greek tradition are present while other animal traits of earlier times have been omitted. He rests his right arm upon a stump of a tree, holding a flute in the hand, while the left hand is laid upon the hip; the left foot carries the weight, the right being crossed behind it. A leopard-skin is thrown over the right shoulder and the left side, emphasizing the slope of the upper part of the figure. The face bears a cheerful, animal expression, very different from the ideally intellectual aspect of the gods by the same hand. Of the many copies in existence, the 'Capitoline Faun' is the best known,<sup>4</sup> the Louvre torso the finest; in it the contrast between the flesh and the leopard-skin is so excellently shown that some critics formerly considered this to be a fragment of the original.

It is questionable whether this type should be identified with the celebrated satyr that stood in the Street of the Tripods at Athens. According to a legend of dubious authenticity, Praxiteles offered Phryne her choice of any statue in his possession, and in order to ascertain his own preference she instructed a slave to rush into her house, while the sculptor was present, to announce a fire in the studio. When he exclaimed that he was ruined if his Eros and Satyr

<sup>1</sup> Lippold reaffirms this view, *Jahrb.*, xxxviii-ix, 1923-4, p. 157, whereas on p. 272 Bieber estimates the limits by the careers of his sons as 365-320.

<sup>2</sup> This is the contention of Blinkenberg, *Den Knidiske Afrodite, Kunstmuseets Aarskrift*, Copenhagen, 1919, p. 20; Br. Br., 371, 372.

<sup>3</sup> Ashmole, *B. S. A.*, xxiv, 1919-21, p. 78.

<sup>4</sup> Br. Br., 377.

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had perished, she calmed his fears and chose the Eros, while the Satyr was dedicated in this spot. At the end of this anecdote Pausanias continues with the words, 'In the neighbouring temple to Dionysus is a satyr-boy acting as cup-bearer; Thymilus is the sculptor of an Eros standing with it and a Dionysus.' The text appears to be corrupt and it is uncertain whether this satyr is to be identified with the Praxitelean statue. Little assistance is given by Pliny's mention of the satyr, because his text is likewise untrustworthy and his meaning ambiguous. The manuscripts of his book include among the bronze works of Praxiteles, 'A Dionysus, Intoxication, together with the celebrated satyr, called by the Greeks, the World-famed'; the opening words are generally emended to read 'a drunken Dionysus' and the phraseology has been taken to mean that these statues formed a group<sup>1</sup>—an assumption plainly inadmissible without further evidence. The question can perhaps be decided on grounds of style, for a satyr answering to the description by Pausanias exists in almost as many copies as the Capitoline type.<sup>2</sup> The tall, youthful satyr stands gracefully on the left foot, raising a jug above his head with his right hand, and pouring the wine into a horn or cup held in the left hand at the level of the navel. A strong Polycleitan influence appears both in the pose and head,<sup>3</sup> although the resemblance to the Eros suffices, if not to establish the authorship of Praxiteles, at least to give plausibility to the theory.<sup>4</sup>

Another statue of Eros, which existed at Parium on the Sea of Marmora, had considerable fame. From the illustrations on local coins it has been proposed to identify it as the original of the Farnese Eros of the Louvre<sup>5</sup> and another replica at Parma;<sup>6</sup> but the non-descript character of these headless figures leaves room for doubt as to whether they are true copies or merely sculptures inspired by the Praxitelean type. Still another work, the Artemis Brauronia of the Acropolis, has been recognized<sup>7</sup> in a Louvre statue, called the Diana of Gabies, and other copies; but the style is not unmistakably Praxitelean, and nothing is known of the Brauronia except that it

<sup>1</sup> Identified by Ducati, *Jahresh.*, xvi, 1913, p. 107.

<sup>2</sup> *M.*, figs. 131, 132; Br. Br., 376.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 312.

<sup>4</sup> Summary of views upon it, Maviglia, *Bull. Comm.*, xxxviii, 1910, p. 161.

<sup>5</sup> *M.*, fig. 133; Br. Br., 378.

<sup>6</sup> *Einz.*, 74.

<sup>7</sup> Studniczka, *Artemis und Iphigenie*, p. 77, fig. 59.

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was a standing figure and not of marble, hence the conjecture can only be accepted with reserve.

A few more statues are depicted on coins,<sup>1</sup> while the names of many survive. They include a wide assortment of subjects – a Weeping Matron and Rejoicing Harlot, Persuasion and Consolation, Good Fortune, as well as a large number of deities; a sepulchral group of a warrior standing beside a horse was the single portrait recorded until an inscription came to light in Bœotia, which belonged to the statue of one Thrasymachus.

In addition to all these, museums contain many a statue or head, which from its style has been labelled as a copy from Praxiteles: Furtwängler (*Masterpieces*) and Perrot (*Praxitèle*) discuss old attributions, while the most interesting recent addition is a female bust of the Sauroctonus period.<sup>2</sup> A related style occurs in the statue of Hypnos (Sleep) (Pl. 79a), which can be best appreciated in the British Museum bronze head.<sup>3</sup> The god runs bearing the opium-poppy in his left hand, pouring out sleep from the horn in his right. The sculptor was probably not Praxiteles, but an associate.

The Leconfield head of Aphrodite (Pl. 83) supplies the latest example of Praxitelean female sculpture.<sup>4</sup> This amazing work, to which Lucian's appreciation of the Cnidian so well applies, is undoubtedly an original, and it is generally believed that its sculptor was Praxiteles himself, not a pupil. When compared to the Cnidian the hair is seen to be treated less formally, the face more individually; yet the resemblance is great enough to imply that Phryne was again his model, though now attaining middle age, for the features are less firm and the neck fuller. The date cannot be far removed from that of the Hermes of Olympia. Yet another original of this last period of the master's life seems to have survived in the Aberdeen head in the British Museum (Pl. 82c).<sup>5</sup> The contrast between this and the Hermes is superficial, expressing simply the different characteristics of Hermes and Heracles, and, when the details are examined, the relationship becomes clear. This head reveals the weakness of Praxiteles – the lack of a sense of design or of form – more plainly than his strength. With his ambition to produce the illusion of life, he

<sup>1</sup> *N. G. P.*, p. 74.

<sup>2</sup> Ashmole, *J. H. S.*, xlii, 1922, p. 242, pl. ix.

<sup>3</sup> No. 267; Murray, *Greek Bronzes*, Pl. ii; Walters, *Select Bronzes*, pl. xv.

<sup>4</sup> *M.*, fig. 148, pl. xvii.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 346, pl. xviii.



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appears as a sculptor whose skill was unsurpassed, but to whom beauty meant little more than seductiveness, art, than virtuosity.

Specious, yet extremely questionable, is the inclusion under the category of Praxitelean of a base discovered at Mantinea. It is known from Pausanias to have supported the cult-images of Leto, Apollo and Artemis. These figures, which he ascribes to Praxiteles, have disappeared, and only three reliefs which sheathed the base remain, which have been placed in the Athens Museum. On one slab are carved Marsyas playing the flutes (an imitation of Myron's statue), the slave holding the knife with which Marsyas was to be flayed, and Apollo seated on a rock with the lyre. The other two slabs contain six figures of Muses, the series being completed in another slab which no longer exists. Pausanias speaks only of a 'Muse, and Marsyas playing the flutes,' an interesting example of his methods of reporting, and of textual corruption, for the manuscript should certainly read 'Muses' instead of 'Muse.' The style of these reliefs bears no relation to any known work of Praxiteles and it is possible that they should be assigned to the following century.<sup>1</sup> The attribution to a homonymous grandson of Praxiteles fits the chronological requirements: nevertheless there survives no irrefutable evidence for the existence of a later Praxiteles, and the reliefs might easily have been added to an older base.

An earlier sculptor of the same name has been postulated to account for an inscription observed by Pausanias at Athens. Treating of a temple of Demeter, he mentions statues 'of the goddess and her daughter, and of Iacchus holding a torch; it is stated on the wall in Attic letters that they are works of Praxiteles.' As the old Attic alphabet was officially superseded in 403, the inscription must either refer to an older Praxiteles, or be a later addition in old-fashioned lettering. It is presumed that the same sculptor, the grandfather of his famous namesake, was responsible for the cult-images of Hera and Rhea at Plataea, in a temple built in 427-426, and the pediments of the temple of Heracles at Thebes, which housed a relief carved by Alcamenes in 403, and is therefore unlikely to have remained with empty gables to the time of the great Praxiteles. The subjects, the labours of Heracles and his wrestling match with Antæus, sound better adapted to metopes than pediments; they have no parallel

<sup>1</sup> *L. G. S.*, p. 102.

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among the works of the great Praxiteles. To condemn the ancient attribution of the Plataea and Thebes sculptures is the simplest solution of the problem.<sup>1</sup>

### § 2. *The Mausoleum Sculptors and lesser Contemporaries*

The contemporaries of Praxiteles seem to have differed little from him in their ideals, with the exception of the members of the Peloponnesian school. Of the others, Scopas of Paros is the only distinct personality. He may have been the son of Aristander of Paros, who worked on the memorials for the Battle of Ægospotami, for a sculptor named Aristander, son of Scopas, of Paros, was active at Delos towards 100 B.C., and the whole family of sculptors may have continued to use the same names for generations. Pliny assigns Scopas to the year 420, but as he was employed on the Mausoleum towards 350, this *floruit* cannot be correct. The upper limit for his active life cannot be determined: many years may have elapsed between the burning of the temple of Athena Alea at Tegea in 394, and its reconstruction with Scopas as architect, for its great size must have entailed considerable expenditure.

'I was informed,' says Pausanias, in his account of Tegea (viii. 45, 4), 'that the architect was Scopas the Parian, who made images in many places of ancient Greece, including some in Ionia and Caria. On the front gable is the hunt of the Calydonian boar. The boar is set just in the middle. On one side are Atalanta, Meleager, Theseus, Telamon, Peleus, Pollux and Iolaus, the comrade of Heracles in most of his labours; and there are also Prothus and Cometes, sons of Thestius and brother of Althæa. On the other side of the boar is Epochus supporting Ancæus, who is wounded and has dropped his axe; beside him are Castor and Amphiaræus, son of Oicles, beyond them Hippothous . . . and last of all is carved Peirithous. On the back gable is represented the fight of Telephus and Achilles in the plain of the Caicus.' In spite of the absence of any definite statement that the pedimental sculptures reproduced designs of Scopas, the assumption may pass unchallenged, because the singular individuality of the work postulates the employment of a great sculptor, and this would naturally be Scopas, who supplied marble statues of Asclepius and Hygieia to the interior, besides serving as architect.

<sup>1</sup> Perdrizet, *Revue des Etudes gr.*, 1893, p. 88.

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The cult-statue, an ivory work by Endœus, had been rescued from the old temple and was finally carried off to Rome by the order of Augustus; these statues by Scopas stood in Pausanias' day on either side of an Athena transferred as a substitute from a neighbouring village.

The plentiful fragments of sculpture discovered on the site<sup>1</sup> belong chiefly to the pediments, which were executed in the Arcadian marble of Dolianà. The heads of warriors (Pl. 85) and of the boar are the most notable relics, apart from a female torso, sometimes identified with the Atalanta; a female head,<sup>2</sup> once believed to belong to this torso, does not fit properly to the neck, and the style points to the first quarter of the century, whereas extremely 'pathetic' male heads from the pediments should not be dated far from 350, when the like degree of emotional expression is visible in the Mausoleum sculptures; another female head resembling the male type was also found in the ruins.<sup>3</sup> The architectural details of the temple connect it with the Tholos at Epidaurus, a building dated roughly 360-330, and the pedimental sculptures would naturally come among the last portions of the work to be undertaken.

Their style has obvious affinities with the Praxitelean, but the faces and heads are round instead of oval, the eyes are more deeply sunk under the brows and have narrower lids, being wide-open instead of half-closed, and the bodies have a thinner covering of flesh; there is no trace of the carnal corruption of Praxiteles.

With the help of the Tegea fragments a few copies have been traced to works of Scopas. A statuette in Dresden<sup>4</sup> reproduces or closely imitates his figure of a Mænad dancing in ecstasy, head thrown back, hair dishevelled and arms wildly brandishing the goat she has killed, while the short Doric peplos, flying open at the side, leaves the body partly nude; a long, rhetorical description by Callistratus identifies the type.<sup>5</sup> The colossal seated Ares, which had been taken to Rome by Pliny's day, has been recognized in the Ludovisi statue of a young god moodily clasping his knee. It is curious that all the copies are life-size (though perhaps they are copies at second-hand

<sup>1</sup> *J. H. S.*, xlii, 1926, pl. xi, 3; Johnson, *Lysippos*, pl. 8; in general see Dugas, Berchmans and Clemmensen, *Sanctuaire à Tégée*, with pls. xcvi-cxvi.

<sup>2</sup> Picard, *Sculpture Antique*, ii, fig. 62.

<sup>3</sup> *Tégée*, pl. cxvi.

<sup>4</sup> *L. G. S.*, pl. 9b.

<sup>5</sup> Overbeck, No. 1164.

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from a reduction), and for this reason an alternative theory attributes the type to Lysippos, which is stylistically improbable.<sup>1</sup> The Pothos (Desire) of Scopas has been sought in a figure which usually appears with wings in the minor arts, though copies in statue form are restored as Apollo; it is but distantly related to any known Scopas type and the pose recalls the Sauroctonus.<sup>2</sup> A Heracles by this sculptor stood at Sicyon<sup>3</sup> and may well be the original of the Heracles crowned with a wreath of poplar (Pl. 89b)<sup>4</sup>; a complete statue of the type is known from the Lansdowne copy<sup>5</sup> to have somewhat resembled the Doryphorus; the god held his lion-skin at the full length of his right arm and shouldered his club with his left.

The Meleager, a frequently copied statue, is not mentioned by any ancient author, but the subject connects it with Tegea or Sicyon, and the original may have been taken thence to Rome, for the Villa Medici head<sup>6</sup> has sometimes been considered a relic of it; yet it is really impossible to distinguish between an original and a copy when the marble has weathered to the extent that it has in this instance.<sup>7</sup> The powerful body of other copies reveals the surface markings more clearly than Praxitelean statues and there is no languor in the pose; the stance is erect, the weight carried on the right leg, with the left hand holding a spear and the right resting idle on the buttock, while a dog sits by his feet. The original has been given both to Scopas and to Lysippos, because of the wide discrepancies in the style of the copies.

An Apollo in long voluminous Ionic chiton may reproduce the statue by Scopas brought from Rhamnus to the Augustan temple on the Palatine, where it stood beside an Artemis by Timotheus and a Leto by the younger Cephisodotus: a base from Sorrento<sup>8</sup> apparently illustrates these three statues, with which aid copies of the Apollo have been traced.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Johnson, *Lysippos*, p. 166, pls. 28, 29.    <sup>2</sup> Helbig, 853; Br. Br., 616-7.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps shown on coins, *N. C. P.*, pl. H, xi.

<sup>4</sup> A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, ii. i, p. 469, fig. 363.

<sup>5</sup> *M.*, fig. 125; Hyde, *Olympic Victor Mon.*, pl. 30, fig. 71; Johnson, *Lysippos*, p. 208, pl. 41.    <sup>6</sup> *L. G. S.*, pl. 4a.

<sup>7</sup> Hyde, *Olympic Victor Mon.*, figs. 75-77; Johnson, *Lysippos*, pls. 58, 59, who attributes to Lysippos, p. 241.

<sup>8</sup> *Ausonia*, iii, 1908, p. 94, fig. 1.

<sup>9</sup> *Einz.*, 334; Amelung, *Röm. Mitt.*, xv, 1900, p. 201, fig. 2.

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A more exciting work was the group set up at Rome by Domitius Ahenobarbus upon a base of Republican workmanship which still exists (Pl. 123*b*): it comprised 'Poseidon himself, Thetis and Achilles, Nereids sitting on dolphins, whales or sea-horses, together with Tritons' and many other sea-creatures.<sup>1</sup>

In singular contrast to the purely mythological conceptions of Scopas, the work of Silanion of Athens (author of an essay on proportions) was confined, as far as our information extends, to portraits of prominent men and athletes or characterizations of historical personages, such as Achilles, Theseus, Sappho, Jocasta and the poetess Corinna. The last-named may be imitated in a statuette inscribed with her name in Greek characters, but discovered at Compiègne in France;<sup>2</sup> its style would agree with the fourth-century dating but gives little indication of Silanion's powers. The dying Jocasta, 'in whose face an infusion of silver imitated the hue of death,' supplies an instance of his concentration on the representation of moods; since the admixture of silver into one area of the bronze is a technical absurdity, the pale tint can only have been due to colouring matter applied after casting.

Silanion's portrait of Plato, commissioned by a Persian admirer, named Mithradates, who died in 363, is presumably represented among the extant busts of the philosopher, which vary from a grim forceful expression in the Holkham head<sup>3</sup> to a pensive melancholy<sup>4</sup> more consonant both with the character of Plato and the usual conventions of portraiture in the early fourth century, as they are known from gravestones. The face, while it has more detail than the Pericles of Cresilas, yet presents no individual features. A bronze portrait of Apollodorus, who had known Socrates in his boyhood (in 416, if Plato's *Banquet* may be trusted), must have resembled the livelier copies of the Plato, judging from Pliny's description: 'He was himself a sculptor more painstaking than his rivals and a harsh critic of his own work, so much so that he often smashed his finished statue because of inability to satisfy his ideals, and was therefore nicknamed

<sup>1</sup> Pliny, quoted by Overbeck, No. 1175.

<sup>2</sup> Reinach, *Rev. Arch.*, 1900, i, p. 169, pls. ii, iii.

<sup>3</sup> Poulsen, *J. H. S.*, xl, 1920, p. 190; Pfuhl, *Bildniskunst*, p. 28, pl. iv, 2, considers it a Hellenistic variant.

<sup>4</sup> Hekler, 22, 23; accepted by Pfuhl, pl. iv. 1, as the original.

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the Lunatic. The statue has expressed this trait; it is no mere bronze man but an embodiment of rage.' No copy of this work has yet been noticed. A striking head at Bologna, the portrait of some unknown Greek, has some relationship to the Plato, therefore the name of Silanion has been put forward.<sup>1</sup> The portrait of Hypereides, who died in 322, by Silanion's pupil, Zeuxiades, has been dubiously identified.<sup>2</sup> Other noteworthy busts of the period, of uncertain authorship, are the Lysias<sup>3</sup> and the Antisthenes,<sup>4</sup> which reveal the public aspect of a personality without actually reproducing the features of the individual.

The funerary stelæ, of which so many hundreds were carved at Athens in the mid-fourth century, usually employ undistinguished heads of certain recognized types – young or old. One of the finest stones, that of Aristonantes running against the enemy,<sup>5</sup> has as ideal a head as a Scopas hero. There are, of course, other exceptions, but for the most part these memorials were executed by artisans of little originality, and since the name of the deceased could be inscribed the purchasers felt no need for any attempt at a likeness. An anthology of female sepulchral types is preserved in the sarcophagus of 'Les Pleureuses,' found in the royal cemetery of Sidon (Pl. 84).<sup>6</sup> This Attic work of the second quarter of the century is decorated with eighteen of the mourning women from which it derives its name, in addition to hunting scenes around the base, a funeral procession on the longer side of the lid, and pediments and acroteria at its ends. Similar figures occur plentifully on stelæ and occasionally in the round, when they were placed upon tombs:<sup>7</sup> a relief at Athens, of one such woman standing between two who are seated in attitudes of mourning, seems to have been destined for a metope.<sup>8</sup>

The Argive-Sicyonian school established by the pupils of Polycleitus still flourished through the second quarter of the fourth century.<sup>9</sup> In honour of the campaign of 370–369, when the Thebans

<sup>1</sup> Ducati, *Ausonia*, ii, 1907, p. 235, figs. 1, 2.

<sup>2</sup> Poulsen, *Mon. Piot*, xxi, 1913, p. 47, pl. iii.

<sup>3</sup> Hekler, 26; Pfuhl, *Bildniskunst*, pl. v, 1, 2.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 28, 30a; Poulsen, *Portraits in English Collections*, p. 31, pl. 4.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 47; Winter ascribes to Timotheus, *Jahrb.*, xxxviii–ix, 1923–4, p. 49.

<sup>6</sup> Constantinople Cat. No. 10.

<sup>7</sup> *L. G. S.*, pl. 89a.

<sup>8</sup> *Ath. Mitt.*, xviii, 1893, p. 1, pl. i.

<sup>9</sup> General study by Johnson, *Lysippos*, Chap. I.

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and their allies invaded Spartan territory, a group of nine statues was dedicated at Delphi by the Arcadians in front of the Spartan monument for Ægospotami: Antiphanes of Argos, Dædalus of Sicyon and two other sculptors shared these figures of gods and heroes between them. The Argives placed a larger group at Delphi in memory of the same war, and here the signature of Antiphanes is cut upon two bases; on the six other inscribed bases no artist's name appears, so that Antiphanes may be responsible for the whole set of perhaps twenty statues, representing the legendary heroes of Argos. His equally distinguished contemporary, Dædalus, son of Patrocles, seems to have specialized in athletic sculpture, and one at least of the 'two boys scraping themselves,' which Pliny attributes to him, is probably reproduced in a bronze statue from Ephesus and numerous marble copies, in which two slightly divergent types exist.<sup>1</sup> A youth of somewhat heavy build is represented scraping the grease from his hand with a strigil; the weight rests firmly on the right leg, the head sinks forward for the eyes to follow the action of the hands, which are held in front of the groin. The head has a strong resemblance to the supposed Discobolus of Naucydes, another son of Patrocles, but the date must be slightly later, around 370-360. The third brother, Polycleitus the younger, may have lived long enough to collaborate with Lysippus, for both their signatures are cut on one block at Thebes, upon which two statues stood; the figure by Lysippus represented an athlete named Coreidas, whose success in the boys' pancration at Delphi cannot be dated before 342, but it is uncertain whether the other statue must be equally late, because the signatures seem to be renewals, added subsequently to the destruction of Thebes in 335. There is, in any case, no ground here for the hypothesis that a third Polycleitus practised sculpture towards the end of the century.

Euphranor, either an Athenian or a native of the Corinthian isthmus,<sup>2</sup> flourished both as a painter and a sculptor of note, producing statues and reliefs in marble and bronze. His picture of the Battle of Mantinea (fought in 362), his chariot-groups of Philip and Alexander at Olympia (doubtless ordered about 336, the year of Alexander's accession), and the inscriptions of his son (roughly dated at 300),

<sup>1</sup> Johnson, *Lysippos*, p. 88, pls. 10, 11B; Hyde, *Olympic Victor Mon.*, pl. 12; Br. Br., 682-5.

<sup>2</sup> Johnson, *Lysippos*, p. 40, for latest account.

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reveal him as an almost exact contemporary of Praxiteles. 'He was unusually impressionable and painstaking and in every class of work reached the same high standard. In his pictures,' continues Pliny, 'he seems to have been the first to express all the majesty of heroes and to have mastered the problems of proportion, although his bodies were too slight and his heads and limbs too large. He also wrote on the subject of proportions, and on colours.'

A celebrated statue by Euphranor revealed the whole character of Paris as the 'judge of the goddesses, lover of Helen, and destroyer of Achilles.' Several figures of Paris, Attis or Ganymede, recognizable by the Phrygian cap (imitated in the Cap of Liberty of the French Revolution), are now represented by copies; a seated draped statue in the Vatican, of which no other replica exists, has been acclaimed as Euphranor's Paris;<sup>1</sup> Furtwängler, however, selected a nude standing type, extant in more than one variation.<sup>2</sup> This tall, slim youth leans cross-legged upon a tree-trunk, with his head turned languidly to one side (the side varies in different statues); the type is noteworthy, whoever be its author. A nude female torso at Naples in a similar attitude<sup>3</sup> has almost a fifth-century air in its freedom from Praxitelean sensuality. Herein can be traced an Argive influence, and indeed a batch of post-Polycleitan statues (with the bust, Pl. 94*b*). has also been attributed to Euphranor.<sup>4</sup> One of these, the bronze youth<sup>5</sup> found in a ship wrecked at the time of Christ off the island of Anticythera (Cerigotto), held a small object in his raised right hand, perhaps the apple of Paris. The statue is of late Hellenistic work, copying or imitating an original of *circa* 360; the heaviness of the torso in comparison to the head and legs presents an obstacle to the attribution to Euphranor. Other theories connect Euphranor with earlier statues, the Ares Borghese and even the Athena of Velletri.<sup>6</sup>

A bold proposal to recognize in an original male bust (Pl. 100*a*) the 'Good Luck' by Euphranor, rests upon Pliny's statement that this statue held a bowl in the right hand, an ear of corn and a poppy

<sup>1</sup> Helbig, 186; Cat., ii, No. 255, pl. 47.

<sup>2</sup> *M.*, fig. 154.

<sup>3</sup> *M.*, fig. 155.

<sup>4</sup> Bieber, *Jahrb.*, xxv, 1910, p. 159.

<sup>5</sup> Johnson, *Lysippos*, pl. 5; *L. G. S.*, p. 128.

<sup>6</sup> Willers, *Studien z. griech. Kunst*, p. 91, recognizes the Athena of Euphranor in coins of Domitian and a bronze statuette in the British Museum, and connects this with the Velletri type.



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in the left: these attributes are not proper to Good Luck, but to Triptolemus, the young god of Eleusis, where this bust was discovered in the ruins of a sanctuary. But the 'Good Luck' seems to have stood in Rome, since it is mentioned between an Athena on the Capitol and a group of Leto holding her babies which stood in the Temple of Concord: the attribution to Euphranor therefore encounters difficulties. It was at first believed that the bust was an original by Praxiteles, because a herm in the Vatican <sup>1</sup> bears the inscription 'Eubuleus of Praxiteles,' and Eubuleus in early legends is a swine-herd connected with the Eleusinian religion. But his cult had no importance in the fourth century, when the name applies rather to a chthonian variety of Zeus or Pluto, so that the Vatican herm cannot have supported a copy of the extant bust; it represents some other young dæmon of local importance, perhaps Triptolemus. It was perhaps attached to a body of wood or inferior marble. The style is not Praxitelean; <sup>2</sup> the nearest analogies are presented by the heads attributed to Leochares, but the point cannot indeed be settled.

At any rate the bust is the work of a great sculptor and enjoyed some repute in antiquity, for copies have been found. The Capitoline head (Pl. 100b) <sup>3</sup> is an instructive example of copyists' methods, though it must be remembered that the tip of the nose, the chin, and fragments of the hair have been restored. The curves of the eyelids have become more angular, the bulge of the forehead and the cheek-bones have been smoothed down, the corners of the mouth have lost their sensual appeal, the hair is carefully reproduced but more clearly defined – almost as though the original were in bronze. In short the original style could not be discerned from such a nondescript piece of work, and most copies of ancient statues have no greater merit.

Apart from the temple of Tegea, the great sculptural monuments of this age stood in Persian territory: these were the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus and a new temple of Artemis at Ephesus, built after its predecessor had been burnt, in 356, by a citizen anxious to perpetuate his name, but not completed for more than twenty years. The tomb of Mausolus, who died in 353, was perhaps commenced in his own lifetime, following the usual custom of Oriental rulers (he was a Carian dynast under Persian protection), though the tradition

<sup>1</sup> Helbig, 51.    <sup>2</sup> In spite of Furtwängler's advocacy, *M.*, p. 320, pl. xvi.

<sup>3</sup> Helbig, 808.

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attributes the conception to his widow and states that the artists finished the work, purely for the sake of their own credit, shortly after her death in 351. The sculptures must therefore be earlier than those of Ephesus.

In the absence of any account by an eye-witness the design of the Mausoleum remains problematical, and no two restorations agree, but a basic similarity to the Nereid Monument attests the Asiatic idea of the whole. ~~It was~~ an oblong building, somewhat like a temple, and was surrounded with a colonnade of the Ionic order. Above this, according to the questionable account abstracted by Pliny from some older source, was 'a pyramid equal in height to the portion below, consisting of twenty-four steps, which grew narrower as they ascended. On the summit stands a four-horse chariot in marble, made by Pythis,' who is perhaps identical with 'Pythius,' architect of the temple at Priene, and with 'Phyteus,' one of the two architects to whom Vitruvius gives the Mausoleum. The same authority states that each side of the building was supervised by a separate sculptor, namely Leochares, Bryaxis, Scopas, Praxiteles, and, according to some accounts, Timotheus: Pliny, on the other hand, ascribes the east side to Scopas, the north to Bryaxis, the south to Timotheus, the west to Leochares. The ruins were demolished, partly for building material and partly to be burnt for lime, by the Knights of St. John and by the Turkish inhabitants, and in few instances has it been possible to determine the side on which sculptures were placed — many of them were picked out of the walls of the mediaeval castle and out of the walls and chimneys of private houses, by Newton's expedition: only a few were excavated from the ground upon which they had fallen from their original positions. In any event the division of labour by sides could only apply to certain classes of sculpture.

The remnants assembled in the British Museum include much of the colossal chariot and horses, of which Pliny writes, in addition to a number of lions, the colossal statues commonly entitled Mausolus and Artemisia (Pl. 86), various other figures, portions of three friezes and some carved panels of no great merit which seem to have formed part of the ceiling. The Mausolus and Artemisia<sup>2</sup> appear to be portrait-statues, and the man's un-Greek features<sup>1</sup> support the hypothesis

<sup>1</sup> Hekler, 38; *Jahrb.*, xxx, 1925, p. 22.

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that sees in them two members of the royal family, if not actually the two persons buried in the tomb; they were formerly supposed to have stood in the chariot,<sup>1</sup> but are disproportionately small, especially considering the height (140 feet) at which this was placed, for only the top of the figures would be visible over the rim of the chariot. Their surface, moreover, has not weathered, proving that they had been kept indoors: it seems most likely that they had occupied the position assigned in temples to cult-statues, like the Lincoln in the modern equivalent at Washington. The other statues vary in dimensions, but the majority are of life-size; some may belong to pedimental groups or acroteria, although there exists no proof that all were not put between the columns like the Nereids of Xanthus.

If there be any truth in the legend that each sculptor confined his attention to one side only, it must apply to the statues alone. Praxiteles has left no trace of his dubious presence, but a horseman wearing Asiatic dress (Pl. 87) has been ascribed to Timotheus because of a resemblance, both to the Epidauros Amazon (Pl. 76*b*), and to another Amazon, now in Boston,<sup>2</sup> that bridges the gap of twenty or thirty years between the monuments; several battered, male heads recall the heroes of the Tegea pediments, and other heads and torsos might be shared among the remaining artists.<sup>3</sup>

Each of the three friezes, on the other hand, has evidently been designed as a whole by one artist, and it is astonishing that serious scholars should have attempted to divide the slabs of the Amazonomachia according to sculptors,<sup>4</sup> for the differences in each block extend no deeper than is normal in reliefs executed by different artisans. Far more remains of this larger composition, 3 feet high, representing a battle of Greeks and Amazons (Pl. 88), than of the delicate little chariot-race or of the roughly carved frieze of Greeks and Centaurs, which must have been situated at a considerable height above the eye-level. The original positions of these friezes cannot be convincingly determined; some restorations locate the

<sup>1</sup> Full discussion of the position by Preedy, *J. H. S.*, xxx, 1910, p. 133.

<sup>2</sup> No. 40; Br. Br., 674.

<sup>3</sup> The best head is one that has been sliced down the centre, British Mus. Cat. II, No. 1054, pl. xx; Amelung, *Ausonia*, iii, 1908, p. 91, publishes some important fragments in an article dealing broadly with contemporary sculpture.

<sup>4</sup> *Jahrb.*, xxiv, 1909, p. 171.

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Amazonomachia round the platform beneath the colonnade, others above it as the frieze of the Ionic order, while the fine detail and smooth surface of the chariot-race suggest a position on the cella walls. The wide spacing of the Amazon frieze, though doubtless suitable to its original position, has an air of poverty seen at close quarters, and the imaginative fertility expended on varying the actions and groups does not obviate its monotony. The heads have often been carelessly worked and offer no stylistic criteria, but the Amazons, whose drapery parts to reveal their shapely forms (Pl. 88), recall the Mænad of Scopas. Similarly the heroes of Tegea have been compared with the charioteers (Pl. 89*a*), slim youths who lean forward over the reins with set, eager faces, their long chitons blown back from their feet by the wind of their speed.

But another sculptor, Bryaxis, has equal claims, if indeed a Victory, found in Athens, really stood on a signed base that lay close to it,<sup>1</sup> for the resemblance of this headless statue to the charioteers passes beyond the limits of coincidence: according to an alternative theory, however, the figure was an acroterion of the Theseum. The style of this Attic master is otherwise unknown; the reliefs upon the signed base are negligent work by some pupil. Statues of Apollo at Daphne, outside Antioch, and of Serapis at Alexandria, ought to be attributed to a second Bryaxis (not an Athenian, according to the early Christian author, Clement of Alexandria), for they cannot antedate the third century; it is impossible to distinguish which of these two sculptors was responsible for the other recorded figures of deities and a portrait of Seleucus.

The fame of Leochares is scarcely less nebulous. His portrait of Isocrates at Eleusis was possibly the original of the quiet subtle bust inscribed with this name,<sup>2</sup> while a statuette in the Vatican<sup>3</sup> answers better than any other Ganymede to Pliny's description of his bronze group: 'the eagle, conscious what a prize is Ganymede and to what high destiny it bears him, takes care to spare the boy the sharpness of his claws, even through the clothing.' An eagle with wings outspread lifts the boy by the shoulders, round which he

<sup>1</sup> *Ephemeris Arch.*, 1893, pls. 4-7; Picard, *Sculpture Antique*, i, figs. 43, 44.

<sup>2</sup> Hekler, 41*a*.

<sup>3</sup> Winter, *Jahrb.*, xxxii, 1917, p. 226, figs. 1, 2; *Rev. Arch.*, 1904, ii, p. 335, photos of head.

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wears a chlamys; the eye is carried upwards by the raised head, peering into the sky, by the outstretched body and the dog that sits upon the ground watching its master's ascent. In view of the inadequacy of the Vatican group to convey a true idea of the style, little weight attaches to the theories, devoid of external confirmation, that credit Leochares with the original of the Apollo Belvedere (judged not by the Vatican copy, but by a head in Basle),<sup>1</sup> of the Capitoline Aphrodite,<sup>2</sup> of the 'Alcibiades' head of the Conservatori,<sup>3</sup> and of a related head, one version of which is placed upon the Naples statue called Protesilaus, rightly so according to Graef, who interprets this statue as a wounded Adonis.<sup>4</sup> The Rondanini Alexander at Munich<sup>5</sup> stands in a different class, since Leochares is known to have portrayed Alexander at least once, in a chryselephantine group at Olympia, which included several members of his family. A relief<sup>6</sup> may reflect part of the group at Delphi in which Leochares and Lysippus commemorated the lion-hunt of Alexander and Craterus; this was dedicated after the death of Craterus in 321 and is the latest known work by Leochares.

One of the Mausoleum sculptors may perhaps have carved the Demeter, discovered on the neighbouring site of Cnidus, which is probably the finest single statue in the British Museum (Pl. 91).<sup>7</sup> The goddess is represented as mourning for her daughter; she sits swathed in a himation that discloses little of her matronly body, leaving only the head, neck and forearms uncovered. The head and neck are cut from a block of Parian marble, while the body is made of a local stone of poor quality. The latter may be the work of an inferior artist, a pupil of the great master who carved the head with his own hands.

Other notable sculptures from the coast of Asia Minor are the reliefs on the drums and bases of columns in the new temple at Ephesus,<sup>8</sup> which retained this peculiarity of its predecessor; the most famous drum (Pl. 93) shows among other figures a woman,

<sup>1</sup> *Arch. Anz.*, 1925, p. 22, figs. 2-4.

<sup>2</sup> *L. G. S.*, p. 95, pl. 7.

<sup>3</sup> *Ausonia*, iii, 1908, p. 132, pl. v.

<sup>4</sup> *Röm. Mitt.*, xii, 1897, p. 30, pl. ii.

<sup>5</sup> Hekler, 61b; *L. G. S.*, p. 94; Johnson, *Lysippos*, pls. 6, 7.

<sup>6</sup> *Jahrb.*, iii, 1888, pl. vii.

<sup>7</sup> Cat. No. 1300, pl. xxiv.

<sup>8</sup> Lethaby, *J. H. S.*, xxxiii, 1913, p. 87, and 1914, p. 76, pl. viii, and 1916, p. 25.

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fastening her drapery, standing between Hermes and Death, and the scene has therefore been connected with the story of Alcestis. But there is nothing dramatic in the relief; nor even can it be called narrative, for the artist was concerned only with the decorative effect of his row of figures. Incidentally Scopas was the sculptor of one of these columns, according to the manuscripts of Pliny, though a plausible emendation reads *imo scapo*, 'on the lowest drum,' instead of *una a Scopas*.

Another decorative relief in Munich (Pl. 90) gives a glimpse of Hades.<sup>1</sup> On the left the daughters of Danaus perform their eternal task of pouring water into a leaky pot, on the thrones sit Persephone and her husband, the god of the underworld, while Hermes rushes away after some other figure. The relief evidently came from a tomb; it is typical of the style of Taranto and the neighbouring part of South Italy, which preserved the blank faces and fluttering drapery of the Phigaleia-Epidauros school up to the beginning of the third century.<sup>2</sup> The date of the Hades scene cannot be far removed from 350; though it must be admitted that there are great risks of over-precision in dealing with these local sculptures.

Greece in the third quarter of the century was producing little sculpture save individual statues and gravestones. One of the rare exceptions is the little monument of Lysicrates at Athens, built after his success with a chorus in 334, which bears a gay frieze, 10 inches in height, representing the adventures of Dionysus and the pirates.<sup>3</sup> Portraits were numerous, and their faces had not such a strong 'family likeness' as those of former times. A striking bust at Naples inscribed 'Archidamus'<sup>4</sup> represents one of the Spartan kings, probably the third of that name (reigned 361-338); his portrait stood at Delphi, next to Phryne's, and at Olympia. More conventional were the statues of fifth-century dramatists, Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides,<sup>5</sup> erected in the Theatre at Athens in 340; the admirable copy in the Lateran (Pl. 92) shows the clever characterization of the Sophocles known to tradition, a well-fed, well-dressed, elderly gentleman of dignified platitudes: the feet and base and left hand are

<sup>1</sup> *Münchener Jahrb.*, ix, 1914-15, p. 155.

<sup>2</sup> *L. G. S.*, p. 54, 132, pl. 92a; *Bull. Comm.*, liii, 1926, p. 96, pls. i, ii.

<sup>3</sup> *Br. Br.*, 488; *A. J. A.*, viii, 1893, p. 42, pls. ii, iii.

<sup>4</sup> Hekler, 11.

<sup>5</sup> Poulsen, *D.*, figs. 152, 154; Hekler, 52-54, 89.

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restored. A half-draped statue at Delphi <sup>1</sup> gives a philosopher type, paralleled by the British Museum statuette of Socrates, an Antonine work which possibly reflects an original by Lysippus.<sup>2</sup>

### § 3. *Lysippus*

This celebrated artist,<sup>3</sup> a Sicyonian, had an unusually long career as a sculptor, although according to an author of the third century B.C., he began life as an artisan in a bronze-foundry, and turned to original work after discovering that a painter had said that Nature was a better guide than any master – a remark which may then have seemed peculiar. His oldest recorded statue is perhaps that of Troilus, twice victorious at Olympia in 372 (or in 372 and 368); the base appears from the style of its lettering to be older than 350. The sculptor may have died between 316 and 300: this is contested by Johnson, but without valid evidence. An inscription that reads, 'King Seleucus – work of Lysippus,' is not of contemporary date and the portrait may therefore be older than Seleucus' adoption of the royal title in 306; an anecdote connecting Lysippus with the foundation of Cassandreia brings him to 316, and this is the last fixed point in his career. A group by Lysippus and Leochares at Delphi was erected after the death of Craterus (321) by his son, so the inscription states, but as the son did not reach manhood until the close of the century the dedication may have been made in his name by a guardian, anxious to fulfil the father's vow.

Lysippus is recorded to have altered the proportions of the human body, 'making the head smaller than of old, the body thinner and leaner, thereby increasing the apparent height' (Pliny). In fact he modified the Polycleitan rule that the head should equal one-seventh of the total height, adopting a ratio of 1 : 8. He appears to have been amazingly prolific in spite of the minute finish which he bestowed upon every detail. Pliny tells a story that he set aside a gold piece from the price of every sculpture and when his heir opened his safe it was found to contain 1,500 coins. An average of nearly thirty statues a year is incredible, however large a share of the labour was

<sup>1</sup> Hekler, 58; Poulsen, *D.*, figs. 155–6.

<sup>2</sup> *J. H. S.*, xlv, 1925, p. 255, pls. x–xiii.

<sup>3</sup> On whom see F. P. Johnson, *Lysippos*, Duke University, 1927.

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entrusted to pupils, yet the productiveness of Lysippus must have been phenomenal for such a belief to become current. His recorded sculptures represent chiefly male deities or men, in fact he specialized in athlete types, following the normal practices of the Argive-Sicyonian school, to which he belonged in taste if not by training. Psychological subtlety appealed to him no more than to Polycleitus, to whom he had a striking affinity. Peloponnesian statues were perfect of their kind, but, like all completely successful work, had their strict limitations; the ideal figure was required to be well posed, admirably modelled, physically strong, and the face was mentally undistinguished.

The style of Lysippus has now become tolerably recognizable, although no certain originals from his hand survive. The chief basis of study remains the Vatican figure of an Apoxyomenus, or youth scraping the cleansing oil from his skin by means of a strigil (Pls. 96, 97*a*). A statue of this motive by Lysippus stood at Rome, in front of the Baths of Agrippa; for a time it stood in Tiberius' bedroom, until he yielded to popular clamour and restored it to its place. Till recent years the Vatican statue was universally accepted as a copy from this Apoxyomenus of Lysippus. No other replica is known – a strange anomaly since the figure had acquired such popularity. Daippus, the son of Lysippus, was recorded to have produced a similar statue, called by Pliny a Perixyomenus, or youth scraping round himself: in spite of the fact that the Vatican figure appears to be scraping *off* rather than *round*, it has been recently claimed as a copy of Daippus' athlete.

A sudden wave of doubt shook the accepted belief that the Vatican figure represented the work of Lysippus, when it became known that a marble statue at Delphi, the imaginary portrait of Agias of Pharsalus, who lived near the middle of the fifth century, had once a counterpart at his native place, of which the extant base has the signature of Lysippus in addition to an epigram almost identical with the other's. The statue (Pl. 94*a*), at first sight remarkably unlike the Apoxyomenus, was then recognized for a contemporary and trustworthy copy from the original by Lysippus in Thessaly. The rash conclusion to abandon faith in the Apoxyomenus has since lost its sway, for many have met with disillusion in their studies at Delphi, and it is generally received that the Agias is a mediocre work



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like the rest of the Thessalian dedication, an unfit basis for any study of the work of a famous artist.

The dedication, comprising nine statues set side by side, upon a single base, was the gift of Daochus of Pharsalus, Tetrarch of Thessaly and member of the council at Delphi from 339 to his death in 334, from which years the statues must date. They represented himself and seven members of his family (Agias being an ancestor); the first statue had no inscription and its base is larger, hence it may have been an Athena. The workmanship is uniformly dull and poor, and no difference in style can be detected between the Agias, a headless nude, and the head of another such figure;<sup>1</sup> two statues wear the chlamys<sup>2</sup> and one a short peplos,<sup>3</sup> while the remainder have perished. It is safe to assert that if the Agias be indeed a copy from Lysippus, two at least of its companions must likewise have Lysippic originals; indeed the whole group has been claimed as a reproduction of a group by Lysippus at Pharsalus – a view not subject to effective criticism at the present moment, except on general grounds. Thus it may be urged that the dedication of a statue of Agias in his native place, more than a hundred years after his victories, would be a pointless proceeding unless it formed part of a large family monument such as the Delphian group. On the other hand tremendous expenses would be incurred in the transport of statues from Pharsalus to Delphi, so that if there were any such relation between the two dedications the second must have been based upon small clay models or have originated simultaneously with the originals in some more accessible part of Greece. This consideration weakens the argument that the Agias of Delphi and its fellows cannot be direct copies merely because the production of copies did not come into vogue for another two hundred years or more; a duplicate set, the carving of which was entrusted by Lysippus to inferior sculptors, would reproduce in the main the figures in the master's studio, with discrepancies in details, such as the hair, and in delicate points of style, which required the original cunning; if the copyists worked, independent of Lysippus, from small models, the correspondence would be less close. An examination of the group at Delphi reveals a contrast between efficient construction on the one hand and slovenly carving on the other – a strange conjunction in

<sup>1</sup> Poulsen, *D.*, figs. 132-4.    <sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, figs. 131, 135.    <sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, fig. 138.

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an original work but almost universal in copies. The statues seem, therefore, to be replicas of better originals; although they offer but poor criteria by which to ascertain how many of these besides the Agias were by Lysippus.

The relationship between the Apoxyomenus and the Agias must now be considered, the nude Thessalians being admissible to a low degree as evidence of the style of Lysippus. The Agias dates between 339 and 334, probably after the Battle of Chæroneia in 337 had established the full importance of its dedicator as the representative of Philip of Macedon; the Apoxyomenus must be later. Lysippus remained active during a further period of at least twenty years, in which he enjoyed the generous patronage of Alexander; his art may have been greatly developed under the stimulus of favourable conditions, although he must have attained the age of fifty before Alexander's accession. Thus the Renaissance sculptor Donatello made a tremendous advance at the age of sixty, in his works at Padua.

The difference between the two supposed copies from Lysippus is very great, too great, it has been said, for their originals to be ascribed to the same artist.<sup>1</sup> But both figures seem as though about to shift their weight from one leg to the other, and the contrast between the solidity of the Agias and the springiness of the Apoxyomenus can easily be explained away, for the Thessalian had for the space of thirty years been a noted pancratiast, and has the build necessary for that combination of boxing and wrestling, while the Apoxyomenus is a mere youth, with the light frame of the runner; no comparisons need be made with the other members of the Delphi group, for the headless statue in good preservation represents a brother of Agias, an able wrestler, who 'killed the strongest man of the Etruscans,' and if the remaining nude figure be correctly identified with a third brother, who won a race for boys, it must be confessed that it shows him as a full-grown man. More serious is the divergence in the treatment of surface markings. The Agias follows the normal method of the fourth-century masters, its sleek flesh undulating at the dictates of bone and muscles, but in the Vatican statue the skin is drawn tightly over the lumps of the structure, and muscles hitherto slurred over obtain their due prominence. Here the

<sup>1</sup> P. Gardner, *J. H. S.*, xxv, 1905, p. 235; reply by Poulsen, *D.*, p. 286.

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influence of the anatomical schools has been seen, and, since dissection does not appear to have been practised before 300, the conclusion that the statue cannot be Lysippic would hold good, were it not feasible to obtain this degree of anatomical knowledge purely by observing the living bodies of athletes. Moreover attention should be called to the fact that Pliny considered 'the extreme definition of the work, even to the minutest details,' to be characteristic of Lysippus. The original Agias may conceivably have adumbrated the new method, for the mason who carved the Delphi replicas was not the man to delay over refinements; neither, in all probability, did the Thessalian prince take any profound interest in the style of his advertisement.

A fair comparison of the heads of Agias and Apoxyomenus can be effected only with great difficulty. The shape of the skull differs somewhat, but then neither copyist is completely reliable on a point where improvisation entailed less trouble than imitation with little risk of detection. The expression changes inevitably, for the one is a middle-aged boxer and the other an innocent youth of gentle pursuits, but the relative shallowness of the eye-socket in the later statue points to rejection of the style of Scopas, which has left such obvious traces in the Agias; moreover the profile of nose and forehead no longer runs straight, and the mouth and chin have receded. The rendering of the hair, in which respect, as Pliny remarks, Lysippus made considerable progress, can be studied only in the Apoxyomenus, because in the Agias is adopted a cursory technique available in marble alone; the same thing may be said of the other head in the dedication, which has suffered so severely from atmospheric action that its value lies merely in the fact that in shape and expression it resembles the Agias.

A statue of a Thessalian athlete, Polydamas of Scotusa, was set up at Olympia in memory of his victory in 408; this was perhaps another dedication of Daochus. The base has been recovered: it bears reliefs of the strong man fighting champions at the Persian court and struggling with a lion.<sup>1</sup> The work is undistinguished.

A marble head at Olympia has been identified on sufficient grounds as a relic of the statue of an Acarnanian pancratiast, called perhaps Philandridas, an early work of Lysippus, which would

<sup>1</sup> *Olympia*, iii, pl. lv.

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ngly form the one extant original from his hand.<sup>1</sup> The head tionably has much in common with the Agias and is of finer quality, though deplorably damaged; the 'cauliflower' dicate a boxer. But the material is unusual for Lysippus and k dull, hence the figure was perhaps an early school-piece like as. To the same stage belongs another work (associated by with Euphranor), deeply influenced by both Polycleitus and , which is copied in a bronze bust from Herculaneum (Pl. the hair is modelled like that of 'Philandridas,' but greater ity has been introduced by the first-century copyist. Some related work, almost as much Scopaic as Lysippic, perhaps d the admirable stela from the Ilissus (Pl. 95); Pliny classes nd hunters' as among the most celebrated works of Lysippus can scarcely have had in mind only the lion-hunt at Delphi, e mentions that specifically a couple of sentences further on. fferent class of Lysippic statue is illustrated by the Farnese es, a statue copied on any scale up to 10 feet. The well-known l replica at Naples,<sup>3</sup> with its heavy bearded face and ponder- dy hung about with bunches of muscles, has a grotesque ty, not entirely due to the Glycon of Athens who proudly it. The inscription of a lesser replica<sup>4</sup> mentions Lysippus as inator, which is confirmed by the style of the Uffizi and other <sup>5</sup> Perhaps the original of this weary Heracles, leaning upon b, was the bronze figure of the god which stood in the market- of Sicyon. The Epitrapezius, so called because Alexander to decorate his table, was a seated statuette of Heracles: this vn from several copies <sup>6</sup> to have had the same physical type as rnese. In another seated Heracles, brought from Taranto to pitol and finally transferred to Constantinople, the shin alone lf as tall as a man. A Byzantine description of this statue ts that the copyists have seldom exaggerated the Strong Man

le, *A. J. A.*, xi, 1907, p. 396, figs. 3, 4, and *A. J. A.*, xxvi, 1922, Hyde, *Olympic Victor Mon.*, frontispiece, fig. 69; Johnson, p. 235.

les, *Guida*, No. 853; Br. Br., 364; Bieber, *Jahrb.*, xxv, 1910, fig. 3.

lters, *Art of the Romans*, pl. xv; Johnson, pl. 37; Br. Br., 285.

Br., 284. <sup>5</sup> Johnson, pls. 38, 39; *Einz.*, 346, 2775-7.  
rray, *Greek Bronzes*, fig. 31; Johnson, p. 98, pls. 15, 16.

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side of a Lysippic Heracles: 'his chest was wide, his shoulders broad, his hair thick, his buttocks fat, his arms powerful.'

This statue, large as it was, could not compare with the Zeus at Taranto, a figure so prodigious in size that the Romans made no effort to move it; they estimated its height at 58 feet. Of these colossi no copies can be seen, but two lesser works have been recognized in marbles, the Poseidon of Corinth<sup>1</sup> and the Eros drawing, or perhaps rather unstringing, his bow, which in pose resembles the Apoxyomenus and has a slighter, childish build, with an even more ingenuous face.<sup>2</sup>

Of the allegorical figure of Kairos, or Opportunity, there remain lengthy descriptions but no copies;<sup>3</sup> the youth was running on tiptoe, like the Hypnos, with wings to his heels, his hair long in front and shaven behind, because no one can seize him once he has passed, while the razor in his hand alluded to a Greek proverb, that the turn of events often balanced on an edge as fine as a razor's.

Lysippus also produced characterizations of Æsop, Socrates and the Seven Sages (none of which have been recognized with the possible exception of the Socrates), as well as portraits of Alexander from his boyhood upwards, and of some members of his entourage. The episode of the lion-hunt, in which Craterus saved the king's life, formed the subject, as we have already seen, of one of the sculptor's last works executed in conjunction with Leochares: it probably inspired a relief of this subject found at Messene.<sup>4</sup> Some of the many extant portraits of Alexander must go back to originals by Lysippus, but they cannot be distinguished with certainty; the Azara bust in the Louvre,<sup>5</sup> inscribed with Alexander's name, is a miserable ruin, but together with its better replica in Geneva<sup>6</sup> has a resemblance to the Apoxyomenus, as have the Dresden and Acropolis heads.<sup>7</sup> A slightly later bust in the British Museum<sup>8</sup> answers best to a description by Plutarch: 'When Lysippus first made a portrait of Alexander with his face lifted up to heaven, just as he used

<sup>1</sup> In a Lateran statue resembling a coin-type of Demetrius Poliorcetes, Br. Br., 243; Johnson, p. 142, pl. 24, denies the Lysippic character.

<sup>2</sup> Johnson, p. 113, pls. 17-19 - original once at Myndus in Caria, or at Thespiæ?

<sup>3</sup> Overbeck, 1463-7; Johnson, p. 280.

<sup>5</sup> Hekler, 62b; Johnson, pls. 43, 44.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 60, 63; L. G. S., pl. 10b.

<sup>4</sup> *Jahrb.*, iii, 1888, pl. vii.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 45, frontispiece.

<sup>8</sup> No. 1857; Bulle, 218.

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to gaze, with his neck slightly on one side. . . . Alexander ordered that only Lysippus should make portraits of him, for Lysippus alone, it would seem, truthfully showed his character in bronze and portrayed his courage in visible form, while others in their anxiety to produce the bend of the neck and the swimming look of the eyes lost his masculine and leonine aspect.'

Such praise of a portrait by Lysippus scarcely agrees with the impression derived from copies of his other works, though we may imagine that his Alexander had the fiery qualities of the Agias. Otherwise Lysippus now appears as an extremely able worker of little imaginative force, who displays no interest in the expression of mental life, but specializes in ingenious technical devices; he enlivens his figures by causing them to seem about to shift their weight from one leg to the other, and no single view-point suffices for the appreciation of his statues, because the arms stretch out across the body and the trunk leans forward or backward. In his concentration on liveliness are foreshadowed the developments of Hellenistic sculpture.

### § 4. *Various Sculptors of the later Fourth Century*

The temple of Apollo at Delphi, the reconstruction of which had begun in 369, did not receive its pedimental sculptures until about 340-330. No scrap of these figures remains - they must have been removed by some Roman - but the sculptors' names are recorded; Praxias of Athens, described as a pupil of Calamis, carved the group for one pediment, representing Apollo, Artemis, Leto and the Muses, but he died before the completion of the other, which was then entrusted to Androstenes of Athens (the words of Pausanias might also mean that Praxias carved the first few figures of either pediment). A younger Calamis has been invented to account for this passage, although the difficulty is more easily smoothed away by reading 'Callimachus' instead of 'Calamis.' But exceedingly problematical is a further conclusion that the pediments were archaistic, attained partly because the name of Callimachus was carved upon an archaistic relief of the Roman age, partly because archaistic reliefs frequently illustrate the same group of deities as the east pediment.<sup>1</sup>

Among the anonymous sculptures of the later fourth century few

<sup>1</sup> Van Buren, *Memoirs of American Acad. Rome*, iii, 1919, p. 91, pls. 72-5.

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are more noteworthy than the somewhat restored head of Zeus from Otricoli (Pl. 97b),<sup>1</sup> a copy in Italian marble from a cult-statue. It was formerly believed to reflect the Olympian type of Pheidias, but that had shorter hair and, it may be confidently surmised, a simpler treatment. The transition from the Pheidian to this type of the Macedonian era is seen in the Boston head from Mylasa, which has also been considered a copy from the Olympian statue although actually a Zeus Labrayndus in the style of the Mausoleum,<sup>2</sup> and in a Zeus or Asclepius head from Melos in the British Museum.<sup>3</sup> The Melos and Otricoli types have been associated with Bryaxis, the sculptor of the Serapis, and indeed they resemble that statue, although not sufficiently either to decide the authorship or to necessitate a Hellenistic date: the Melian head can hardly be as late as Alexander, while the Otricoli might belong to his period, but attempts to fit the Serapis into the life of the famous Bryaxis fly in the face of all the evidence. Nevertheless they persist. It is possible, though absolutely no grounds exist for such a theory, that the Mausoleum Bryaxis created the Otricoli and another type of Zeus closely related, of which there are copies in Madrid and elsewhere:<sup>4</sup> a sounder view looks to Lysippus or some member of his school.

No sculptor can be confidently named for the group of Artemis and Iphigenia (Pl. 98a), an original, as it seems, from approximately the time of Alexander's accession. Parallels in detail can be cited from the sculptures at Tegea, pointing to the influence of Scopas. At the moment when the goddess appears with a deer, to be sacrificed in place of Iphigenia, the girl sinks in a faint over the altar, supported only by the left hand of Artemis, whose right hand grasps the deer by its horns.<sup>5</sup> The group is among the earliest attempts to combine several figures in a composition visible to equal advantage from several positions.

A few years later, it may be, an artist produced a set of statues illustrating the story of Niobe.<sup>6</sup> They may have been designed to fit

<sup>1</sup> Helbig, 288.

<sup>2</sup> A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, ii, 1, p. 597, pl. xxviii.

<sup>3</sup> *J. H. S.*, xlii, 1922, pl. 1.

<sup>4</sup> *Einz.*, 1501-3; Poulsen, *Portraits in English Collections*, fig. 8; Furtwängler, *Statuenkopien*, pls. i-iii.

<sup>5</sup> Studniczka, *Artemis und Iphigenia*; figs. 24-28 for restorations.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 84.

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a pediment, which would account for the variety of postures – lying, kneeling, crouching, running, or standing – as well as for the choice of different heights for the children, but would not explain why the statues were finished at the back almost as carefully as in front: perhaps they stood between the columns of a façade, like the Nereids of Xanthus. Besides the Uffizi set, there exist further copies of certain figures and possibly one original, the running girl in the Chiaramonti Gallery of the Vatican.<sup>1</sup> The date of this statue has been a topic of much controversy, opinions ranging from the time of Alexander, when the whole group originated, to the early Roman period. The central member of the set, Niobe embracing her youngest daughter (Pl. 986), is known from the complete copy in the Uffizi and several heads, which differ to a considerable extent; from the better examples it is evident that the same sculptor carved the female head from the south slope of the Acropolis, apparently a deserted Ariadne, several copies of which survive in addition to the original in Athens.<sup>2</sup> The wide, upturned eyes and pouting lips give this head a despairing, passionate expression; it seems almost a counterpart of the heroes of Tegea.

Winter's identification of the Niobe Master as Timotheus<sup>3</sup> raises no great chronological difficulties, since his activity certainly extended from 380 to 350; moreover, the Niobids occasionally repeat features of the Epidaurus sculptures, with such small discrepancies as the interval of forty years might well entail. Pliny, however, says, 'it is questionable whether Scopas or Praxiteles carved the dying children of Niobe, in the Temple of Apollo Sosianus at Rome'; no modern critic would attribute the group to Praxiteles, though Scopas has found advocates. But Pliny's remark probably means only that the sculptor's name was not generally known, and that he had evidently responded to the influence of the two great leaders of the fourth century. The statue of the young Niobid trying to protect his sister<sup>4</sup> betrays the influence of Scopas; the drapery of the Chiaramonti girl in some points recalls the supposed Atalanta of Tegea, but these similarities are not so formidable as to guarantee the authorship of Scopas.

A work contemporary with the Niobids, and obviously by a mem-

<sup>1</sup> *L. G. S.*, pl. 12.

<sup>3</sup> *Jahrb.*, xxxviii-ix, 1923-4, p. 49.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 97, pl. 100.

<sup>4</sup> *L. G. S.*, pl. 13.



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ber of the same school, is the 'Alexander Sarcophagus' at Constantinople (Pl. 99).<sup>1</sup> The sarcophagus, found in the royal tomb at Sidon, has preserved its original hues only slightly faded, a circumstance unique in the sculptures of the fourth century (a note on the colouring will be found on p. 54). This is the last of the long series of richly carved sarcophagi from this cemetery, and it probably contained the body of the last king of Sidon, a Phœnician called Abdalonymus, who was set upon the throne by Alexander about 332, and disappeared in the chaos that followed soon after the death of the great Macedonian in 323. Like other Oriental rulers, this king had doubtless prepared for his burial during his own lifetime, choosing for the reliefs scenes which would commemorate his association with the great conqueror. The sarcophagus imitates faithfully the shape of a temple with acroteria, antefixes, gutters, and pedimental sculptures. One of the long sides contains a representation of a battle between Greeks and Persians, with Alexander wearing a lion-skin on the extreme left, pursuing with uplifted lance a Persian horseman; on the extreme right a Macedonian horseman has just given a death-blow to a Persian who falls into the arms of his squire. Between, the space is occupied by a confused struggle of horses and men. On the opposite side (Pl. 99) is a hunt, in which a huge lion holds the centre of the composition; already wounded, it is attacking the horse of a Persian, tearing its breast with its claws; from all directions rescuers arrive and one has raised his axe to knock the animal on the head from behind. From the right and left Greeks gallop to the scene, the one on the left being the king himself, since he wears a diadem. The events on the right corner represent scenes from another part of the hunt, where a stag is confronted by a Greek and cut off from safety by a Persian. This side has a more dispersed action and, unlike the first side, does not give the impression of a mass of people piled upon one another. One of the shorter ends contains a panther-hunt, and in its gable a battle between Greeks and Persians; the other has battles of Greeks and Persians both above and below.

Lysippus, as has been seen, outlived Alexander only by a few years, and the Apoxyomenus belongs to the last period of his career; some artist in close touch with him must have been responsible for

<sup>1</sup> Cat. i, p. 28, 196; Hamdy and Reinach, *Necropole royale à Sidon*, for coloured plates and photos.

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the Praying Boy (Pl. 102a),<sup>1</sup> a statue that has so much in common with the Apoxyomenus that it cannot be appreciably later. The bronze figure of a boy in Berlin (Pl. 102a), in which both arms are restored, is conceivably the original of a 'Worshipper,' which Pliny mentions, by Boedas, the son of Lysippus.<sup>2</sup> Another son, Daippus, a sculptor of athletes, only needs mention because some have held the Vatican youth to be copied from his Perixyomenus, not from the Apoxyomenus of his father. A third brother, Euthykrates (who collaborated in a statue of the poetess Anyte with Cephisodotus, son of Praxiteles), enjoyed a greater reputation, although, says Pliny, 'he imitated the strength rather than the grace of his father's work, trusting to an austere rather than a pleasant style. He therefore achieved the most success in his Heracles at Delphi, Alexander hunting at Thespiae, a cavalry battle, the image of Trophonius at his own oracle, many chariots, a horse with forked poles, sportsmen's hounds. Tisicrates, another Sicyonian, although actually the pupil of Euthykrates, clung so faithfully to the style of Lysippus that many of his works can hardly be distinguished from that sculptor's, including the old Theban (? Pindar), King Demetrius (306-283) and Peucestes, who saved the life of Alexander the Great.' Other members of the Lysippic group are more conveniently included in the next chapter; at the moment it is enough to point out that the master had imitators, before and after his death.<sup>3</sup>

In this school, therefore, there came no break in artistic traditions at the commencement of the Hellenistic Age, nor yet did the previous manner continue stagnantly, for the precision demanded by Lysippus was facilitated by the anatomical researches of the time, and by the practice of taking a mould from the human face, which, if Pliny be correct, Lysistratus, the brother of Lysippus, had instituted (apparently for the purpose of forming a wax mask which he could place upon his clay model, next working upon the details until it became fit to be cast into bronze). The other sculptors of the Macedonian period had left pupils of some eminence who worked throughout the entire second half of the fourth century until well into the third century. It is customary to use the death of Alexander to mark the

<sup>1</sup> Br. Br., 283.

<sup>2</sup> Lucas, *Neue Jahrbücher*, xxix, 1912, p. 112.

<sup>3</sup> One of whom carved the large statuette of a youth now at Providence, L. G. S., pl. 111b.

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division between the Hellenic and Hellenistic civilizations, but so far as sculpture is concerned the point of transition lies nearer 280, or at least no earlier than the death of Lysippus, whenever that may have taken place. The generation to which Alexander had belonged was not supplanted until twenty or thirty years after his untimely death, and it carried the style of the fourth century to its logical conclusion, without introducing any disturbing elements.

To this generation used to be unquestionably attributed the great statue of Victory found on the Island of Samothrace (Pl. 101), for a similar figure, blowing a trumpet from the prow of a galley, was placed upon coins of Demetrius Poliorcetes in celebration of a naval battle in 306. But within recent years the fourth century date has been challenged and various continental scholars have suggested the first half or middle of the third century, the latter half of the second century, and even the beginning or end of the first century.<sup>1</sup> The present writer sees no indications of a late date, and believes that the statue commemorates a victory of 323; not the same victory as the coin, for historical arguments can be brought against the connection.

The statue has been reconstructed in the Louvre in its original position upon the bow of a galley, which was built of large blocks of stone upon a hillside overlooking the Island's sanctuary and the sea. The goddess was represented alighting on a warship as it advanced against the enemy; her head was raised; the left arm evidently stretched downwards, to grasp the framework of a Trophy, if we may judge from the coin, while the right arm was held upwards, and the twist of the shoulders suggests that it was carried round to the front. It has been claimed, from the backward pressure of the right shoulder, that the hand could not have held a trumpet to the mouth, but that it must have been brandishing a wreath high above the head. This ignores the fact that the position of the breasts and what remains of the neck suggests that the head, too, was thrown far back; therefore the shoulder would necessarily be pressed back in order to bring the arm and hand into the correct position for holding a trumpet to the mouth. Practical experiment will prove this assertion and the fact that the torso will also be twisted towards the right, as in the

<sup>1</sup> For summary, Lawrence, *J. H. S.*, xlv, 1926, p. 213; last statement of the case for second century by Krahmer, *Nachrichten der Gesellschaft der Wissen., Göttingen, Phil. hist. Klasse*, 1927. Br. Br., 85.

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statue. This twisted posture is one of the bases of the theory for the late date; but the pose is natural and uncomplicated compared with those of the Aphrodite of Milo and the Laocoon. The composition carries the eye upwards instead of concentrating the attention upon a central spot, and this, again, has been claimed as a characteristic of the second century, irrespective of the obvious necessity that a statue set in a lofty position should appear to stretch into the air. Comparison with the Alexander sarcophagus reveals many a figure in a pose as similar as could be expected, considering the different needs of an isolated figure and of groups bound together by concerted action taking place on the ground level.

The drapery of the Victory remains faithful to the fourth-century tradition that runs through some of the Epidaurus statuettes ascribed to Timotheus, the Nereid monument, the torso identified with the Atalanta on the pediment of Tegea, and the Artemis and Iphigenia of Copenhagen. Its simple treatment contrasts with the elaboration of developed Hellenistic drapery, the comparatively thin texture with the leathery appearance of Pergamene clothing of a century later. Only in the magnificent wings do we seem to have reached the half-way mark between the Ephesus column and the Gigantomachy of Pergamon. The extraordinary divergences of opinion regarding this statue can possibly be explained by the fact that it is one of the rare transitional works of great merit, falling between two familiar periods – the earlier of which is well represented in the museums of Western Europe, the later in the German collections; hence English and French scholars tend to liken it to fourth-century, the Germans to second-century sculptures. Its actual date, if some connection with the coin be admitted, must lie within about a generation from 300.<sup>1</sup> By 300 Lysippus, the last survivor of the great masters of the fourth century, had reached extreme old age, if he had not already died; his sons and pupils, and the sons of Praxiteles, had grown up, and the next generation was beginning to formulate true Hellenistic art.

<sup>1</sup> Historians approve the suggestion that the statue was made some thirty years after the event, in imitation of the coin; but see page 289.

## CHAPTER XIII

# THE CLIMAX: THE HELLENISTIC KINGDOMS

(300-133 B.C.)

### § 1. *Formation of the Hellenistic Style*

WITH Alexander's conquest of the Persian Empire (334-323) there commenced a new era in Greek history, the Hellenistic Age, when the political and economic centres lay outside Europe, in Asia Minor, Syria and Egypt, leaving Greece itself a backwater. Alexander died in 323 and entrusted his widespread dominions to a committee of his officers, who took the titles of Kings in 306. Their rivalries led to a hundred and fifty years of almost constant warfare, during which art received little encouragement from the soldier monarchs. Only in the kingdom of Pergamon, a state of secondary importance and short duration (283-133), were sculptors engaged upon public works on any considerable scale; here, too, were assembled originals and copies of famous works of earlier periods, the first recorded instance of such collecting in Greek history.

Changes in political and social life brought changes in the subjects and style of sculpture. Although the Greeks still grouped themselves in city-states, within the larger entities formed by the kingdoms, the average citizen no longer shared in the policy and warlike enterprises of his state, for policy and war alike had become the business of specialists. Therefore art had no more concern with the types of the citizen-warrior or the citizen-statesman, and a new subject arose in the war-lord, a superhuman being, whose tremendous passions express themselves in beetling brows and ruthless jaws (Pl. 111b).

Moreover, in 321 the Athenians passed a sumptuary law, which forbade the erection of expensive gravestones in the future, so that the stelæ depicting scenes of daily life were no longer erected in memory of its citizens. Such stelæ had already become rare in the rest of Greece. The Attic form of stela was adopted for a while at Alexandria, where, however, it soon lapsed into crudity; herein it shared, so at least the present writer believes, the general fate of Greek sculpture in Egypt, which barely outlasted a hundred years in its Levan-

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tine environment.<sup>1</sup> Others had thought, however, that Alexandria had great importance as an art centre. Another class of smaller stelæ, the 'Eastern Greek reliefs,' flourished in the district of Smyrna from the second century B.C. to the first century A.D.,<sup>2</sup> but otherwise Hellenistic stelæ rarely possess any merit. Instead, sepulchral statues became increasingly popular. These cannot easily be distinguished from honorary statues erected in a person's lifetime by his city or by a guild: the types are limited in number and based on fourth-century creations, such as the Sophocles statue and the 'Artemisia' of the Mausoleum, which continue to be reproduced again and again with slight variations until late in the Roman Empire; but the heads, especially those of men, grow steadily less ideal and more individual. Statues of writers and philosophers also become abundant, for this self-conscious age studied literature with avidity and drew from the sermons of their philosophers a consolation which the popular religion of Greece could not offer. The great Olympian deities declined in popularity, while Aphrodite, doubtfully admitted by Homer to the Pantheon, and Eros, inspire innumerable works, and Oriental deities like Serapis, Isis and Harpocrates begin to press into Greek life and art. Eros now degenerates from a sober youth into a sportive child, the Cupid of later times, and his representation indicates a taste for genre subjects rather than religious fervour. The cult of Aphrodite had greater religious import but she is usually treated merely as a subject for a study in the nude, not as a serious goddess. The female body begins to attract more attention than the male, while society turns at the same time from a homosexual to a normal basis.

A decay in amateur athletics contributed to the change, lessening the interest in boys, which had naturally been felt when men of the upper classes exercised regularly in the gymnasia for pleasure or as training for their perennial little wars. Statues of young athletes, scarce even in the fourth century, practically cease to appear in the Hellenistic age; in their place occur statues of professional athletes, especially of boxers, whose muscles bulge from massive frames. There exist many essays in the male nude, illustrations of the Heroic

<sup>1</sup> *Journal of Egyptian Archæology*, xi, 1925, p. 179, for a corpus of the better Greek work from Egypt, in defence of this view.

<sup>2</sup> Pfuhl, *Jahrb.*, xx, 1905, p. 47, 123.

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Age, like the Menelaus group (Pl. 106a) or, in a lighter vein, figures of satyrs, those gay incarnations of the qualities absent in the great cities – perfect health, freedom from care. The courage of the Gauls who invaded the Mediterranean world in the third century gave art a new theme, treated according to the athletic tradition, which called forth the best that Hellenistic sculptors could produce.

The pupils of Lysippos and the sons of Praxiteles continued their activity at the beginning of the third century. One of the former, Eutychides, of Sicyon, produced a colossal statue of the *Tyche* of Antioch;<sup>1</sup> the city was founded in 300, and Pliny gives 296 as the sculptor's date, probably with reference to this, his most famous work. The goddess, personifying the city, sat on a rock with her feet resting on a swimming figure of the River Orontes, which flows past Antioch; on her head was a turreted crown indicating the walls of the city, although its shape was borrowed from those worn by the astral goddesses of Asia. The Vatican copy (Pl. 103a) is the largest so far discovered, but in it the arms have been destroyed and the head is alien. Moreover, other smaller copies reproduce more accurately the drapery of the original, for although the large statue displays the design of the folds, it has not the proper surface, while the smaller copies slur over the design, but by means of streaks acquire the right crinkly surface. Eutychides must have excelled in the treatment of surface, for another statue from his hand, of the river-god Eurotas, was described as 'wetter than water': a torso in the Vatican has been conjectured to be a copy because the attitude resembles that of the Orontes, and the figure rises from the water in the same manner.<sup>2</sup> Crinkly drapery is found in many statues of the early Hellenistic period and marks the beginning of the tendency to study drapery as an object of independent interest, the arrangement of folds becoming of greater importance than the body beneath. No fourth-century statue has its drapery planned with such evident care and with so little regard for the lines of the body. The direction of the limbs towards the left as well as forwards makes the pose less conventional; the swimming figure develops naturalistically the convention by which landscape or the elements are represented by personifications or native animals; thus in a fifth-century temple at Locri, tritons

<sup>1</sup> *L. G. S.*, p. 102.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 103; *Röm. Mitt.*, viii, 1893, pls. v, vi.

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support the horses of the Dioscuri as they ride over the sea, while birds fly beneath the feet of the Victory of Pæonius or the Nereids from Xanthus.

Another statue of a girl, seated with legs crossed in a contorted position, is attributed purely on grounds of style to Eutychides: it is represented by a marble copy in the Conservatori and a bronze statuette in the Louvre.<sup>1</sup>

Chares, another pupil of Lysippus and author of the famous bronze Colossus of Rhodes, is known only by repute; his statue was 105 feet high, and in spite of being weighted with huge blocks of stone inside the legs, it stood only fifty-six years, when an earthquake (of 227-222) threw it to the ground. It did not bstride the harbour: that fable dates from the Middle Ages. Lucian remarks that the work was delicate considering the size. The statue represented the Sun, the patron god of the Rhodians, whose head appears on coins of the city from 407 B.C. onwards; in the Hellenistic coins, presumably influenced by the Colossus, the face is of florid aspect and surrounded by tumbled hair from which emerge spikes to represent the rays of the sun. No other evidence of its style exists. Similar types occur in heads of Helios found on the Island<sup>2</sup> and in heads believed to represent Alexander, whose features so deeply influenced the art of the third century in all parts of the Greek world, including Etruria, that his portraits cannot always be distinguished from ideal heads.<sup>3</sup>

Praxiteles' sculptor sons, Cephisodotus and Timarchus, followed that curious practice of collaboration in which Greek artists often indulged; Cephisodotus collaborates on one occasion with a son of Lysippus but generally with his brother. A female head recently discovered at Cos probably belonged to the group of cult-images which they carved for the temple of Asclepius; <sup>4</sup> it falls into the class always ascribed to the 'school of Praxiteles,' combining a tragic air with excessively smooth modelling. The Cos head is of dull, competent workmanship. Among the finest works of the school is a head of a goddess, probably Aphrodite, from the Serapeum at Alexandria,<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *L. G. S.*, p. 103, pl. 23.

<sup>2</sup> *Strena Helbigiana*, p. 99; Shear, *A. J. A.*, xx, 1916, p. 283, pls. vii, viii.

<sup>3</sup> Hekler, 61, 62a, the latter characterized as Helios.

<sup>4</sup> Bieber, *Jahrb.*, xxxviii-ix, 1923-4, p. 242, pl. vi.

<sup>5</sup> *L. G. S.*, p. 103, pl. 17b.



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whose eyes, deeply set under overhanging brows like those of a male head by Scopas, and pouting lips, produce an extraordinarily emotional effect. The same style was applied, with more sharpness in the modelling to suit the features of a middle-aged man, to the Menander statue by the two sons of Praxiteles which stood in the Theatre at Athens: copies of the head alone have been recognized, the finest being at Philadelphia (Pl. 102*b*).<sup>1</sup>

If such was the treatment accorded to an author of comedies, it is no surprise to find the decided expression very much intensified in the heads of kings (recognizable by the diadems bound round the hair), of which many survive. Identification is difficult in the absence of inscriptions, despite the number of coin-portraits with which they can be compared; the features all conform in some degree to the type of Alexander – no relation to any of the owners of the features. The most life-like of all these portraits is the bronze bust in Naples which resembles Seleucus I (reigned 306–281), an identification confirmed by its obvious contemporaneity with the heads of Menander, who lived from 342 to 291.<sup>2</sup> Portraits of Seleucus by Lysippus, Aristodemus and Bryaxis have been recorded; the first may be presumed to belong to the fourth century, whereas this bust shows the king advanced in years.

At the same time conventional work, scarcely differing from the fourth-century productions of a similar class, was still being executed, especially in Greece. The best instance is a statue of Themis, discovered at Rhamnus in Attica; it bears the signature of a local sculptor, Chærestratus, in lettering of about the year 300.<sup>3</sup> Except for the unkempt hair and a crumpled rendering of the undergarment this statue might easily be ascribed to the same period as the Artemisia of the Mausoleum, in which the pose and design are identical. Many sculptors adhered to the severer manner of the fourth century in their portraiture, refusing to contaminate their dignified, bearded subjects with the passionate style of the sons of Praxiteles. Thus the head of Theophrastus (372–287), which from his apparent age belongs to the last years of the fourth century rather than to the beginning of the third century,<sup>4</sup> differs greatly in appearance from the

<sup>1</sup> *L. G. S.*, p. 98, pl. 18*b*.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 98; Johnson, *Lysippus*, pl. 49; Hekler, 68.

<sup>3</sup> Br. Br., 476; *L. G. S.*, p. 102.    <sup>4</sup> Hekler, 96*a*; Pfuhl, *Bildniskunst*, pl. ix, 3, 4.

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Menander through the flat precision of its modelling, but resembles the Demosthenes by Polyeuctus, commissioned in the year 280, of which numerous copies survive (Pls. 104, 105a).<sup>1</sup> This notable statue was in reality a work of imagination, for Demosthenes had already been dead more than fifty years; and it is, of course, possible that Theophrastus, too, was portrayed after his death, as a younger man than he was at the close of his life.

The Vatican Demosthenes is wrongly restored holding a scroll, for other copies prove that originally the hands were clasped in front of the body. In the pose is revealed the patriot, meditating on the downfall of Athens and his own approaching death at the hands of the Macedonians, rather than the orator; the nervous vitality differs vastly from the calmness of its fourth-century prototype, the Sophocles. In that the eye travels instantly to the head, whereas in the later figure the entire upper part of the body, all that comes level with the spectator's eyes, has its significance. This attraction of the eyes is obtained by a design based upon a series of right angles, in which lies an architectural balance of structure; the left leg is almost concealed but the end of the himation falls in the same line; the head turns, in harmony with the many folds of the garment, towards the right leg, which is paralleled by the folds along the left side. In the Sophocles, a work of 340, the lines run principally in curves; in a transitional statue of Æschines, who lived from 389 to 314, the lines run straighter and the folds are emphatically modelled, so that the body claims attention although it conveys no expression; the head is merely an idealized type of the respectable citizen.<sup>2</sup>

Portraits of Epicurus and his colleagues, Hermarchus and Metrodorus, are only known in copies,<sup>3</sup> which in the case of the two colleagues are so much alike, that a head of Metrodorus has even been published as that of Hermarchus. A strong resemblance between the Epicurus and the Demosthenes shows that Polyeuctus or another artist of the same group was employed upon this portrait, to which the statues of the two younger men may be regarded as pendants, probably by the same hand. The circumstance that such marked physical similarities occur in statues of unrelated philosophers points

<sup>1</sup> *L. G. S.*, p. 105, pl. 20b.

<sup>2</sup> Hekler, 53, 55.

<sup>3</sup> *L. G. S.*, p. 105; Richter, *Handbook*, p. 281, fig. 199, for Epicurus head of Metropolitan Museum.

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to unconcern with individual features so long as the specific aspect of the character was adequately rendered.

An interesting statue of a poet (Pl. 103*b*) belongs from its style to approximately the same period.<sup>1</sup> The lyre is the only restoration of any consequence in the Ny Carlsberg copy; the eyes were formerly inlaid. Since another statue found at the same site, outside Rome, represented Anacreon, the subject here, too, is probably a poet of the Heroic Ages. The wrinkled face and chest point to an old man who still, however, retains great vigour, and his strength is emphasized by the simple plan of his heavy drapery. In pose it recalls the works assigned to Eutychides; here again it will be observed that the interest is evenly distributed over the upper part of the figure, while the formal arrangement of the drapery preserves the unity and compactness of the composition. To judge by the hair the original seems to have been executed in bronze; the texture of the drapery would suit the medium. The head resembles that of a statue of the Lysippic school, of Silenus carrying the infant Dionysus, of which many copies exist,<sup>2</sup> the treatment of the region of the eye and the stylization of the hair relate it to the poet; the same robust qualities appear in the heavy muscular body and the centre of interest extends over the same area.

A headless statue of the woman Niceso, in Berlin,<sup>3</sup> presents the female counterpart to the statues of Æschines and Demosthenes; the inscription belongs to the early third century. The outer garment is folded tightly round the figure, like Demosthenes' himation, so that folds run diagonally all across the front, but the undergarment falls in a crinkly cascade straight from neck to feet, and its lines can be dimly traced through the outer layer of cloth. The figure is strangely rectangular, and lacks the easy grace of the conventional female types.

The next development in the carving of drapery turned to greater elaboration and artificiality. This is exemplified in a wide selection of statues which probably belong to the middle of the third century; among them are the fragments of pedimental groups from the temple of the Mysteries on Samothrace.<sup>4</sup> One of the Ptolemies of Egypt was

<sup>1</sup> *L. G. S.*, p. 106.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 101, pl. 19; Johnson, *Lysippos*, p. 184, pls. 33, 34, attributes to Lysippos himself.

<sup>3</sup> *Priene*, figs. 118, 120; *L. G. S.*, p. 105.

<sup>4</sup> Conze and Benndorf, *Samothrake*, i, pls. xxx-xli.

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probably responsible for this early Hellenistic building, for the dynasty was closely associated with the island and built there lavishly. Considerable pieces of four figures have been recovered, but only one head survives and that a poor work in a bad condition: it does not seem to have differed appreciably in style from fourth-century works. In one of these fragments (which are preserved in Vienna) the arrangement of the drapery between the legs resembles that of the great Victory from the same site, but the details have been subjected to a fussy virtuosity far removed from the sobriety of the great classic statue: yet Studniczka thinks it contemporary.

The much copied 'Vatican' group of Muses, so named from the museum which contains the least incomplete set of figures, shows the same tendency, especially in the statue of Thaleia, the Muse of Comedy (Pl. 105*b*). But the figure is only a poor copy and much restored – among the new portions are the nose, the lips, chin, half the left forearm, right arm, and tympanum. Other statues of the group have a more staid character,<sup>1</sup> recalling a Dionysus (in the British Museum)<sup>2</sup> which was set upon the monument of Thrasyllus at Athens, a building of 319, reconstructed in 271. The fact that the figure is unlike fourth-century work speaks for the later date, and thus helps to place the Muses. The head of the Dionysus is lost, and the heads as well as the bodies of the Muses vary greatly according to the taste of the copyist, although all incline to the long thin type of face, in which the eyes are not deeply set and the expression is calm and pensive. This expression is found, too, in the Serapis of Alexandria, a statue cast in a dark metal; if Clement of Alexandria be correct, it is a work of 284–247 by a sculptor named Bryaxis, to be identified with the author of the cult-statue of Apollo at Daphne near Antioch, not with the Athenian Bryaxis who worked on the Mausoleum. The date has been questioned on external evidence, some authorities preferring a slightly later period though still within the first half of the Hellenistic age: from the surviving copies, however, the draped body bears an obvious similarity to Thrasyllus' Dionysus, which speaks in favour of its contemporaneity and earlier date, for a statue of such importance is unlikely to have been anachronistic.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *L. G. S.*, pl. 23*b*.

<sup>2</sup> *Br. Br.*, 119; *L. G. S.*, p. 106.

<sup>3</sup> *L. G. S.*, p. 107; copies in Alexandria, *Ath. Mitt.*, xxxi, 1906, pls. vi, vii.

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Flat, close-lying drapery, seamed by thin wavering lines, characterizes all these figures.

Another statue obviously popular in antiquity, from the frequency with which it was copied, the Aphrodite crouching in her bath,<sup>1</sup> has been ascribed to a Bithynian sculptor named Dædalsas, whose name and doings have been ingeniously worked out from circumstantial evidence and a series of emendations of corrupt passages in ancient texts. The result fits together so satisfactorily that it may be accepted as correct. One emendation elicits the information that the artist made a cult-image of Zeus for the Bithynian city of Nicomedia, founded in 264; his statue was probably executed soon afterwards. A proof of the third-century date of the Aphrodite is afforded by the occurrence of an imitation on a relief epigraphically dated to the beginning of the second century.<sup>2</sup> The series of copies and imitations thus inaugurated grew apace, three distinct variations of the type are represented and other alterations were constantly made for decorative purposes, while the proportions of the body follow the changing standards of taste. The crouching attitude is unpleasant and produces ugly wrinkles on the plump abdomen. The merits of the head cannot be judged from the conventional copies extant; it seems to have resembled the 'Vatican' Muses rather than the works of the school of Praxiteles. The same may be said of the Medici type of Aphrodite, a slighter variant of the Cnidian and Capitoline types,<sup>3</sup> by some ascribed to the fourth century.

A more remarkable product of the middle of the century was a group of the flaying of Marsyas, of which two members survive in good copies. Marsyas is hanging by his hands, tied to a tree, about to be skinned for his presumption in challenging Apollo to a musical competition, while a slave squats near by, sharpening his knife and gloating upon the victim: a seated Apollo may have completed the group, but no certain copy of this figure remains.<sup>4</sup> A curious feature about the Marsyas type is the fact that the statue which seems to belong to the original composition has been copied in white marble, whereas a more sensational edition, best ascribed to the end of the

<sup>1</sup> *L. G. S.*, p. 109, pl. 25a.

<sup>2</sup> *Ath. Mitt.*, xxxvi, 1911, p. 295, fig. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Br. Br., 374; *L. G. S.*, p. 108; Johnson, *Lysippos*, p. 55, pls. 9, 36, attributes to Lysippos.

<sup>4</sup> *L. G. S.*, p. 109, pls. 29, 30a.

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third century, has been copied in red marble, probably to imitate the sunburnt effect of the satyr, which may have been produced in the original by red paint or copper. In the earlier group the bestial face is merely distorted with fright, and the body, stretched by its pendant position, is painstakingly carved with the attention to detail seen in the Aphrodite of Dædalas; in the later version the satyr is howling, his face is working frantically and the hairy body is damp with sweat. Such was the course upon which sculpture now embarked under the patronage of the kings of Pergamon.

### § 2. *The Pergamene Age*

The history of this state calls for a few explanatory words. In the troubled years during which Alexander's generals were struggling for the possession of his dismembered empire, one of his successors, Lysimachus, selected the small town of Pergamon, north of Smyrna, for the storehouse of his treasury. In 283 Philetærus, the officer in charge, revolted and established a minor state, which rose to sudden greatness under its third monarch after the repulse of a large horde of Gauls, who had for years ravaged Asia Minor with impunity. The decisive battle occurred in 241, but fighting persisted until 228. Attalus I celebrated his achievement by a set of bronze statues on the acropolis at Pergamon, presumably dedicated soon after 228 rather than after 241, and by a set of smaller bronze statues dedicated at Athens after a visit to Greece in 201. In various collections, especially in Italy, there exist figures in the local marble of Pergamon, probably copied from these bronzes; the most famous is the Dying Gaul of the Capitol.

But Pergamon had become a centre of sculpture before the dedications, for new cult-statues had been required as the little town grew to an important capital; some had been executed by two celebrated Athenians, Niceratus and Phryomachus; the latter lived to take a share in what Pliny calls 'the memorials of the Gallic wars of Attalus and Eumenes' (it is doubtful whether by Eumenes he means the predecessor or successor of Attalus); the same author also mentions in this connection three other artists, Stratonicus, Antigonus and Isigonus, the last perhaps in mistake for Epigonus, whose name occurs elsewhere in his book as well as upon Pergamene inscriptions. The literary and epigraphical sources make it

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plain that the sculptors settled at Pergamon were drawn – and this continued to be the case – from all parts of the Greek world: the liberality of the Attalids first attracted them and then welded them into a school through common labours on subjects dictated by the court. Of works older than the great dedications it is doubtful whether any survive, even in a copy; the bare names remain of statues attributed by authors and inscriptions to the first sculptors of Pergamon. Thus Niceratus is credited with a group of Asclepius and Hygieia, a Nike, a group of Alcibiades and his mother, and ‘Alcippe, mother of an elephant’; he is also said to have made portraits of the Argive poetess, Telesilla, and of athletes. Phyromachus, a younger man who collaborated with him at Delos, where both signatures appear on the one base, also made a group of Alcibiades driving a four-horse chariot, and a cult-statue for the official worship of Asclepius at Pergamon; the statue was so renowned that it was carried off by Prusias of Bithynia in an attack on Pergamon in 156. Existing types of Asclepius and Hygieia may reproduce the originals of these sculptors; <sup>1</sup> meanwhile the stylistic divergence between the first dedication of Attalus and the Marsyas group is so slight as to suggest that the latter may provisionally be accepted as typical of the previous art of Asia Minor.

Of the set of large statues <sup>2</sup> dedicated at Pergamon after 228, only copies of Gauls survive, although Greeks were also represented; the original bases have been discovered and leave no room for doubt on the point. The famous statue on the Capitol (Pl. 107a) <sup>3</sup> was formerly described as a gladiator, but the torque or collar of twisted gold that forms the sole clothing establishes the Gaulish nationality, and the trumpet that lies on the ground, together with the sword and shield, is proper to a victim of war, not of the arena. The nudity does not correspond to Gallic habits but to Greek convention. The man reclines on the ground, leaning on his right hand, and bends over the wound in the right breast; his right leg therefore is drawn up and the left leg extended; a reversed edition of the pose occurs in the later statue (Pl. 107b).

<sup>1</sup> Mariani, *Bull. Comm.*, xlii, 1914, p. 3, pl. 1 for a Hygieia of third-century style, pl. 2 for an Asclepius of fifth-century type, perhaps revised by one of these Pergamenes.

<sup>2</sup> *L. G. S.*, p. 111.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 32; *Br. Br.*, 421.

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The Capitoline Gaul had been partially restored in antiquity, which raises the question of the date at which the copies were produced; it has been suggested that they were almost contemporary with the originals, others would ascribe them to the second century A.D.,<sup>1</sup> but the present writer inclines to the earlier alternative or at latest to the first century B.C.; the vast superiority of some, at least, of the Pergamene copies to the mass of imperial copies argues for a difference in time, not merely in school.<sup>2</sup> If of Hellenistic date, strict accuracy on the part of the copyist must not be expected, for the copies of fifth-century statues executed at Pergamon under the kings differ considerably from their originals.

Almost certain is the attribution to Attalus' first dedication of the Ludovisi group (Pl. 106*b*) in which a Gaul, who has killed his wife to prevent her falling into the hands of the enemy, now thrusts the sword into his own breast, as he glances over his shoulder at the pursuers.<sup>3</sup> Among the restorations should be mentioned the cloak floating over the man's shoulder, his left forearm, right arm and sword, the woman's left arm and right hand, and the noses of both; the hand grasping the sword has been restored upside-down, in a fatuous position; the woman's left arm should droop parallel to the drapery, the man should hold his elbow further from his head. The flat surfaces of the woman's drapery recall the Dionysus from the monument of Thrasyllus and the Vatican Muses. The region of the eye, in the woman and in the Capitoline statue, is sharply carved with little use of shadow; the eyebrows are omitted in the woman but cut in the Capitoline man in a thin ridge, in the Ludovisi man in a thicker ridge; the companion statues of Marsyas and the Knife-grinder exhibit a similar distinction. In the modelling, the Ludovisi heads have less distinction than the Capitoline Gaul, which has a remarkable clarity of line. Towards this end sculptors were aiming all through the century, in opposition to the principles held by the sons of Praxiteles: the head of Theophrastus shows an uncompromising fidelity to this ideal, while the Demosthenes, perhaps the work of a few years later, allows the brows to overshadow the eyes to a slightly greater extent.

The body of the Ludovisi Gaul is more forcibly modelled than is

<sup>1</sup> Lippold, *Kopien*, pp. 23, 102.

<sup>2</sup> Helbig, 884.

<sup>3</sup> Bienkowski, *Darstellung der Gallier*, No. 3, figs. 6-11, 155, pl. 1.



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the case with other copies from the first dedication, namely the Capitoline Gaul and a torso in Dresden.<sup>1</sup> In these the detailed rendering of the surface anatomy is not allowed to break up the contours as in the Ludovisi figure. But flat breasts are common to all these figures and the differences in style are no more than should be expected in statues due to different artists and copied by different hands. Stylistic divergences occur to a similar degree in the large number of heads which seem to be derived from the same dedication; the finest of these is the magnificent head of a Dying Asiatic in the Terme,<sup>2</sup> the rest are distributed between London, Paris and Rome.<sup>3</sup>

At this point should be described a group frequently copied under the Empire, that of Menelaus carrying the body of Patroclus out of battle; such is its usual title, although possibly other heroes of the Trojan War may be represented. The best preserved replica lies in Florence (Pl. 106a), but other examples of the heads, which offer a later style, are perhaps more accurately copied;<sup>4</sup> the exact date cannot be decided until the style of the original is more clearly established; at present the variations in the copied heads would admit of any period in the long reign of Attalus (241-197), if not in the whole first hundred years of the Pergamene state. The motive is far older, appearing in fact upon fifth-century vases.

A head of a sleeping Fury, in the Ludovisi Collection at the Terme,<sup>5</sup> is an inadequate copy from an amazing original of the early Pergamene school. To the same period belong two of the finest portraits which the Greeks have left, the heads of King Euthydemus of Bactria<sup>6</sup> and of Queen Arsinoë III of Egypt. The latter was the wife of Ptolemy IV (221-203), a head of whom was found with hers in Egypt; both are in the possession of the Boston Museum.<sup>7</sup> Since the portrait of Euthydemus is carved in the local marble employed by the Pergamene sculptors, it probably dates from the visit of that king to Asia Minor at the close of the century; he had usurped his throne in Bactria (N. Afghanistan) towards 230.

<sup>1</sup> Bienkowski, *Darstellung der Gallier*, No. 2, fig. 5.

<sup>2</sup> *L. G. S.*, pl. 33; Br. Br., 515.

<sup>3</sup> Illustrated by Bienkowski, Nos. 4, 5, 10, 11, 12, 13.

<sup>4</sup> *L. G. S.*, pl. 112.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 35.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 21, 113, pl. 37a. In Torlonia collection at Rome.

<sup>7</sup> Nos. 57, 58: Lawrence, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, xi, 1925, p. 187, pl. xxiv; *L. G. S.*, pl. 36.

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Further evidence of the condition of sculpture at the end of the third century is afforded by the second dedication of Attalus, consisting of figures on a scale of two-thirds life-size, representing the battles of the gods against the giants, of the Athenians against the Amazons and against the Persians at Marathon, and of the Pergamenes against the Gauls: the juxtaposition tacitly claimed for both Athenian and Pergamene victories a glory equal to that of the gods. The original bronze statues were dedicated on the Acropolis at Athens, to which city the king paid a visit in 201. Telephus, the legendary founder of Pergamon, was the son of Auge, a priestess of Athena at Tegea, whence she fled to Asia Minor; Athena was therefore the patron goddess also of Pergamon, which explains Attalus' choice of Athens, her especial city, for his offering. All the surviving statues are in marble, but the originals seem to have been of bronze, for one is recorded to have been blown over the side of the Acropolis during a storm. Curiously enough, the marble is the same as that used at Pergamon, but it is reasonable to suppose that a duplicate set was made for the capital of Attalus. The singular dimensions of the extant figures correspond to Pausanias' 'two cubits' and to the measurements of pedestals discovered at Athens; further, the subjects agree with his list. In details of style these statues display a transition from the larger dedication to the sculptures of the early second century, which is a point requiring emphasis on account of an unfortunate theory that would identify Attalus, when mentioned in this connection, with the second or third monarch of that name, whose uneventful reigns (159-138 and 138-133) would have offered slight excuse for such a monument.<sup>1</sup> The majority of the copies attributable to this dedication are now in the Naples Museum.<sup>2</sup> The two illustrated, in Pl. 107*b*, represent a Dying Gaul and a Dying Asiatic, whose dress, often described as Persian, was used for all figures of Asiatics, including Paris the Trojan and other personages of Nearer Asia. There is an obvious relationship between this Gaul and the Capitoline Gaul of the first dedication: but, as in all these smaller figures, the forms of the body receive greater emphasis, a development fore-

<sup>1</sup> The theory, first proposed by Lippold, is supported by Krahmer on the grounds of the design and the construction of the faces, *Nachrichten der Gesellschaft der Wiss., Göttingen, Phil. hist. Klasse*, 1927, p. 19, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> Bienkowski, *op. cit.*, p. 37; *L. G. S.*, p. 113, pl. 37*b*.

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shadowed in the Ludovisi group; the face, too, recalls that of the Ludovisi Gaul, while in some of the companion statues the brows are even heavier, forming deep wrinkles above the nose when contracted in pain. A statue of a dead Amazon, also in Naples, wears the short chiton of her tribe, fastened only on one shoulder, leaving a breast exposed; in a sketch of the sixteenth century a child is shown at the breast, and Pliny notes a group by Epigonus, 'a child pitiably caressing its dead mother.' The coincidence of date is so remarkable that it has been argued that the drawing may really give the motive of the original, but Amazons are not represented as mothers, nor has the breast the right shape to contain milk.

Similarity both of face and body places in the same period the group of two centaurs, an old and a young one, both ridden by Eros.<sup>1</sup> The Capitoline copies, executed in a shiny dark-grey marble by Aristéas and Papias of Aphrodisias in Asia Minor, were discovered in Hadrian's villa near Tivoli, and were probably carved in the emperor's reign: the hands of the elder centaur have been tied together by an Eros formerly seated upon his back (Pl. 108a). Other statues that resemble the second dedication include a fragment in New York consisting of the lower portion of a trousered Gaul in rapid movement, doubtless in battle,<sup>2</sup> the later version of the Marsyas, regularly copied in red marble,<sup>3</sup> and a Sleeping Hermaphrodite.<sup>4</sup> In the Hermaphrodite statues, for which the later Greeks had a marked predilection, the attempt to combine the qualities of male and female results in the predominance of the female element, but the sexual organs are invariably male, and the hips narrower than those of the average Greek woman.

Some of the many statues of satyrs, too, must belong to this period; it appears from their style that most of the types were produced during the life of the Pergamene kingdom (283-133); the untrustworthiness of the copies makes it difficult to assign to them their places in the series. The Barberini satyr at Munich, far the most striking of them all, comes closer to the first dedication,<sup>5</sup> while the popular bronze statuette from Pompei of a dancing satyr<sup>6</sup> resembles the second, as does the satyr playing the flute in the Villa Borghese.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *L. G. S.*, p. 113.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 38.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 39.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 140.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 34b.

<sup>6</sup> Bulle, 102.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 79; *L. G. S.*, p. 114.

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Large architectural sculptures are rare at the end of the third and beginning of the second century, but a great temple at Magnesia, begun in 201 and completed in 129, was decorated with a frieze which appears to have been designed soon after its inception; smaller friezes are preserved on the isle of Cos and at Teos.<sup>1</sup> Their style is visible also in a gravestone from Chios, of a type represented only by one other example, and that from the same island.<sup>2</sup>

The beginning of the second century was a time of tremendous artistic activity at Pergamon. Attalus' successor, Eumenes II, was endangered by an invasion by Antiochus of Syria, who was finally repulsed with Roman aid; this event probably offered the pretext for the enormous Altar decorated with a frieze representing the battle of the gods and giants. This Altar was infinitely the most striking of a group of buildings ranged round a crescent-shaped hillside; it took the form of a square platform, broken at one side by a flight of wide steps, which led up to the altar proper; below the colonnade, surrounding the platform, ran the great frieze in one continuous band, more than 7 feet in height and 400 feet long. Most of it survives and has been removed to Berlin (Pl. 109).<sup>3</sup>

To assist the spectator to follow all the incidents of the battle, in which the obscurest gods and little-known giants take part, the name of each figure was written beneath. The artists' signatures were also inscribed, each on the slab entrusted to him, but these have almost entirely perished; it has proved possible to restore only one complete signature, that of Orestes, son of Orestes, the Pergamene, but there remain too fragments that have been read as 'Dionysiades and Menecrates, sons of Menecrates,' members of a large family of sculptors connected with Tralles and Rhodes. Other fragments recorded sculptors of Athenian, Pergamene and probably Trallian nationality. The design of the whole frieze must have been sketched by one man, whose name is lost.

The frieze as a whole gives a realistic impression of a writhing mass of figures engaged in a desperate struggle. The upper parts of the giants are human in shape, of magnificent muscular development and

<sup>1</sup> *L. G. S.*, p. 115.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 42.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 25, 116, pl. 43; Schuchhardt, *Meister des grossen Frieses von Pergamon*, with good illustrations, apportions the slabs according to their style to various artists.

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equipped with great wings resembling those of the Victory of Samothrace; but their legs turn below the knees into serpents, which fight an independent battle of their own, and add vastly to the contorted appearance of the whole. The east side of the frieze opens with the combats of Hecate and Artemis (Pl. 109). At the corner a giant raises a rock with both hands to hurl at his triple-bodied opponent, Hecate, while one of the snakes, in which his legs terminate, pulls away the end of her shield with its teeth; Hecate's dog attacks him in the thigh. The foremost body of the goddess stands fully revealed, of the other two only the arms and parts of the heads can be seen; the first holds a shield and brandishes a torch; the central figure, of which the hair alone is visible, thrusts with a spear; while the furthest, whose face is disclosed below her helmet, waves a sword in the right hand and strikes with its scabbard in the left. Otus, who is opposed to Artemis, has a purely human body and carries a richly decorated shield and a long-plumed helmet; between the combatants another giant with reptilian extremities lies struggling with a dog, which has seized him by his neck, but he gouges out its eyes with his finger; a third giant is stretched dead on the ground. Artemis plants her foot upon the corpse, loosing an arrow at Otus before he can get to close quarters with his sword. The sculptor's care extends to such details as the hairy armpits of the giants and the ornamental hunting boots of Artemis (Pl. 110a).

If the frieze is in questionable taste, it was at least successful for its purpose, for a work of more refinement and less varied surface would have been inconspicuous in such a setting. The speed with which Pergamene sculpture had developed was phenomenal; the Altar was created about 188, only forty or fifty years later than the Dying Gaul of the first dedication. Yet the over-emotional character of the frieze could have been predicted from the dignified and older figure; the constant increase of sculptors' skill brought with it an ever greater extravagance of detail, from the motive of technical display. Throughout the groundwork of Pergamene art remains the same, only in the frieze the bodies are more heavily muscled and more contorted, the features more agonized, the hair wilder, the eyebrows more strikingly contracted. Many of the figures, however, are types of the fifth century, in rejuvenated activity.

The execution of the frieze is more effective than conscientious in

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accordance with its dimensions, and the smaller works of the school are of finer quality, especially the female head (Pl. 110*b*),<sup>1</sup> which probably represents a goddess. The majority of the statues discovered at Pergamon and datable to this period represent gods or goddesses, although some of the female types may conceivably be portraits of ordinary women.<sup>2</sup> Of the remaining sculptures the most notable are a head that perhaps represents Attalus I,<sup>3</sup> a work of approximately the end of the third century but fitted later with a wilder mane of hair; a head of Alexander, of an older type, revised in the sensational manner of the day;<sup>4</sup> reliefs of dancing girls, which surrounded a circular base, and small statues of the same subjects, imitating to varying degrees the mannerisms of late archaic drapery.<sup>5</sup>

Originals and copies in the style of the Gigantomachy have been discovered in all parts of the Mediterranean world, for local variations are chiefly found in bad works only and better sculptures followed a cosmopolitan style – a fact due to the habitual wanderings of artists.<sup>6</sup> A statue, of which copies exist in Munich and the Capitoline (Pl. 108*b*), has strong claims to be considered identical with the ‘drunken old woman’ which Pliny attributes to a sculptor named Myron, apparently of Boeotian origin, like his more famous namesake, but settled at Smyrna; his signature has also been found on a pedestal at Pergamon, of second-century date, and the statue is imitated on vases, one of which bears an inscription of the later half of that century.<sup>7</sup> The drapery may be compared with that of the Gigantomachy; unfortunately the Munich statue alone preserves the head, after which the Capitoline replica – in other respects the better – has been restored. The subject is no new one, for drunkenness had long held a place in the repertory of artists, and old age had provided the caricaturists of the last two centuries with abundant material of the same nature. It is a statue intended to exhibit the perfection of the sculptor’s technique; more than four centuries of experiment and improvement had passed since the first establishment of the art, and artists now rioted in the freedom which their skill had given to them.

<sup>1</sup> *L. G. S.*, p. 6, pl. 44.

<sup>2</sup> All these will be found illustrated in the official publication, *Altertümer von Pergamon*, vol. vii, while the Gigantomachy occupies vol. iii, pt. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Hekler, 75.

<sup>4</sup> *L. G. S.*, pl. 46*a*.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pls. 45, 71.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 59, 116–18.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 118.

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To correspond with the interest felt in old age there appears a greater interest in childhood; the Hellenistic artists were the first to consider young children worthy of attention; when they occur in older sculptures they are frankly mere adjuncts, and are not modelled with any desire to bring the peculiarities of their forms. These peculiarities render them suitable for a baroque style, with their grotesque proportions, their curves, bulges of flesh and wrinkles, their pouting cheeks and shapeless mouths.

The change in ideals is best realized by a comparison of the children of Cephisodotus or Praxiteles with the group of a boy and a goose (Pl. IIIA).<sup>1</sup> This has been connected with a sculptor and metal-worker, Boethus of Calchedon, whose activity can be traced between the years 190-160. Pliny attributes some such figure to him; the passage has descended in this form, 'a child of six years strangling a goose,' which may be a corruption of 'a child strangling a goose by hugging it.'<sup>2</sup> Since the child of the Capitoline group certainly had not attained the age of six years the emended form of the description applies perfectly. The nose and most of the left leg are restored in addition to the head of the goose. The figure is the finest example of a class of votive statues of children playing with their pets, usually birds; puppies, too, appear, but rarely because the Greek dog was no nursery beast. Such figures occur in most regions of the Hellenistic area, dedicated to various deities who have no link in common except their concern with childbirth; the statues seem therefore to have been the thankofferings of parents.<sup>3</sup> The series belongs chiefly to the third century,<sup>4</sup> but the Capitoline type is distinctly later in style than the majority, hence no objection can be raised on internal grounds to its attribution to Boethus, son of Athaneius of Calchedon, whose signature occurs on a bronze herm with an archaistic head, a merely decorative work found in the ship wrecked on the Tunisian coast near Mahdia, in the first century.<sup>5</sup> But Pausanias quotes a gilt statue of a seated boy in the Heræum at Olympia as a work of Boethus of Carthage; the adjectival forms of Carthage and Calchedon differ in Greek

<sup>1</sup> *L. G. S.*, p. 119.

<sup>2</sup> Reading '*amplexando*' instead of the '*sex anno*' or '*sex annis*' of the various manuscripts.

<sup>3</sup> Lawrence, *B. S. A.*, xxvii, 1925-6, p. 113.

<sup>4</sup> *L. G. S.*, pls. 21, 22a.

<sup>5</sup> *Monuments Piot*, xvii, 1909, pl. iv.

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by a single letter,<sup>1</sup> so that the inevitable textual emendation met with applause until an inscription came to light at Ephesus to prove the existence of Boethus of Carthage, whose father's name was Apollodorus. The moral should be taken to heart, for in this case the correction proposed had far more in its favour than is usual in these diversions of the scholarly world.

A frieze of historical interest rather than artistic merit adorned the monument erected at Delphi by Æmilius Paulus, the Roman conqueror of Macedonia in 167.<sup>2</sup> This instance of Roman patronage of art has its significance, for with the subjugation of Macedonia began the Roman conquest of Greek lands, and the attitude of the dominant people was soon to become a vital matter to Greek artists.

Meanwhile King Eumenes II was still engaged upon the construction of his Altar. In addition to the Gigantomachy, a smaller frieze was carved round the interior wall to illustrate the history of Pergamon's mythical founder Telephus.<sup>3</sup> Of this frieze, 5 feet in height, perhaps a third of the original length remains. It has peculiar interest from its employment of landscape elements (trees and rocks) to separate the various scenes by which the narrative proceeds. The style is calmer than that of the larger frieze, but the subject, too, is necessarily calmer, presenting no opportunity for the same exuberance of fancy and hectic action; the treatment of detail shows little change except a slight move towards simplification, due to a reaction against the pompous elaboration of the Gigantomachy. Perhaps a space of twenty years lies between the two friezes.

Another feature present only in the later frieze is the trick of representing the outer garment as transparent, so that the folds of the inner garment are visible. When a similar device was adopted by the sculptors of the preceding century they limited themselves to revealing a mere unit of the underlying folds, whereas the late Pergamenes were content with nothing less than the complete transparency of fine linen. But although the device does not appear in the Gigantomachy, it prevails in a few statues which must be almost contemporary, for the transition from the types of the earlier frieze to those of the later

<sup>1</sup> *Karchēdōnios* and *Kalchēdōnios*.

<sup>2</sup> *L. G. S.*, p. 118; Krahmer, *Nachrichten der Gesellschaft der Wiss., Göttingen, Phil. hist. Klasse*, 1927, p. 23, note 2.

<sup>3</sup> *L. G. S.*, p. 28, pl. 49.



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can be very closely followed by means of a series of draped female statues from Pergamon.

One of these, a Muse wearing a sword-belt, is the original, or perhaps one of the originals, of a type copied among a set of Muses once attributed to Philiscus; but the connection with this Rhodian artist is now disputed and he is usually dated later in the Hellenistic Age. A relief of the Apotheosis of Homer (Pl. 115), itself a work of fifty or a hundred years later, represents these Muses on the two middle shelves of Olympus, but in reality their drapery does not offer such marked contrasts of light and shade as in these small reproductions, which are simplified in accordance with later taste. The existence of numerous copies in the round as well as on reliefs<sup>1</sup> establishes the fact that the originals of these 'Philiscus' Muses greatly resembled the statue in the British Museum from Erythræ (Pl. 112*b*).<sup>2</sup> This figure is remarkable for the manner in which the body is ignored, and its place as the constructive element taken by the drapery, which is plotted out in bars of light and shade; these build up the form by their vertical direction, while their almost horizontal curves bind it solidly together. A sense of impermanency, valued by the Pergamene artists, is preserved by the incomplete character of these curves, which fade away, lacking the perfect sweep of those on the Sophocles statue. Absolute reliance on the vertical folds to suggest the form would of course be impossible with a thick himation, and is indeed scarcely found in the most advanced cases of transparency, such as the statue from Magnesia in Constantinople.<sup>3</sup> Doubtless many of these draped female figures can be explained as honorary or sepulchral statues, for the same types occur on the gravestones known as 'Eastern Greek Reliefs,' especially frequent in Smyrna and Samos from this time onwards.<sup>4</sup>

Male portraits of the period are scarce. A headless figure from a temple built by Attalus II (159-138) has been considered as a portrait of that king, but more probably represents Zeus.<sup>5</sup> A bronze

<sup>1</sup> Summary by Morey, *Sardis*, V. 1, *Sarcophagus of Sabina*, p. 64; a set of statues at Delos, *B. C. H.*, xxxi, 1907, p. 389, figs. 1-4, pls. xv, xvi.

<sup>2</sup> Krahmer, *Röm. Mitt.*, xxxviii-ix, 1923-4, p. 175, pls. xv, xvi.

<sup>3</sup> *L. G. S.*, pl. 50.

<sup>4</sup> Pfuhl, *Jahrb.*, xx, 1905, pp. 47, 123.

<sup>5</sup> *L. G. S.*, p. 119, pl. 52.

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statue in the Terme<sup>1</sup> stands in the usual heroic nudity with one hand resting on a lance above the head; the extremely heavy build of the body matches the excess of expression in the face (Pl. 111b); the features have been identified from a resemblance to coins as those of Demetrius I of Syria (162-150).

The influence of archaic work has already been noted in Pergamene sculpture: it was no doubt largely exerted through the Attalid collection of antiques, which included even such a primitive piece as the Graces of Bupalus. In Greece the same tendency was evident,<sup>2</sup> moreover the bulk of the sculpture produced in the country during the Hellenistic Age follows older models of one period or another. In the second century a movement towards the simplicity of Pheidian art spread through Greece and Asia Minor; its chief protagonist seems to have been Damophon of Messene. Excavation at Lycosura, a sanctuary of Demeter in the Arcadian hills, disclosed the remains of cult-statues which had formed one of his principal groups. Two seated figures of Demeter and Persephone were flanked by subsidiary standing figures of Artemis and of a Titan, Anytus.<sup>3</sup> The drapery is designed with extreme care; the portions covering the body recall Pergamene work, while a hanging portion of Demeter's robe is carved to represent embroidery, showing Nereids riding sea-monsters, winged Victories, and a row of animal-headed creatures who occur in local terracottas, deities from a very low stratum of religion which survived in no other district of Greece. The heads of three figures have been recovered and placed with this in the Museum at Athens, while the rest remain in a museum built on the site. Damophon treated the heads in a cursory manner, unlike the Pergamenes; obviously he was deeply influenced by the fifth century, especially in the faces, which are derived from Pheidian types. But the actual cutting of the marble has been done by inefficient hands, so that Damophon perhaps entrusted the reproduction of his clay models to others.

Damophon seems to have worked exclusively in the Peloponnese, in the cities belonging to the Achæan and Arcadian Leagues. According to Pausanias, in his own city of Messene he made an image of the Mother of the Gods for the market-place, a large number of marble statues for the sanctuary of Asclepius, and an Artemis Laph-

<sup>1</sup> *L. G. S.*, p. 119, pl. 51.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 127, 128.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 30, 121, pls. 54, 55.

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ria. At Ægion he made a cult-statue of Eileithyia, the body being of wood and the face, hands and feet of marble; the whole image was clothed in a finely woven garment. In the same town he was responsible for the images of Asclepius and Hygieia; and for the sanctuary of the Great Goddesses at Megalopolis he carved both the cult-images and the subsidiary figures as well as the decorations. He also restored the Olympian Zeus of Pheidias when the ivory cracked open.

The partial return to the simplicity of early sculpture coincides, it would seem, with the supreme achievements of the Pergamene school. Complete mastery of technique had at last been attained; as happens in every age when the fruits of liberty prove rotten, art wilted, and many sculptors relapsed into imitation of a period when restraint had been imposed by incompetence. The fact that Greece and Pergamon now became Roman territory, in 146 and 133 respectively, contributed to the temporary sterility of ideas.

## ANTICLIMAX: THE ROMAN REPUBLIC

(133-23 B.C.)

§ 1. *The Delos Period*

WHEN the last king of Pergamon died in 133, leaving his possessions to Rome, Greek art became almost totally dependent on the patronage of rich individuals: although other kingdoms survived into the next century – Cyrene was annexed only in 96, Syria in 65, Egypt in 30 – Cyrene alone has yielded any sculptures of merit which might belong to the last years of independence. The commonest varieties of sculpture in Greek lands were at this period the portrait statue and the diverse adaptations or imitative pieces of archaistic conception. The former class may be divided into honorary and sepulchral statues but actually members of both subdivisions looked alike: they had conventional bodies, nude or draped according to the sex or occupation of the person represented; the heads, however, had in many cases pronouncedly individual traits. This interest in portraiture may be seen most plainly at Delos, which maintained a large colony of Italian merchants, and it is conceivable that the demand for realistic likenesses found in them its strongest supporters, for the Etruscans, whose art dominated Central Italy, specialized in portraits. Side by side with realistic portraiture there flourished several varieties of imitative work, which cannot be rigorously separated from one another and which persist into the Roman empire – the Neo-Attic class of decoration becomes increasingly merged with the usual archaistic class, both of which had a long and not always inglorious career, continuing far into the Roman empire. Other sculptors produce new editions of old types, altering the style to taste, especially making the heads conform to the Pheidian characteristics recently popularized by Damophon and his associates. In statuary, therefore, the effect depended upon technical ability, the creative faculty is confined to abolishing the stiffness of older statues, allowing the limbs to spread themselves unconstrainedly and twisting the bodies out of their eternal immobility. But experiments continued in other directions; the landscape element was developed into

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a separate branch of sculpture (following doubtless a similar move in the art of painting), while a pictorial treatment of details can be traced in the carving of drapery. Both these tendencies were destined to find their full development under the early empire.

On the extinction of its dynasty, Pergamon ceased to attract artists; their new centre became the island of Delos, where the Romans opened a free port in 166. It had long been important as a shrine of Apollo, and the temple lent money at the low rate of 10 per cent., a help to business. Here the Pergamene kings had dedicated statues of themselves and of Gauls, so that the style of Delos was at first identical with that of Pergamon. The city that suddenly arose on this barren island had an aristocracy of business-men, drawn from all parts of the Mediterranean world. Such citizens required the services of sculptors to supply portrait statues for erection in public or private places, genre and decorative pieces for their spacious houses, images of deities for the guild-halls and shrines. Sculptors came from all parts; we have signatures of men from Samos, Miletus, Ephesus, Heraclea, Athens, Calchedon, Cyrene, Cilicia, and other regions.

But Mithradates' thorough sack of Delos in 88, followed by a pirates' raid in 69, ended the prosperity of the place; traffic was diverted to Rhodes and the new Italian ports, leaving on Delos a small village, which gradually decayed until the site relapsed into desolation. Owing to its deserted condition the ruined city has been preserved under a thin covering of rubbish: it consists of acres of houses and public buildings with many of their sculptural contents, but the few bronzes had already been sought out and melted down. The French excavators, who have now uncovered the greater part of the site, have unfortunately not yet completed their publication of the sculpture, which cannot be published by anyone else, since they hold the copyright by virtue of discovery. Most of the best pieces have been published or removed to Athens, and are therefore available for illustration;<sup>1</sup> but the greater part of the material can only be studied on the island.<sup>2</sup> With its help approximate dates can be ascribed to similar works elsewhere, for the vast majority of Delian work belongs to the period of highest prosperity, the half-century between 140 and 90 B.C.

<sup>1</sup> *L. G. S.*, pls. 56*b*, 57, 58*a*, 63, 72, 73.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 121-127.

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Thus the Aphrodite from Melos, better known by its latinized title, the Venus of Milo (Pl. 112a),<sup>1</sup> stands in a peculiarly contorted attitude which relates it to one of the unpublished statues at Delos, an Isis inscribed with the date 128-127, while the cold serenity of the head is akin to the archaising statue of a woman.<sup>2</sup> The Venus is indeed based upon a prototype of the Praxitelean age, but the face has been cut with a fifth-century severity, while the body, on the other hand, has been placed in a later and more complex attitude. The rapture with which this statue has been laden sounds absurdly exaggerated to students of ancient sculpture. It is, of course, a clever piece of work and it is possible to read into it a sentimental morality: its popularity may be further due to the supple and twisted pose, which would appeal to those to whom the staid rules of the fifth century are repugnant. If one drew the five horizontal axes (lines running between the ears, the shoulders, the hips, the knees and the ankles) on an archaic statue, it would be found that they all lie parallel, with their ends pointing directly right and left; and if the median line were traced it would run straight down from the head to the end of the torso. With the attainment of greater skill this rigidity was relaxed; the axes are no longer parallel and their ends point in many directions, while the median line curves. A gradual torsion, carried consistently through the body, is accepted in Hellenistic times as the formula for producing an omnifacial composition. In both the Cnidian and the Melian Aphrodite, the axes revolve, so that the hips and shoulders are very far from parallel, while the median line bends so that the direction of the body changes three times, from right to left, from left to right, and finally the legs lean from right to left. But in the later statue the contortions and twists are more violent; the omnifacial composition is perfectly successful; the statue is not only intelligible from all points of view, but also appears to equal advantage. The excuse for the many contortions lies in a necessity to support the drapery on the hips, a feat which requires an awkward and strained position in the wearer, for it was not upheld by either hand. The position of the arms and the occupations of the hands are of course a matter for conjecture: very probably the right hand was pressed close to the breast and bent at the elbow over to the left, to fall towards the hip; the left upper arm cannot have been

<sup>1</sup> *L. G. S.*, pp. 35, 126; *Br. Br.*, 298.

<sup>2</sup> *L. G. S.*, pls. 72, 73.

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raised above the shoulder line. It is impossible to say whether the hands held any object, but a hand, holding an apple, found with the statue, may belong to the Venus. The Aphrodite of Capua<sup>1</sup> appears to have been copied from the same fourth-century prototype as the Milo, and in this case the arms were restored in 1820; the right arm is held across the body while the left is raised to shoulder level. Probably the Venus of Milo was in much the same attitude.

In complexity of pose the statue resembles other works from the Ægean islands, especially the unpublished Isis at Delos, which is inscribed with a date corresponding to 128–127 B.C. No stylistic objection, therefore, exists to the theory that it originally stood upon a base inscribed with lettering of about 100 B.C., and discovered in the same grotto as the Venus. The beginning of the inscription is missing, but the sculptor's name may be restored as either Alexander or Hagesander and his place of origin is stated as Antioch on the Mæander, a small town in Asia Minor. On the other hand, a drawing made soon after the discovery attaches the base to a herm of which no other record is preserved; this does not necessarily mean that the two were connected, it is indeed possible that the herm did not exist outside the draughtsman's imagination, for the shape of the base would certainly be unsuitable for a pillar. As it happens, the original base now is lost, but a cast had been taken, on to which the Venus fits as well as is usual for an antique work – an accurate join was not required since the block out of which the feet were cut was fixed in position with lead.

A nude statue of Aphrodite, which may be assigned to approximately the same period, has not won the reputation which it deserves, because so short a time has elapsed since it was uncovered in 1913 by floods on the site of Cyrene.<sup>2</sup> Here again a type of the fourth century has been brought up to date; the head unfortunately is missing; the body is smoothly finished and its surface is highly polished. The right shoulder is lowered and the right hip pushed out as in the Melian Venus and its like, but the pose is not so contorted, for there is no drapery to support. The drapery hangs by the side of the figure on a dolphin's tail – the dolphin suggesting the birth of the goddess from the sea. The young boxer from Tralles<sup>3</sup> bears a head which

<sup>1</sup> Naples, *Guida*, 251; Br. Br., 297.      <sup>2</sup> *L. G. S.*, pp. 45, 126, pl. 76.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 44, 125, pls. 74, 75.

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recalls Myron, and leans against a pillar in a fourth-century pose; the workmanship is clear-cut and neat as in a female statue from Delos. A figure from Eretria (Pl. 113) <sup>1</sup> offers the strange combination of a body of one fourth-century type with the athlete's head of another, although the purpose of the statue was probably honorary or sepulchral, and it might therefore be expected to bear a portrait head. The period of these works can be only approximately given.

The relief of the Apotheosis of Homer (Pl. 115) can be roughly dated about 125 by the lettering of its inscriptions.<sup>2</sup> The artist gives his name as Archelaus of Priene, and was thus a native of Asia Minor. In the upper rows the action takes place on Olympus, where Zeus sits on the crest of the mountain attended by his eagle. Below, Homer is received by the nine Muses of the 'Philiscus' group and by Apollo (dressed according to the manner of musicians in the long Ionic chiton and identified by his lyre and the omphalos at his side). In the lowest band, mortals are shown sacrificing to the new god, on either side of whose statue rest personifications of his two creations, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*; two figures, labelled Time and *Oikoumene* (The Civilized World), place a crown upon his head. The heads of these two seem more like portraits than ideal types, and since the male head wears a diadem, they have been thought to represent a king and queen. Of the identifications proposed with the aid of coin-portraits – with Ptolemy II (284–247), Ptolemy IV (221–203), and Alexander Bala (152–144) – none can be taken as certain: Ptolemy II is most suitable on historical grounds for he was the greatest of Hellenistic patrons of literature and in particular financed the Homeric studies of Alexandrian scholars, while Ptolemy IV is known to have dedicated a temple to Homer, but his features have the least resemblance to those of the head on the relief; the identification of Alexander Bala has the single merit that his date undoubtedly comes near that of the relief. If Ptolemy II be the monarch represented as Time, then the sculptor must have been instructed to copy his features (familiar from the coins still in circulation), as a tribute to the patronage which gave to the world the first critical text of Homer. The relief was discovered at the point where the Appian Way leaves the Campagna, but may, of course, have been removed from Alexandria or elsewhere. Incidentally a fragment with similar

<sup>1</sup> Br. Br., 519; Lippold, *Jahrb.*, xxvi, 1911, p. 275.    <sup>2</sup> *L. G. S.*, p. 124.



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drapery, comprising the lower half of a statue, has been found at Canopus.<sup>1</sup> The alternation of deep troughs of shadow and flat bands of high light instances the preoccupation with pictorial effects characteristic of late Hellenistic work, and the adaptation to this simple scheme of the complex design of the 'Philiscus' drapery (even more elaborate than that of the Gigantomachy) points to the influence of archaic work, now becoming still more prominent.

Pictorial influence again declares its presence in a large relief at Eleusis;<sup>2</sup> the donor, Lacrateides, held a high civic office in 97 and therefore must then have been an elderly man, so that the date is fixed within a narrow margin. The relief contains a group of the Eleusinian deities, as well as a portrait of Lacrateides; sitting and standing figures are superimposed. The drapery has an almost flat surface cut by thin lines of shadow, a method of treatment found in other sculptures on the site, including the pair of Caryatid busts dedicated by a Roman, Appius Pulcher, who died in 48.<sup>3</sup> The heads of these Eleusinian works, which presumably belong to the Attic school, are dull imitations of the later fifth-century manner, which inspired, too, the design of the drapery, if not its method of execution.

The excavations of Delos have thrown light upon another celebrated statue in the Louvre (Pl. 114), the fighting hero ('Borghese Warrior'), signed by Agasias, son of Dositheus of Ephesus. Another Agasias, the son of Menophilus, likewise an Ephesian, whose signature was attached to thirteen portrait statues at Delos towards the years 100-90, was probably a cousin of the author of the Borghese warrior, for Greek custom presumes the existence of a third Agasias as the paternal grandfather of both sculptors.<sup>4</sup>

The hero has a head of Lysippic character (similarly, most youthful heads at Delos are in the style of Polycleitus or Lysippos), and the whole may well be derived from an original of the School of Lysippos,<sup>5</sup> but the sculptor has certainly introduced his own variations into the pose and treatment of details; the outstanding muscles that cover the body do not coalesce into great waves as in the figures on the Gigantomachy of Pergamon, for each is carved distinct, in a hard

<sup>1</sup> Breccia, *Monuments de l'Égypte greco-romaine*, i, 1926, pls. xxix. 4.

<sup>2</sup> *L. G. S.*, p. 124, pl. 79.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 129, pl. 65b.

<sup>4</sup> I take this opportunity of correcting the confusion of the two cousins introduced in *L. G. S.*, p. 124.

<sup>5</sup> Johnson, *Lysippos*, p. 177.

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dry manner which reflects more credit on the sculptor's knowledge than his taste. The figure has been carefully posed to display all the muscles to the greatest advantage, like the models of skinless men used for teaching surface anatomy. The subject has been interpreted as a hero parrying the attack of a mounted opponent by means of the shield worn on the left arm, while the right arm (now restored) drew back a spear or sword; another suggestion is that the figure represents a competitor in a relay race for men in armour, holding the lighted torch which was to be passed from one member of the team to another.

A gilt-bronze colossus in the Conservatori (Pl. 116*b*) belongs to the time of Agasias, if Krahmer is correct in recognizing the features of Mithradates the Great (121-63) in this representation of Heracles.<sup>1</sup> The prototype, known from other copies,<sup>2</sup> was probably an original by Lysippus: but here the brutal countenance and receding forehead recall to some extent the head on the coins of Mithradates. His features appear more plainly in the Heracles of a high relief from Pergamon: <sup>3</sup> during Mithradates' residence at Pergamon from 88 to 85 the subject of Heracles delivering Prometheus might easily have been chosen as an allegory of his deliverance of Asia from Roman tyranny, and coins depict him under the guise of Heracles. A clumsy piece of incompetent sculpture, this relief consisted of upright figures of Heracles, shooting at the vulture, and of Prometheus, crucified on the rock of Mount Caucasus, personified by a recumbent figure below; the landscape background, now disappeared, probably resembled that on the Apotheosis of Homer. A falling-off in technical power can often be traced in the late Hellenistic period, even in Delos, where an erotic group of exceptional vulgarity <sup>4</sup> was as grossly carved as these sculptures identified as Mithradatic. It was dedicated by a merchant of Beirut for the adornment of the guild-hall of the league of Syrian merchants.

The portraits at Delos by no means form a homogeneous group. Some <sup>5</sup> have in style an obvious relationship with Pergamene heads, gaining their effect by lumpy modelling, a method illustrated in the

<sup>1</sup> *Jahrb.*, xl, 1925, p. 183, pl. ix, figs. 13, 14.

<sup>2</sup> British Museum Bronzes, No. 827; Walters, *Select Bronzes*, pl. 50.

<sup>3</sup> *Altertümer von Pergamon*, vii, pl. 37; Krahmer, *op. cit.*, figs. 1, 2, 10-12.

<sup>4</sup> *L. G. S.*, pl. 63.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 56*b*.

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statue of Demetrius I (Pl. 111*b*). Others mark a distinct advance on the Pergamene ideals, dispensing with the emotional expression and with its accompanying bulging forehead and deep-set eyes; these substitute line-drawing for chiaroscuro, by cutting thin black lines on a white face, which can be compared with the system of black lines on a white garment by which the Attic sculptors of the first century B.C. carved their drapery. This black-on-white style presumably developed before 100, from its prominence at Delos; but its progress continued after the fall of Delos in 69, for it is employed in a head of Pompey (106-48), which obviously represents him towards the close of his life.<sup>1</sup> No Delian head of this technique has yet been adequately published,<sup>2</sup> but several examples from Attica can be quoted, such as the relief of a family group in Berlin,<sup>3</sup> or the head of an old man (Pl. 116*a*).<sup>4</sup> An undeviating adherence to the truth, however ugly, marks the portrait sculpture of this school; a sketchy rendering of the hair occurs frequently, yet not invariably – it is for example carefully executed in the head of Pompey.

The statues with which this class of head is associated are of many types. Some stand in heroic nudity; and of these Delos has yielded the most remarkable, in a life-size male figure now removed to Athens.<sup>5</sup> Some, who stand, or ride on horseback, wear the military cuirass; examples of both varieties are found in Delos but so far only one of the former has been published, in the figure of the Roman Billienus.<sup>6</sup> Others sit or stand, wearing civilian dress, like the members of the Attic family already mentioned.<sup>7</sup> The bodies are always conventionally modelled, serving only to support the head; interest in the male body had perished. Portraits of women are invariably draped; it is worth noting, as a step towards the use of the bust, that half-length figures of women have been found at Thera and at Magnesia – in the latter place on a stela with an inscription of the early first century.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *L. G. S.*, pl. 62*a*.

<sup>2</sup> The best photograph available is that reproduced in *Monuments Piot*, xxiv, 1920, p. 93, fig. 2.

<sup>3</sup> No. 1462; *L. G. S.*, pl. 60; the heads, photographed separately, *Röm. Mitt.*, xxxii, 1917, p. 130, pl. ii.

<sup>4</sup> Athens Museum, No. 320; *L. G. S.*, pl. 59*b*. <sup>5</sup> *L. G. S.*, p. 34, pls. 57, 58*a*.

<sup>6</sup> *Délos*, v, p. 43, fig. 60.

<sup>7</sup> *L. G. S.*, pl. 60.

<sup>8</sup> *Jahresh.*, xvi, 1913, p. 178, pl. iv, and i, 1898, p. 4, fig. 2; Collignon, *Statues funéraires*, fig. 190.

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The use of busts was not yet fashionable, but circumstances were advancing in that direction. The momentous step was finally taken in Italy, for the Romans were becoming rapidly the chief patrons of art. The Etruscans, whose art had now reached its last stage of decay, had clung to full-length portraits, but the Romans required heads alone, and the limitation of portraits to the bust quickly became regular throughout the Greco-Roman world; although occasional full-length statues occur at all periods and in all places.

### § 2. *Romans and Greeks*

The art of early Rome is known only from the incidental references of later authors, for few monuments can be considered older than the first century B.C. The city in its infancy was politically and culturally subject to Etruria and an artistic subjection may safely be presumed. At the archaic period, Etruscan art was permeated by Greek influence; hence there is no reason to doubt the legend that the Romans of that time employed two Greek sculptors, Damophilus and Gorgasus, to decorate the temple of Ceres in the Circus Maximus. Such occasional visitors from the Greek cities of Italy could not outweigh the constant influence exerted by Rome's Etruscan neighbours, and the majority of the older statues and architectural sculptures of the city must have been executed by artists trained in the Etruscan style. The Forum, which seems to have contained the pick of these works, was destroyed by fire in 210 B.C., which accounts for the complete absence of such remains at the present day.

In the second century Etruscan sculpture reached its height; a Pergamene element manifests itself in the design and the details, although the Etruscans clung to the subjects which suited their mentality and customs. The typical products of their Hellenistic period are the sarcophagi, and their smaller editions, the crematory urns, which bear as a rule reliefs on the lower half while the reclining figure on the lid represents the deceased holding a wine-cup – the 'funeral banquet' motive common in Greek lands. So far as is known, these types never occur in Rome, where the nearest approximation is seen in a sarcophagus belonging to a Scipio who assumed the consulship in 298: the lower part bears an architectural decoration of triglyphs and rosettes such as appear on some Etruscan

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sarcophagi of the Pergamene Age, but the lid takes the form of an elongated altar-top with a bolster volute at either end.<sup>1</sup>

There survives only one reputable standing portrait of an Etruscan, the celebrated bronze Orator found near Chiusi,<sup>2</sup> which very closely resembles a statue at Delos of the merchant Dioscurides, dated by the inscription 138-137.<sup>3</sup> Nothing comparable has been found in Rome, although there exist records of early statues – such as those of Manlius, Camillus, the mother of the Gracchi, an Augur, and the Vestal Virgins – which may have followed Greek models as closely as the Orator. It is at least certain that the influence of the Delian school, which is so evident in that statue, extended to Rome, for two Athenians, Dionysius and Timarchides, whose signatures remain upon the nude portrait at Delos of the Roman official, Gaius Ofellius,<sup>4</sup> supplied cult-statues for temples built in Rome soon after 150. From this time onwards, especially after the annexation of Greece and Asia Minor in 146 and 133, so many of the wealthier Romans were obliged to visit the Ægean, either in an official capacity or on private business, that a large proportion of the potential patrons of art at Rome must have acquired some first-hand knowledge of Greek sculpture. The Italian colony at Delos certainly delighted in portrait statues, and we have seen that the Roman conqueror of Macedonia commemorated his achievement, at Delphi. A singular instance may be noted of a tendency which was to become regular two or three centuries later; Antiochus of Syria employed an architect of the Roman name of Cossutius when he undertook the completion of the temple of Olympian Zeus at Athens, about 174 B.C.

But the native sculpture of Rome remained at an exceedingly low level into the beginning of the first century, when the Fluteplayers Guild erected their large and pretentious monument.<sup>5</sup> There remain two draped torsos of men holding flutes, the only surviving portrait statues of the period before Caesar, and these are barbarous imitations of Greek types, while an Orpheus, that also adorned the monument, resembles contemporary Etruscan work of the worst quality; in

<sup>1</sup> Helbig, 125; Vatican Cat., ii, pl. i.      <sup>2</sup> *L. G. S.*, pl. 97b; *Röm. Mitt.*, xli, 1926, p. 133, for Etruscan or Roman heads.

<sup>3</sup> *Délos*, viii, fig. 14.      <sup>4</sup> *B. C. H.*, v, 1881, pl. xii; Picard, *Sculpture Antique*, II, p. 209, traces this sculptor family through several generations.

<sup>5</sup> Helbig, I, p. 590; *L. G. S.*, pl. 102.

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common with other Republican sculptures of late Etruscan style, they are carved in peperino, a rough volcanic stone which looks like coke. Obviously the native Romans of that day had scarcely begun to develop a statuary art.

In their portraiture the Etruscans did not obey the same instincts as the Greeks; although they adopted any changes in the art as they were introduced in Greece or Asia Minor, yet they retained throughout a distinctive flavour of their own racial personality. The Greek was concerned with types and ideals, even when he represented the most hideous and peculiar of men; he was always trained to make a work of art, to show the general in the particular, whereas the Etruscan had no thought except for a 'speaking likeness.' The wax busts of ancestors (*imagines*), preserved by Roman families, presumably had the same character; indeed Etruscan portrait sculpture displays all the qualities of wax-work except its efficiency. Of course no wax bust has survived; their appearance may be learnt from a statue of the latter part of the first century, in which an aristocrat wearing the toga carries a couple of busts,<sup>1</sup> and their style may be gathered by comparison both with Etruscan stone heads and with the terracotta heads of the late Republic. Most of these are carelessly modelled,<sup>2</sup> but the Boston Museum possesses a unique specimen<sup>3</sup> which seems to have been formed of a mask taken from the man's face, with the slightest possible alterations in modelling but completed with the addition of the rest of the head, supplied freehand. This head must have almost exactly reproduced the wax *imagines* preserved in the *atrium* of a Roman house, which seem to have combined the death-mask with a moulded head.

The decadence of Etruscan sculpture in the first century, and the absence of any native sculpture worthy of the name of art, forced the more Hellenized members of Roman society to employ Greeks. Their ideals of portraiture were slightly different, it may be, but the Italians at Delos had been given what they wanted – perhaps (like Cromwell) only by instructing the artists to be unusually naturalistic – and the Greek sculptors who flocked to Rome in the first century found no difficulty in giving satisfaction. They had a great advantage over the native Italian sculptors in that they habitually carved in marble and thus attained cleaner, finer modelling than could be effected in

<sup>1</sup> Hekler, 127a.    <sup>2</sup> Conservatori Cat., pl. 119.    <sup>3</sup> No. 108; Hekler, 144-5.

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the coarse stones, discoloured alabaster, or terracotta, in which the Etruscans and Romans were accustomed to work. The presence of a certain number of portraits made by Greeks served to leaven the mass of Roman portraiture, raising its level far above that reached by the Etruscans.

To what extent the portraitists of the late Republic were themselves of Greek origin cannot be decided, at least it must be conceded that a large proportion had received a training in Greek methods. A few notable works, like the Pompey of the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek,<sup>1</sup> can only be described as purely Greek; another head in the same collection (Pl. 117a)<sup>2</sup> perhaps came from an Italian hand in spite of its evident kinship with the Attic head (Pl. 116a); on the other hand, no Italian touches are apparent, to my mind, in the Dresden head (Pl. 117b),<sup>3</sup> which should be compared with Delian work and with a standing figure of the Attic family-group in Berlin.<sup>4</sup> A head from the purely Latin town of Præneste<sup>5</sup> affords the clearest signs that its sculptor retained Etruscan rather than Greek proclivities, but such examples are rarer than those of obviously foreign influence and technique. There remain few Republican heads of any merit which could be *unhesitatingly* ascribed to Italian workmen, though in actual fact Italians may well have carved at least fifty per cent. of them.

The prominent Greek sculptors of Rome commanded a high price for their work but seldom signed their names, with the result that the personalities of the time now appear but faintly. Most celebrated of these artists was Pasiteles, whose energies were chiefly given to metal work; in his efforts in marble he followed the evil custom of those (and modern) times, preparing clay models to be reproduced by other men's hands. To a large extent his rivals and pupils adapted or imitated older sculptures – their work in this line has already been discussed in the chapter on Copies. The athlete signed by Stephanus, pupil of Pasiteles,<sup>6</sup> suggests that to this school should be assigned such statues as the Resting Hermes (Pl. 120),<sup>7</sup> and the Boy removing a thorn from his foot (Pl. 119a). The latter, usually known by its Italian title *Il Spinario*, has often been described as archaic, but the

<sup>1</sup> *L. G. S.*, pl. 62.    <sup>2</sup> No. 569; *A. B.*, 77, 78.    <sup>3</sup> Hekler, 138; *A. B.*, 75, 76.

<sup>4</sup> *L. G. S.*, pl. 60; *Röm. Mitt.*, xxxii, 1917, p. 130, pl. ii.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 103.

<sup>6</sup> Helbig, 1846; *Br. Br.*, 301.

<sup>7</sup> Lippold, *Kopien*, p. 129.

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consensus of opinion holds that it combines an old type of head with a type of body that dates from the time of Lysippus and bore in the original a less pretty head, such as that seen on a copy in the British Museum.<sup>1</sup> A replica of the head forms part of a standing figure in Leningrad, copied apparently from a statue of the middle of the fifth century. The hair of the Spinario, whose head is bent forward so sharply, should of course fall over the face instead of maintaining its original position. The Resting Hermes discovered at Herculaneum is frequently described as copied from an original of the Lysippic school, if not itself the original: but the face has no Lysippic character and seems to the present writer to be definitely later. Apart from this statue and a marble variant at Merida,<sup>2</sup> the type has only been observed in the minor arts, appearing in bronze statuettes and on a gem signed by Dioscurides, who is known to have carved Augustus' signet. The Naples statue differs from the rest in that the torso leans forward, thus producing an impression of alertness which greatly improves the effect. This, like the Venus of Milo, is one of the few statues of all times which is not only intelligible but also equally beautiful from all sides; even the Spinario can only be properly seen as in the illustration or in profile from the other side.

A preoccupation with prettiness marks the sculpture of the first century; its growth may be traced through the severer archaistic work of the latter part of the previous century, and it now reaches its height, with an exaggerated care for daintiness, elegance and grace. But there remains a certain dignity despite the prettiness, the power as well as the sensuous charm of late archaic art lives again in the bronzes from Herculaneum – in the head of the bearded Dionysus<sup>3</sup> or the five dancing girls.<sup>4</sup> How far these sculptures should be described as copies cannot yet be decided. Uncertainty remains also about the sepulchral statue of a woman, formerly at Trentham Hall, and once ascribed to the fourth century (Pl. 118).<sup>5</sup> The slimness of the face and body points to a more refined age than the fourth cen-

<sup>1</sup> Br. Br., 322; Cat. III, No. 1755, pl. viii.

<sup>2</sup> *Arch. Anz.*, 1914, p. 377, fig. 52.

<sup>3</sup> *Guida*, No. 857; Br. Br., 382; Waldstein and *Herculaneum*, pl. v.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. iv; *Guida*, Nos. 843–7, 852.

<sup>5</sup> E. A. Gardner, *J. H. S.*, xxviii, 1908, p. 138, pls. xxvii–ix; Hekler, *Münchener Studien, Andenken Furtwänglers*, p. 247.



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tury, in which no exact prototype existed so far as it is known; the type continued in occasional use under the Roman empire. The inscription scratched upon the base gives the name of a Roman woman, for whose tomb the statue was presumably re-used.<sup>1</sup> Other statues of women,<sup>2</sup> of the same style and related types, can also be referred to the first century – worthy successors of the Delos lady, although in their faces the archaistic influence makes more for piquancy and less for severity.

The conjunction of prettiness and archaistic mannerisms has a long pedigree, springing from religious conservatism and the attempt to transform the formal incompetence demanded by conservatism into pleasantly quaint decoration. The movement began, so far as can be seen, in the large painted vases that were given as prizes in the Panathenaic Games. Athletic festivals were all held in honour of some deity, who at Athens was naturally Athena, and a figure of the goddess fills one side of the vase, the other bearing a scene of wrestling, or whatever the event might be for which the prize was awarded. Throughout the fifth and fourth centuries the painting continues in the awkward process, black on a red ground, that was elsewhere abandoned in the sixth century; and early in the fourth century mannerisms appear; herein lies the beginning of an archaistic school (p. 237). One of the most typical mannerisms was the swallow-tail end to floating drapery, and one of the favourite themes was the relief bearing figures almost exactly alike, placed flatly in rows – an idea so successful that it held its ground for five hundred years without any fresh display of originality, other than the addition of further types to the common stock. The Copenhagen example (Pl. 119b)<sup>3</sup> may be put with many others in the first century B.C. or A.D.; it formed part of a long relief, 2 feet high, containing a procession of deities. The surviving fragment bears three figures – Poseidon, identified by the dolphin in his hand, a goddess, and Ares, who is equipped in full armour, consisting of a fringed cuirass moulded to

<sup>1</sup> Some psychological interest attaches to Lippold's decision (*Kopien*, p. 212), adopted without looking at the inscription, to read E[X OFFIC]INA SEXTILI CLEMENTIS, 'From the factory of Sextilus Clemens,' instead of Gardner's correct transcription P.[MAXIM]INA SEXTILI CLEMENTIS, 'Publia Maximina, wife (or freed woman) of Sextilus Clemens.'

<sup>2</sup> *Arch. Anz.*, 1921, pp. 299, 306. <sup>3</sup> No. 37; Arndt, *Glypt. Ny C.*, pl. 20.

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correspond to the human form, greaves upon his legs, a helmet swung in his right hand, a spear in his left hand and a shield over his left arm. The faces approximate to the type of the mid-fifth century; prototypes of the figures of Poseidon and the goddess are found in the sixth century; while the Ares is of a fourth-century style, both in the form and the drapery, with its swallow-tail end. The drapery and figures form lifeless but agreeable patterns; the intention of their author was to please, not to convey an impression of reality, and, with the exception perhaps of the Ares, the figures do not impress one as genuine personages.<sup>1</sup>

Another variety of decorative sculpture, frequently merging into the archaistic, is that known as Neo-Attic, originally because several signatures of artists describe them as Athenians: in actual fact Athens does seem to have been the centre of the school, for an unfinished vase has been found there, and a ship, wrecked near Mahdia on its way from Athens to Italy, contained several vases of this class. The earliest works of the school date from the fourth century,<sup>2</sup> and are reproduced unchanged in the Roman period, when the repertory, however, became considerably larger, including over fifty types of figures. These types are borrowed especially from the late fifth century and early fourth centuries, when light, floating drapery had its vogue: among other recognizable subjects occur imitations of some sections of the Balustrade of the temple of Victory, including the Victory fastening her sandal (Pl. 72a). But the drapery loses its freshness for a graceful artificiality. The poses are self-conscious, and unrelated figures are juxtaposed at regular intervals without narrative significance, forming a harmonious but meaningless composition. In short, Neo-Attic art may be compared with the performance of a ritual long after its meaning has been lost; the art becomes a pleasing decoration, the ritual a quaint or beautiful ceremony.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Reliefs of archaistic style have been studied by Edouard Schmidt, *Archaistische Kunst in Griechenland und Rom*, 1922. For the (rarer) statues of the same class see Bulle, *Archaisierende griech. Rundplastik*, *Abhand. Bayer. Akad.*, xxx, 1918; a good head is illustrated in *L. G. S.*, pl. 81a; statue of Artemis from Pompei, *Br. Br.*, 350; Walters, *Art of the Romans*, pl. xvi; the Chigi Athena at Dresden, with embroidered scenes upon its robes, *J. H. S.*, xxxii, 1912, p. 43, pl. I.

<sup>2</sup> *L. G. S.*, p. 128.

<sup>3</sup> For a full, illustrated exposition of the differences between Neo-Attic work and its prototypes see Richter, *J. H. S.*, xlv, 1925, p. 201.

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Probably the finest surviving piece of Neo-Attic work is the Bacchante in the Conservatori (Pl. 133*b*).<sup>1</sup> The slightly curved block on which the figure is carved was attached to a round monument, from which perhaps came four similar figures now in Madrid.<sup>2</sup> The Conservatori type was particularly popular in antiquity; it was repeated innumerable times on marble vases and reliefs, metal objects and stucco or terracotta reliefs; it formed, too, one of the commonest subjects for the decoration of Arretine pottery – this, the finest ware of the Roman period, was manufactured at Arezzo between the limits of 40 B.C.–A.D. 80, its best period being the reign of Augustus.<sup>3</sup> The woman, who is dancing in the ecstasy roused by Dionysus, carries in her left hand the hind parts of a kid which she has slit in two, while in her right hand she holds the knife and the edge of her mantle. Through the carelessness of the craftsman the edges of the chiton and floating himation have been confused, but in other respects the work has been admirably executed. The design of the figure falls into two horizontal halves, which thrust in opposite directions from the centre, where the division is masked by the overfall and the frilled pouch pulled over the girdle.

The prototype, more probably a picture than a relief, was related to the Victory Balustrade, the Nereid monument and the Epidauros sculptures. The chronology of Neo-Attic prototypes remains obscure; especially so, as a painting might antedate a sculpture of the same nature. An indication, however, of the origin of the style is given by the 'Satrap' sarcophagus (Pl. 42), where drapery blown by the wind presents an obviously earlier parallel to the Conservatori type, while the Nereid monument on the other hand seems considerably later; even the Balustrade may be later, though here the correspondence is closer, for the arrangement of the folds to reveal the body is more able than in the Bacchante. The conclusion then would date the original approximately to the time of the Parthenon; the circumstance that the earliest sculpture of the style, the 'Satrap' sarcophagus, is not an Attic work, does not necessarily mean that the painters who developed it cannot have been Attic. That question could only be answered by studying the development of the bacchante

<sup>1</sup> Helbig, 946.

<sup>2</sup> *Einz.*, 1683–6; cf. the Villa Albani reliefs, *L. G. S.*, pls. 84, 85.

<sup>3</sup> Chase, *Cat. of Arretine Pottery*, Boston.

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type in paintings, but the larger paintings of the time have perished, except for some frescoes in Etruscan tombs,<sup>1</sup> and the vases are almost exclusively of Attic origin.

Sculpture at Rome advanced rapidly in the last years of the Republic, as the native artists learnt to avail themselves of Greek methods. Of ideal work in the round there exists nothing of genuine merit, though the terracotta statues from a pediment, in the Conservatori Palace,<sup>2</sup> show a tremendous improvement on the Flute-players Monument. In portraiture too a definite change can be noted: thus in the busts of a married couple in the Vatican (Pl. 123*a*), which may certainly be placed in the latter half of the first century B.C.,<sup>3</sup> the blank flat appearance, common in the previous generation, has been superseded by a more colourful treatment, in which shadow plays an important part. Some of the portraits of Julius Caesar<sup>4</sup> fall in the earlier stage, but the basalt bust in Berlin and the British Museum head represent a later style, and vary so much from the usual features that their identity has been disputed: they were doubtless carved after his assassination in 44 B.C., if not, indeed, after Augustus had established his power in 31. In the London head the pupils and iris of the eyes are carved in a method which did not come into general use until the second century A.D., but this does not necessarily imply more than a late renovation of the head: the type in any case belongs to the Julio-Claudian Age, even if the head in question be considered a copy of the second century or a modern forgery – views which have little to commend them.

The third quarter of the first century seems to have been the crucial period in the development of Roman reliefs. Coins of the Republic employ a very shallow relief, so that their types resemble outline drawings, but this style was rarely adopted for sculpture, the only instance worth quoting being the large slab at Munich showing a trumpeter and soldiers or gladiators.<sup>5</sup> The great majority of republican reliefs have a considerable depth, and contain squat, stiff figures, childishly arranged; this style survived under the empire, in

<sup>1</sup> Poulsen, *Etr. Tomb Paintings*; Weege, *Etr. Malerei*.

<sup>2</sup> Cat., pls. 121, 122; Guarducci, *Bull. Comm.*, liii, 1926, p. 133, proposes a date early in the first century, wrongly as the present writer believes.

<sup>3</sup> Hekler, 162; Helbig, 240.

<sup>4</sup> Hekler, 156–158.

<sup>5</sup> Weickert, *Münchener Jahrb.*, 1925, p. 1.

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many of the western provinces, but was superseded at Rome by more competent work – only to return in the third and fourth centuries, when in the east formalism took possession of art. The oldest reliefs of the improved style, such as was adopted under the empire, once composed a long frieze, 2½ feet in height, of which three sides are preserved in Munich and one in Paris. From the similarity of their dimensions and style, the slabs obviously belonged to one monument; from the position at regular intervals of pilasters to terminate each scene, they are presumed to have decorated a rectangular base. The Louvre slabs illustrate a Roman sacrifice, the remainder (Pl. 123*b*) a procession of marine deities,<sup>1</sup> subjects which give the clue to the identity of the monument. About 32 B.C. Domitius Ahenobarbus, the grandfather of Nero, placed a group of sea-deities, by Scopas, in the Campus Martius, and these reliefs must have decorated the base. The two sides were certainly the work of one sculptor, possibly an Italian who had been apprenticed to a Greek, for the Louvre section<sup>2</sup> contains pompous types that occur on late Hellenistic gravestones,<sup>3</sup> while its provincial character is evident from the proportions of the figures and the rather clumsy execution of the sacrifice scene; the other sides have a more sophisticated, competent air; here in fact the artist was on sure ground, but when confronted with the necessity to improvise a representation of Roman official life his training did not help him, and he could only adapt the strutting heroes of Greek sentimentality to the recent event. The *Suovetaurilia*, or sacrifice of a pig, sheep and bull on behalf of the state,<sup>4</sup> formed henceforth one of the favourite subjects of Roman art; its nearest Greek prototype lies in the lowest band of Archelaus' relief (Pl. 115), where an ox is sacrificed to Homer. Another scene, crushed into the left corner of the Paris relief, shows a secretary rewarding some of the returned soldiers, while others surround the general as he conducts the sacrifice; this insistence upon the military factor is not so obvious under the empire. The relief of Ahenobarbus lacks the sure touch of the imperial artist, his confidence to depict a Roman

<sup>1</sup> Mostly illustrated on a larger scale in *L. G. S.*, pl. 66.

<sup>2</sup> Strong, pls. i–iii.

<sup>3</sup> *L. G. S.*, pl. 58.

<sup>4</sup> In this instance the scene possibly commemorates a *lustratio* performed by an ancestor in 115 B.C., though in every other case in Roman art the event is of recent occurrence (Sieveking, *Jahresh.*, xiii, 1910, p. 95).

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scene in a Roman manner; as in so much work of its century, the artist had been told what he must represent and felt that he needed only to consider which of the recognized styles to imitate, but there was as yet no tradition for the representation of Roman official life. His task was easy in the case of the Munich slab, for the wedding of Poseidon and Amphitrite with the accompanying rout of sea-monsters offered no novelties to the late Hellenistic artist, though seldom indeed does the writhing troop call forth such exuberance of imagination as in the base of Ahenobarbus.

Yet the Laocoon (Pl. 121) fastens an equally unbridled character on to contemporary Greek sculpture.<sup>1</sup> This clever group, illustrating the death of Laocoon and his sons, more or less as Virgil tells the story, was described by Pliny. His verdict gives valuable evidence of the attitude of an educated Roman towards art: 'the Laocoon, placed in the house of the emperor Titus, should be rated above all works of art, whether in painting or in sculpture. The brilliant Rhodian artists, Agesander, Polydorus and Athenodorus, collaborated in an agreed (?) design, carving out of one block of stone the man and his children and the intricate coils of the snakes.' The group was in reality composed of six different blocks, but the joins had been carefully concealed and only became apparent in recent times. The symmetry of the design has been destroyed by a false restoration of the left upper corner; Laocoon's arm was bent so that the hand rested on his hair, and the arm of his younger son should not point straight upwards but bend forwards or sideways. A triangular shape would then be obtained, and to gain the best impression the spectator should stand straight in front; a jumbled effect is produced in a profile or even in a three-quarters view; in all probability, therefore, the group had originally been designed for the end of a narrow room or for a recess.

The three Rhodians mentioned by Pliny seem to have been most active in the middle and third quarter of the first century; inscriptions record that the two younger men, who were the sons of Agesander, held an important office in their city, the priesthood of Athena, in the years 22 and 21. The group has no parallel among Rhodian works, except for the Farnese Bull, the original of which cannot be closely dated (it belongs either to the second or the first century), because the Naples edition is no true copy and contains

<sup>1</sup> Blinkenberg, *Röm. Mitt.*, xlii, 1927, p. 177; *L. G. S.*, p. 130, pl. 67 (head).

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few of the original elements undamaged (p. 382). The Rhodian school specialized in bronze portraits,<sup>1</sup> which may explain the lack of anatomical knowledge displayed in the Laocoon, where the lines of the ribs are impossible in nature and one of the boys has three joints in his thumb; moreover the snakes are absurd, too thin to crush a human body, and too long for any venomous snake – in reality one is biting like a dog. Nevertheless the technique of these Rhodians marks the highest point yet attained and in a subject selected to allow it full scope – minor points must be overlooked. What cannot be overlooked is the deplorable lack of taste which permitted the construction of such a group. It is in marked contrast to contemporary Neo-Attic and other archaistic sculptures, for it seems as though at certain advanced stages art must founder either on the Scylla of exuberance, technical display and naturalism, or on the Charybdis of pretty, conventional and purely decorative work. As regards details of the style, the heads<sup>2</sup> differ from Pergamene heads in their greater sharpness, for the bony structure is not overlaid with the masses of flesh seen in the Gigantomachy: some imaginary portraits of Homer (Pl. 122)<sup>3</sup> introduce the same character into a type perhaps derived from an original at Pergamon, where the base of such a statue, inscribed in second-century lettering, has come to light.<sup>4</sup> Laocoon's sons have slight bodies, for which the influence of the Pasitelean school may be responsible, and his own body does not exhibit the wide bands of muscle used by the late Pergamenes, but compromises rather between their manner and that of Agasias the Ephesian. A closer adherence to the Pergamene style stamps the torso in the Vatican Belvedere, signed by an Athenian, Apollonius, son of Nestor,<sup>5</sup> which is interpreted by Sauer<sup>6</sup> as Polyphemus shading his eyes with his hand as he sits on a rock watching the sea; perhaps this is merely a copy of a second-century work. The other signed work of this sculptor, a seated bronze boxer in the Terme, is likewise an imitation, if not a loose copy, of a third-century statue.<sup>7</sup>

The last century of the Hellenistic Age was a barren period in art,

<sup>1</sup> Lawrence, *B. S. A.*, xxvi, 1923–5, p. 69.    <sup>2</sup> *L. G. S.*, pl. 67.

<sup>3</sup> Hekler, 118a, cf. 117.

<sup>5</sup> Br. Br., 240.

<sup>4</sup> *Inscriften von Pergamon*, 203.

<sup>6</sup> *Torso von Belvedere*.

<sup>7</sup> *L. G. S.*, pl. 28; Krahmer, *Archæologiai Ertesito*, Budapest, xli, 1927, p. 266.

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when dexterity took the place of inspiration. Indeed the situation bore some resemblance to that provoked in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries by a similar reaction against a violently passionate school; the reaction took several forms in each case – the archaistic movement is paralleled by the pre-Raphaelite, the Neo-Attic school by Flaxman, Leighton and Burne-Jones; the comparison cannot be pressed further to cover every manifestation of the two unguided periods. The basic point of resemblance is that style did not come naturally to an artist, he was forced to choose what scholastic formula he would adopt, with a resultant artificiality. Normally, the subject of a first-century sculpture was set by a patron of small private means and no permanent official position, and his choice rarely gave scope for originality. The novel application of Greek ability to Roman subjects alone promised to relieve the tedium; the brief dictatorship of Caesar, and his munificent patronage, showed what benefits might ensue if his office of ruler of the world became legalized as a permanent feature of the Roman constitution. This change was effected by Augustus, through whom classical art took a new lease of life.



IMPERIAL CLASSICISM: AUGUSTUS  
TO NERO

(23 B.C. – A.D. 68)

§1. *Monumental Sculpture*

THE Hellenistic Age in Greece and Asia Minor ended simultaneously with the Republican period in Italy, when Augustus founded the Roman empire in 23 B.C. By the wishes of the emperor, art became the expression of Roman aspirations through a Greek medium; some profess to see little Hellenic influence in the technique of Roman art, but that idea is as false as the old view that Roman art was merely Greek art in its last stages of decay. The differences between Greece and Rome have been too well emphasized, but what has not been sufficiently emphasized is that each brought to the other a complementary gift. Without imperial Rome classical art would have continued to die its lingering and inglorious death, in purely eclectic and imitative work. Insistence upon the Greek or Roman birth of individual artists is irrelevant, for nationality in itself does not matter under the empire; what is important is the existence of a subject in the glorification of the emperor and his '*res gestæ*.' Naturally the new age inherited the style and technique of preceding ages – inheritance is a thing which cannot be avoided – but a great change lay in the fact that art now gained the purpose and confidence hitherto conspicuously lacking. Artists from all regions were not slow to seize the opportunity, for state patronage was again forthcoming after a lapse of a century and a half since the last great period, that of the Pergamene kings. But for some reason the sculptors of the empire chose to sink their identities: their names are not recorded in literature, which might be explained on the ground that such manual labourers were not thought worthy of a gentleman's attention, but it is clear that their anonymity was deliberate because they rarely signed their works. The sculptors of Aphrodisias and, to a lesser degree, of Athens occasionally carved their names, especially perhaps when they intended to export a piece executed in their native place and used the signature as a

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guarantee of its authorship. Sculptors of other regions scarcely ever signed.

A considerable amount of experimenting took place, especially under the early empire. The Romans preferred relief sculptures on the whole, probably because their interests turned to composition and treatment of subject rather than of the human body: there arose problems of spacing which had not troubled the Greek artist, who worked with fewer figures; and the same interest in composition was responsible for novel attempts to render perspective. The arrangement of drapery continued to play an important part in design. Again, in portraits of the ruler, fifth-century methods of execution were employed, but the intention differed essentially; the individual features of Augustus were dignified to express the majesty of the actual Roman empire, while the fifth-century portraits of citizen-statesmen like Pericles show the ideal ruler of men. In neither case were the individual traits of paramount importance as in Republican portraiture, but the difference of treatment lies in the difference between dignifying and idealizing. Similarly, portraits of private individuals were not carved in the light of any general standard of human beauty, nor on the other hand were the individual features of the subject, whether ugly or pleasant, allowed to obtrude themselves too much, but were toned down to resemble the features of the living canon, Augustus. In the same way English ladies dyed their hair auburn or wore wigs of that colour, in the days of Queen Elizabeth, and a dark woman was regarded as a horror: and Nattier painted the portraits of court ladies to resemble the Queen. Yet even this essentially imperialistic tendency was foreshadowed in the third century in the influence of the features of Alexander upon art.

The characteristics of Augustan sculpture are all present in the statue of the emperor found in the villa at Prima Porta belonging to Livia, his wife (Pl. 124).<sup>1</sup> He is represented addressing his army, with right hand raised in the traditional attitude of the orator; as in many Greek figures of soldiers, he wears a cuirass but no other armour, and holds a lance, for which the modern restorer has substituted a sceptre; a bright red tunic projects under the cuirass, and the military cloak thrown round the waist and left arm is coloured

<sup>1</sup> Helbig, 5; Hekler, 170-1; Studniczka illustrates portions in *Röm. Mitt.*, xxv, 1910, p. 27; Löwy, *Röm. Mitt.*, xlii, 1927, p. 203, on symbology.

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dark red. A cupid riding a dolphin serves both as a support to the right leg, and as a reminder that the Julian family claimed descent from Æneas, Venus' other son. The cuirass, shaped to the body, would have consisted of metal, probably gilt bronze, which material is adequately suggested in the execution of the statue – the yellow paint remaining on the fringes may have been applied as a background to the gold leaf: on an actual cuirass the decoration would have been enamelled, on marble it could only be indicated by paint. A sphinx, the device of the emperor's seal at the time to which the central reliefs refer, sits on each shoulder flap. Next comes the bearded god of Heaven holding a mantle over his head, outspread like the vault of the sky; close under him the Sun, in the long dress of the Greek charioteer, drives his chariot after a winged girl carrying a water jug (symbolizing the dew of the morning), upon whose back sits a female figure with the torch that spreads the flush of dawn. For a new and better day had dawned, through the excellence of Augustus. His favourite deities Apollo and Diana are placed below the higher plane of the breasts and within the world of men; Apollo, distinguished by his lyre, sits upon a griffin, beneath the Sun, whilst Diana rides a deer on the other side, where night still prevails, and brandishes a torch. The central group illustrates an event attributed to 20 or 17 B.C., the surrender by the Parthians of the Roman standards captured thirty-three years earlier, when they annihilated the army of Crassus: the poets of the time celebrated the recovery of the eagles through the diplomacy of Augustus as a success not less than a victory of war. The emperor's emissary, Tiberius, may be portrayed in the much idealized features of the figure in Roman dress, but perhaps Mars himself is indicated by the attribute of the dog. Similarly the figure on the right, wearing Parthian costume, possibly symbolizes the whole nation, possibly the king or his deputy; although his eyes are set on the Roman he holds the eagle high above him, thus filling a space between the breasts, which might otherwise look uncomfortably empty. Behind the Parthian sits a female figure personifying a conquered race; the attributes of a sword-sheath in the left hand, a trumpet ending in a dragon's head and a standard surmounted by a boar's head in the right, point to Gaul. The corresponding figure behind the Roman represents a southern people, for the legs are bare; and the sword

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ending in a bird's head, although a type common in the Roman army, was known as *gladius hispaniensis*, so that the figure should probably be interpreted as Spain, especially since that country had been pacified as recently as 21 B.C. Below the navel of the cuirass lies the figure of Earth, who has benefited through the peace established by Augustus; she holds a cornucopia, a sleep-giving poppy and a timbrel, such as was used in the cult of Cybele, another form of the goddess worshipped as the mother of all living. Two children beside her typify the race of man.

The cuirass statue was frequently adopted by the Roman emperors right down into the Byzantine Age;<sup>1</sup> it was in use at Delos about 100 B.C. and probably derives from the fourth century, when grave-stones introduce soldiers in full or partial armour. The motive of Cupid riding the dolphin sometimes occurs in conjunction with statues of Aphrodite of uncertain date, Hellenistic or Roman; in the present instance the head appears to be a portrait, perhaps of one of Augustus' nephews. In contrast to the exquisite care lavished on the carving of the cuirass, this figure is but superficially modelled; but the entire Cupid, as well as the right arm and left leg of Augustus, may be ancient restorations. The delight in the execution of decoration, and the cold definite lines of the face, neatly cut and free from the soft transitions of previous centuries, indicate the influence of archaic work, which would naturally appeal to the precise mind of Augustus. Such a style of portraiture is obviously official, the expression of a superhuman perfection which does not admit of emotion; it announces to the empire the calm beneficence of its semi-divine ruler. There exist many less ornate portraits of Augustus, discovered in all parts of the empire and even beyond its borders,<sup>2</sup> but the face always expresses the same inhuman mood, so that a collection of them is a wearisome, monotonous sight; a head of the emperor in his old age forms a pleasing contrast to the rest.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The series has been collected by Marconi, *Bull. Comm.*, "I," 1922, p. 151, illustrated from blocks of poor quality; see also Hekler, *Jahresh.*, xix-xx, 1919, p. 190.

<sup>2</sup> An excellent bronze head from the Sudan, now in the British Museum, is illustrated in the *Liverpool Annals of Art and Archæology*, iv, p. 66, pls. xii-xvi.

<sup>3</sup> Hekler, pls. 163-73.

<sup>4</sup> Leopold, *Mededeelingen van Nederlandsch Instit. Rome*, II, 1922, p. 66; Hekler, pls. 172, 173.

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The greatest sculptural monument of Augustus' reign, the *Ara Pacis Augustæ*, survives in many fragments. This Altar of Augustan Peace was decreed by the Senate in 13 B.C., to celebrate the final pacification of Gaul and Spain, and was dedicated four years later. It stood in the Campus Martius on the site of the modern Palazzo Ottoni-Fiano. Some of the fragments were unearthed during the Renaissance and others in more recent times; the excavation of 1903 resulted in the discovery of new pieces and a credible revelation of the general plan, with which a coin of Nero agrees. It seems to have been a rectangular building of which the east and west sides were about 38 feet long, and the north and south sides 35 feet, while the height was 12 feet 6 inches; there were two entrances on the east and west sides respectively.

The walls were covered outside and inside with reliefs. On the northern outer wall was the procession of officials facing towards the west; of this, one slab is preserved in the Vatican, two other slabs in the Uffizi, and a fragment in the Louvre; another fragment was uncovered in 1903. The slab of the Uffizi is illustrated here (Pl. 128); on the left a *camillus* (acolyte) stands among the Senators, holding a jug in his right hand and a casket in his left hand. On the southern side is the imperial procession, of which a piece found in 1903 forms the first part, containing the four lictors with the fasces,<sup>1</sup> looking towards Augustus; after a lacuna, which was perhaps filled by the Vestal Virgins, follows another piece, also found in 1903, on which are two *flamines*,<sup>2</sup> while two slabs in the Uffizi contain two more *flamines*, thus duly completing the four attached to the official cult of Jupiter, Juno and Minerva. Next come the members of the imperial family, who have been variously identified: it is not certain even where Augustus comes, and in this failure to stress the most important personage is seen a Hellenic rather than a Roman trait.

The western wall is divided by the door, on the left of which were reliefs of Mars, the portentous fig tree, and the wolf suckling Romulus and Remus, all in a broken condition: on the right were two fairly preserved blocks depicting a sacrifice scene; two *camilli* stand on the left, one carrying a jug and a dish of fruit, while the other leads the white sow; above them is a small shrine. An altar occupies the centre beyond which are Æneas and a trace of Achates<sup>3</sup> behind

<sup>1</sup> Strong, pl. xxix.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, fig. 16.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. vii.

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him. The Tellus scene (Pl. 129) lay to the left of the eastern doorway; here Earth is seated with her cornucopia, with two children beside her, to typify the human race, and a cow resting at her feet. The two figures on either side of her, according to the older theory, represent Air and Water, but a later theory holds them to be salt water (riding the dolphin) and fresh water (riding the swan). The whole subject may be compared with that on the lower part of the cuirass of the Augustus from Prima Porta; while a relief from the Roman colony of Carthage might almost be termed a replica and is possibly contemporary. A. W. van Buren<sup>1</sup> has interpreted the central figures, of Ara Pacis and Carthage slabs, to be Italia and Africa respectively, but the older identification of both as Earth remains equally suitable. This conception of the Earth, happy under the peaceful rule of the Roman emperors, is one which recurs in later art, notably in a silver disk from Aquileia of Julio-Claudian date, in the Apotheosis of Marcus Aurelius on the frieze at Ephesus, and in a disk in Madrid representing Theodosius with his sons enthroned above Earth and her children. The last set of reliefs, very badly broken, on the right of the door consisted of allegorical figures, including Rome, seated on a pile of arms, perhaps receiving a crown from Peace; the fragment of a young male head and a cornucopia may form part of the figure of Honour. Thus the whole suggests the victory without which the peace could not have been obtained with honour.

The frieze of the Ara Pacis has often been compared with that of the Parthenon and was perhaps designed as a Roman edition of that great monument of the Attic state. The technique and objectives vary in each relief on the Ara Pacis; it is an agglomeration of academic stiffness and experiment. The heads are archaistic, based upon the style of the Pheidian school, which also inspired the figure of Æneas;<sup>2</sup> while the Tellus relief is entirely pictorial, like the landscape reliefs so popular among the Romans, whose sentimental interest in country life expresses itself also in their literature. In the procession scenes, a new technique is introduced in the carving of figures with their heads at the same level but at different depths in the block, so that the last row fades into the background. But the faces float along on top of the drapery, under which no signs of a body exist; the mem-

<sup>1</sup> *J. R. S.*, iii, 1913, p. 134, pl. v.

<sup>2</sup> Strong, pl. vii.

bers of the procession have no individuality; only the children have any freedom of movement, the rest are carried on in the stream formed by the mingled drapery of them all. This unhappy result could be avoided by increasing the apparent distance between front and rear ranks of figures; thus in an altar, dated A.D. 2,<sup>1</sup> which represents in quite low relief the sacrifice offered by the *Vicomagistri*, the figures are clearly distinguished by a series of different planes.

Parallels to many figures of the Ara Pacis have been noted in the form of statues. The best known is the bronze *camillus* in the Conservatori,<sup>2</sup> of more classical style than the boy of Pl. 128, the head indeed resembling that of a fifth-century woman. Another life-size bronze in New York<sup>3</sup> represents an older boy, a member of the imperial family to judge by his features. In Leningrad, too, is a statue comparable to the secondary characters of the Tellus scene (Cat., No. 1).

Although a whole side of the Ara Pacis is reserved for the members of the imperial family, the faces are too idealized for recognition, but of Livia, the consort of Augustus, there exist many portraits; the best being a head in Copenhagen (Pl. 125a).<sup>4</sup> The ridge of the nose only has been restored and in other respects the head is in excellent condition, with the original painting of the eyes still visible as well as traces of colour on the hair. The empress seems to have worn a wig, for the stiff elaboration of the hair-dressing contrasts with the simpler fashion which she affects a little earlier in her life. Born in 57 B.C., she is represented in this head as she must have appeared towards the beginning of the Christian era; although her face is unlined – by her own artifices or the artist's complaisance – the mouth betrays the approach of old age, and a lack of freshness marks this from her earlier portraits, a bronze bust<sup>5</sup> and a marble bust in the Ashmolean Museum.<sup>6</sup> The precision of the carving, together with the cold serenity of the mask and the absence of all personal touches, place Livia on the same exalted level as Augustus.

Slightly more human are the portraits of Agrippa, Augustus'

<sup>1</sup> Strong, p. 55, figs. 33, 34; Conservatori Cat., p. 74, No. 2, pl. 26.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, fig. 62.

<sup>3</sup> Richter, *A. J. A.*, xix, 1915, p. 121, pls. i–vi; *Handbook*, p. 296, fig. 209.

<sup>4</sup> No. 614; A. B., 6, 7.

<sup>5</sup> Hekler, 207b.

<sup>6</sup> P. Gardner, *J. R. S.*, xii, 1922, p. 32, pl. vii.

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trusted minister and friend (63-12 B.C.), a man of energetic personality; but in the bronze head at New York the strong features have more resemblance to Augustus than truth could have admitted;<sup>1</sup> indeed if the head had not been found with an inscription, its identity might not be suspected, for other portraits give Agrippa a beetling brow and sullen eyes set at a sharp angle.<sup>2</sup> This variation should be noted as a warning against the dogmatic denials of identity in which archæologists frequently indulge; ancient artists claimed greater latitude than moderns, and required few sittings or none from great personages.

In portraits of commoners greater fidelity to nature prevails. Fine examples of such are seen in a pair of heads in New York, evidently of a mother and daughter (the latter is published for the first time in Pl. 125*b*). Slightly under life-size, these must have formed part of a relief, for each is attached at the back to a slab, the rim of which curls forward over the head; the stump that rises from the smooth surface of the girl's hair is a relic of this projecting border: both the heads therefore come from the top of the relief, presumably one of a family group, for sepulchral use. The heads of mother and daughter are finely modelled, with fair distinction between the texture of flesh and hair. The feathering of the eyebrows, which in the average marble head of this period were left plain, to be marked in paint, abolishes the unnatural sharpness of other early imperial portraits. The bones of the faces are delicate – a feature of portraits of the Augustan Age – and the nose of the elder woman is inclined to be aquiline. The girl's hair is parted down the middle and drooped over either ear, while the mother wears twisted side curls and a tress along the top of the head, in the fashion which was favoured in late Republican days and continued into the reign of Augustus; it may be seen in coin types of Fulvia or Octavia. Both heads are well preserved, but part of the girl's nose is missing and the marble is discoloured in places.<sup>3</sup> The head of a young boy in the Barracco Museum<sup>4</sup> further illustrates the Augustan treatment of children.

<sup>1</sup> *Bull. of Met. Mus.*, x, Feb., 1915, p. 23, fig. i; *Handbook*, p. 296, fig. 208.

<sup>2</sup> Banko, *Jahresh.*, xiv, 1911, p. 257; Hekler, 174.

<sup>3</sup> Richter, *Bull. of Met. Mus.*, xvi, Nov., 1921, p. 227, where the mother's head is shown in fig. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Strong, figs. 215, 216.



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Originating in Greece in the fourth century, the equestrian statue was in use in Hellenistic Delos in the form which it retained throughout the period of the Roman empire. The bronze statue of Marcus Aurelius on the Capitol is the most famous and perhaps the best example, but an older marble in the Naples Museum has great merit (Pl. 126).<sup>1</sup> It was found at Herculaneum and probably represents a member of the Nonius Balbus family, important in the town under the first emperors. The prætor and proconsul of that name seems to have commissioned all or most of the family portraits, which included a slightly inferior equestrian statue of himself on the same scale (8 feet in height) as well as standing figures of himself and his parents. The head on our statue has been restored, probably correctly, after that of the father, who also bore the name of Marcus Nonius Balbus; the right hand and numerous patches here and there are modern. An inscription identifies another statue in the Naples Museum (Pl. 127),<sup>2</sup> as Viciria, his wife, mother of the Marcus who held the offices of prætor and proconsul and ordered the portraits. The body of this aged woman is of a type used in Greece for ideal figures, commemorative or otherwise, since the fourth century, but the grim face is unquestionably a portrait: in similar figures, however, in Asia Minor the features too are idealized.<sup>3</sup> The drapery, none too well executed, supplies one of the few Roman examples of a trick of showing the folds of an under garment through a transparent upper garment. In this respect and in the pyramidal design of the whole, the statue should be compared with the Hellenistic prototype (Pl. 112*b*).

It should be noted that the drapery of Viciria has a comparatively smooth surface, upon which shallow channels have been cut to reproduce the shadow cast in Greek work by projecting folds. These two opposite principles, 'tactical' and 'optical' as they have been called, flourished side by side during the early years of the empire; afterwards the 'optical' method predominated in Italy, while in Greece and the East the older tradition was preserved.<sup>4</sup> The source

<sup>1</sup> *Guida*, No. 23.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 20; Hekler, *Münchener Studien, Andenken Furtwänglers*, p. 130.

<sup>3</sup> Watzinger, *Magnesia*, figs. 198-200.

<sup>4</sup> Snijder, *Romeinsche Kunstgeschiedenis*, illustrates Eastern and Western examples side by side.

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of the new method is obscure; it may be of Etruscan origin or it may be a Greek experiment towards labour-saving in the carving of the more voluminous Roman garments; in Italy, where clients were less critical than in the East, it was adopted with alacrity. A relief at Eleusis of about 100 B.C. is the first reputable work in which the method is adumbrated; and although as a short cut its use may retreat to a remote age, its full and frank development was reserved for the Italian school, in which, however, the better workmen at first resisted temptation.

A head in Copenhagen (Pl. 132b)<sup>1</sup> was at first identified as Agrippina the Elder, but this woman's age appears to have been not less than fifty-five, whereas Agrippina was under fifty when she starved herself to death (in A.D. 33), and had moreover been out of sight in prison for the previous fifteen years. If then the subject be Agrippina, this must have been an imaginary portrait executed after her death. Her son, Caligula, rose to power in 37, which might provide a reason for such a tribute to her memory, but the probability remains that some other person is represented. Comparison with coins is inconclusive, because the nose has been restored; the hair certainly resembles that on coins of Agrippina, but the fashion dates only from the beginning of the first century, when Livia was the one aged woman in the imperial family. The Copenhagen head may represent a commoner; the awkward tilt of the neck suggests a partial paralysis. Agrippina's features have been recognized with greater probability in some more youthful heads bearing a related form of head-dressing;<sup>2</sup> especially in a small head of 'emerald plasma,' a translucent green quartz or silica.<sup>3</sup> The style of their hair-dressing suggests that several other fine portraits belong to this period, including two heads of girls,<sup>4</sup> a woman's head from Albania,<sup>5</sup> and a statue of a princess as Artemis, recently discovered at Ostia.<sup>6</sup>

In Greece, too, statues of the imperial household are frequent. In a highly idealized head of Agrippina the Younger as Hestia,<sup>7</sup> the

<sup>1</sup> No. 630; A. B., 711, 712.

<sup>2</sup> Hekler, 212b.

<sup>3</sup> Strong, fig. 219; Cecil Smith, *Burlington Magazine*, xi, 1907, p. 99.

<sup>4</sup> Hekler, pls. 210, 211; Strong, fig. 221.

<sup>5</sup> *Jahresh.*, xv, 1912, p. 68, pls. i, ii.

<sup>6</sup> Strong, fig. 222; Calza, *Boll. d'Arte*, 1921-2, p. 395.

<sup>7</sup> Hiller von Gaertringen, *Thera*, iii, fig. 246.

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portrait element is scarcely visible, and in general the faces compare unfavourably in this respect with Italian work, as could only be expected in portraits taken at second-hand by sculptors who had never seen the originals. Corinth has yielded the largest number of Julio-Claudian statues, and here Greek work is distinguishable from Italian simply by its blank faces and traditionally carved drapery.<sup>1</sup>

Other provincial work, however, is definitely anachronistic; for instance, the battle scenes on a triumphal arch of Tiberius' reign at Orange have a Hellenistic character.<sup>2</sup> Hellenistic in tendency, too, are the reliefs on the Mausoleum of the Julii at S. Rémy.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand the reliefs on the Arch at Susa, erected in honour of Augustus, exhibit a crude style, that still lingered in the Alps but had originally been derived from archaic Greek and Etruscan work.<sup>4</sup> A unification of styles throughout the empire was finally effected, partly by the dissemination of the imperial portrait and partly by a lowering of the Roman standard to the provincial level; a popular art, which has great interest for the historian, existed in Rome beside the official art, maintaining the same standard which prevailed among provincials of the better classes, till eventually the popular and official arts coalesced at Rome in the fourth century.

The archaistic character of official Augustan art did not always commend itself to Romans accustomed to the unflinching realism of Republican portraiture. Side by side therefore with the classicist style responsible for the Augustus of Prima Porta and the patricians of the Ara Pacis, there flourished another school, a relic of the Republican, which gradually ousted the other and came back to official use in the second half of the first century. A number of inscribed bronze busts from Pompei prove its existence earlier in the century. These can be dated by external evidence, within a few years' margin of error;<sup>5</sup> thus the hideous Cæcilius Jucundus<sup>6</sup> is known to have flourished under Nero,<sup>7</sup> while Norbanus Sorex held an office not instituted before 7 B.C., and one copy of his bust (which

<sup>1</sup> *A. J. A.*, xxv, 1921, pp. 142, 248, 337; *A. J. A.*, xxx, 1926, pp. 125, 158.

<sup>2</sup> Esperandieu, *Bas-reliefs de la Gaule*, i, 188; Lehmann-Hartleben, *Trajanssäule*, p. 91, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Antike Denkmäler*, i, pls. 13-17; *Rev. Arch.*, 1923, i, p. 303.

<sup>4</sup> Studniczka, *Jahrb.*, xviii, 1903, p. 1, pl. i.

<sup>5</sup> Della Corte, *Casa ed Abitanti a Pompei, Neapolis*, ii, pp. 199 and 305.

<sup>6</sup> Hekler, p. 200.

<sup>7</sup> Mau, *Pompei*, p. 499.

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Hekler places among Republican works, a slip natural enough considering its style) was found in a building erected in the reign of Tiberius.<sup>1</sup> Closely related is a bronze statue in the Museo Gregoriano of the Vatican (Pl. 130a),<sup>2</sup> the pose of which identifies the subject as a politician delivering a speech; the great length of the neck and the smallness of the head were peculiarities of the man himself; the drapery is drawn round the shoulder and over the arm in the traditional Greek manner, leaving the body in heroic nudity.

One of the best toga statues, the Fundilius found at Nemi (Pl. 132a),<sup>3</sup> should be placed early in the first century A.D. The inscription C. FUNDILIUS DOCTUS APOLLINIS PARASITUS, identifies the man as the leader of some theatrical company who took Apollo as their Protector. The head and upper part of the bust are carved in a separate piece of marble, which fits into the rest of the statue; more usually a head and neck alone form the separate block, so that the junction may be concealed by the edges of the drapery. The arms were also carved in separate pieces and affixed by metal dowels, for the holes into which they fitted can be seen. The plinth is ancient, carved from the same block. Care was taken that the supports at the base should fall naturally into the design; indeed the prop between the feet harmonizes with the drapery as if it were a loose end of the toga. The face is less idealized and the drapery less exquisite than in official art; and the presence of the body is clearly indicated by the arrangement of the folds, which in their vertical fall suggest the form of the left leg, while the right leg and upper part of the body are allowed to show. In the statue of his wife, inscribed FUNDILIA F. C. PATRONA, some glimpses of the body can be caught; the head is manifestly a portrait, although the body belongs to an old type, commonly found in female statues from all parts of the empire; the lifting of the hand to pull a bunch of the palla up over the chest is a slight variation.

The Apollo Belvedere (Pl. 130b) enjoyed an undeserved reputation, probably because it was discovered as early as the fifteenth century, when it had few competitors; but at the present day comparison with many statues of greater merit makes the encomiums of

<sup>1</sup> Mau, pp. 176, 219; Hekler, 130.

<sup>2</sup> Helbig, 637.

<sup>3</sup> N. C. G., 536; A. B., 698-700; *Bull. Comm.*, xiii, 1885, p. 240.

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older critics appear ridiculous. The statue shows, however, some originality and more technical ability. A faulty restoration of the left hand and right forearm is largely responsible for the affectation of the pose; the right hand should be about 3 inches further forward and not so far extended; from a prop, which joined the hand to the hip, hung the fillet and bay leaves, Apollo's attributes as the god of purification. The left hand almost certainly carried the bow. Since the crisp elaborate hair would be more easily executed in metal, it is possible that the original was a bronze, but this copyist was an accomplished virtuoso who might have altered the treatment of the hair according to his own tastes. Supposing the material in the original to have been bronze, the chlamys need not have fallen so stiffly from the left arm; the tree-trunk would have been unnecessary, for the fillet and bay leaves could hang loose from the hand and these attributes would have been sufficient to balance the bow on the opposite side of the figure, and the statue would thereby have been freed from a clumsy accumulation of foreign matter on the right side. The fact that it would have been improved in bronze may be taken as evidence that this was the original material; moreover the absence of pubic hairs, so easily engraved on bronze, points to the same conclusion – in marble copies the hairs of the body were sometimes added in paint. No other copy of the body has yet been noted, but a damaged head at Basle appears to reproduce the same original; it is, however, free from the imitation of bronze technique which spoils the Belvedere head.<sup>1</sup>

The original belonged most likely to the time of Alexander the Great and has been attributed to Leochares, on the ground of a resemblance to the poor copy of a Ganymede by which alone that sculptor's style is known. A conclusion based on such evidence cannot be more than a reasonable hypothesis. To judge by its style the Belvedere was carved under one of the early emperors; in particular, comparison with the group of Orestes and Electra signed by Menelaus (p. 67), suggests that it might be contemporary with that work of the beginning of the first century A.D. Contemporary bronzes of similar character will soon abound if the excavations at Pompei and Herculaneum continue to be as productive as in the past. To what extent the various athletes or Apollos from those sites<sup>2</sup> deserve the

<sup>1</sup> *Arch. Anz.*, 1925, p. 26, figs. 2-4.

<sup>2</sup> *Guida*, 831, 834.

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name of 'adaptations' rather than 'copies,' will remain uncertain until the discovery of accurate replicas of the Greek types that inspired them. A bronze statuette of Dionysus, better known as 'Narcissus,' from Pompei,<sup>1</sup> seems to be a reduced version of a statue, life-size copies of which exist in Florence and Cherchel;<sup>2</sup> the head is superior to the Belvedere's (partly because the material is more suitable to unruly hair) and should be compared with the heads of Julio-Claudian aspect on a pair of terracotta medallions.<sup>3</sup>

If, however, the foregoing class of sculptures was predominantly imitative, there remain certain lines in which Roman artists developed ideas of their own, notably in their studies of old age. When the subject occurs in Greek art, as it does from the sixth century onwards, the intention is invariably comic; it is frankly so in the case of the old woman nursing a wine-pot (Pl. 108*b*), and the Greek sense of humour could appreciate other instances which appear merely painful to modern sensibility. But under the empire sculptures of decrepitude are serious essays in an æsthetic problem, approached in the manner in which a modern artist would approach it. There are a few main types involved – old peasants, fishermen, and market women – from which a large number of variants have been evolved: a convenient assemblage of the material has been given by Wace.<sup>4</sup> Most of the prototypes date perhaps from the period of the Laocoon, with which they have much in common stylistically, while in feeling they may be compared to the pastoral reliefs; the development of both subjects proceeds together.

Perhaps the finest of these statues is that of the Old Woman at New York (Pl. 137).<sup>5</sup> The face has been considerably restored, but correctly, on the lines of another copy at Dresden.<sup>6</sup> The subject is not idealized; the face is worn, the neck skinny and the breasts flabby, while the whole figure is bent; only in the legs and feet is there any tempering of the harsh realism. At her left side are some chickens and a basket of fruit, and probably on her right arm (now

<sup>1</sup> Naples, *Guida*, 817, fig. 47; Bulle, 76r.

<sup>2</sup> Amelung, *Führer*, 103; *Jahresh.*, i, 1898, p. 189, pl. v.

<sup>3</sup> Winnefeld, 68. *Winckelmannsfeste zu Berlin*, 1908, *Hellenistische Silberreliefs*, p. 19, pl. iii, 6, 7.

<sup>4</sup> *B. S. A.*, x, 1903-4, p. 103.

<sup>5</sup> Richter, *Handbook of the Classical Collection*, p. 276, fig. 196.

<sup>6</sup> *L. G. S.*, pl. 68a; Br. Br., 395*b*.

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missing) she held other produce for sale. The ivy-wreath encircling the handkerchief on her head may point to the celebration of some Bacchic festival. A few traces of colour are still preserved: a bright pink on the border of the himation, and a dark green on the strap of the left sandal. From the gentle, rippling lines of the drapery, the work can be tentatively ascribed to the middle of the first century, when the study of sculptures like the Victory Balustrade led to similar results. An instance is given by a relief in the Louvre showing an unknown emperor sacrificing the usual pig, sheep and ox; <sup>1</sup> in the design of the drapery as well as in the principles of composition the relief comes too close to the Ara Pacis for a Flavian date to be upheld, and Lehmann-Hartleben justifiably refuses to place it later than Claudius.<sup>2</sup> Direct imitation of the style of 400 B.C. also occurs, the most complete being a statue at Olympia identified as Domitia and thereby dated 81-96.<sup>3</sup>

### § 2. *Decorative Sculpture*

A sentimental interest in country life is very marked in Latin literature, and the pastoral reliefs, numerous under the early empire, express the same spirit. Present data makes it unlikely that such reliefs existed during the Hellenistic Age, although Schreiber, the first scholar to illustrate a collection,<sup>4</sup> ascribed them to that period. It appears rather that the conventions which governed Greek bas-reliefs for generations prevailed till the first century B.C., when the simple groupings on one or two planes gave way to a pictorial treatment, helped by foreshortening, which represented a greater depth than could be effected previously. A parallel transformation took place in this century in painting, for frescoes too had been confined to a few planes and the mastery of the third dimension was only now acquired.<sup>5</sup>

The Ara Pacis provides the earliest sculptures that can be properly described as landscape; <sup>6</sup> once initiated, the idea spread rapidly and

<sup>1</sup> Strong, pl. xxiv.

<sup>2</sup> *Trajanssäule*, p. 25.

<sup>3</sup> *Olympia*, iii, pl. lxxii, 1; Hekler, *Münchener Studien, Andenken Furtwänglers*, p. 173.

<sup>4</sup> In *Hellenistischen Reliefbilder*.

<sup>5</sup> Schober, *Jahrb. für Kunstgeschichte*, ii, 1923, p. 38; Krahmer, *Jahrb.*, xl, 1925, p. 191; Lehmann-Hartleben, *Trajanssäule*, p. 125.

<sup>6</sup> Strong, pl. vii, in addition to the Tellus scene.

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is developed in countless panels of marble, stucco <sup>1</sup> and terracotta, as well as in paintings. The fresco of a garden, in Livia's villa at Prima Porta, is, of course, datable,<sup>2</sup> and the more elaborate pictures at Pompei belong to the first century A.D. The vaulted ceiling and walls of an Augustan house in Rome, unearthed near the Palazzo Farnesina, are covered with stucco reliefs (now removed to the Terme Museum), composed of panels, containing figures dotted about fantastic landscapes, which recall the willow pattern and other *chinoiseries* of our ancestors, while intervening panels are completely filled by figures on a larger scale; a more archaistic variety of the Neo-Attic style is employed for the latter than for the smaller figures.<sup>3</sup> A similar type of wall and ceiling occurs at a slightly later date in an underground basilica discovered in Rome near the Porta Maggiore; but here the reliefs have a religious import in harmony with the purpose of the building, which was dedicated to some mystic cult.<sup>4</sup> Closely related in style is a pictorial relief at Munich (Pl. 133*a*) in which the illusion of depth is more adeptly contrived than in the Ara Pacis. It is roughly dated to A.D. 50.<sup>5</sup> A peasant, carrying some of his goods in a basket and a dead hare slung from a stick over his shoulder, is driving a cow to market; on its back lie a couple of sheep, tied upside down by the feet. Behind them is a circular shrine, containing a pillar sacred to Diana, most of which is visible as the wall has broken down. On the right an arched gateway has been built over an old oak-tree; further back a ledge of rock crops out, and upon it stands a shrine of Priapus, whose image appears in the doorway.

The first century was indeed the great age of Roman decoration, the charm of which does not always survive its loss of colour. But in one class of architectural ornament (imitated in Adams decoration), in which Neo-Attic figure subjects played the main rôle, there remain plentiful traces of the paint: these terracotta plaques of the

<sup>1</sup> Stucco reliefs collected by Wadsworth, *Memoirs of American Acad.*, Rome, iv, 1924, p. 9, pls. i-xlix.

<sup>2</sup> *Antike Denkmäler*, i, pls. 11, 60.

<sup>3</sup> Strong, pl. xvi; *L. G. S.*, pls. 86*b*, 87*b*.

<sup>4</sup> Bendinelli, *Mon. Ant.*, xxxi, 1927; Strong, pl. xvii.

<sup>5</sup> Strong, p. 78; Sieveking, *Festschrift Arndt*, p. 26; Cook, *Zeus*, ii, 1, p. 152.



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early empire, known as Campana Reliefs,<sup>1</sup> supply information from which to restore the colouring of marble work. Mouldings were usually painted yellow or reddish brown, the background blue, tree-trunks and woodwork a reddish brown, tree-tops green and water blue; nude figures were left plain, except for touches on the eyes, lips and hair. It will be realized that the clarity of pictorial reliefs, like the Tellus scene and the Munich pastoral, largely depended upon such colouring.

Figure subjects were more truly sculptural, although they, too, have lost by the fading of the painted background. The style is long faithful to that of its Neo-Attic originators; a style of elegant affectation, of sleek bodies, and of drapery extended by a perpetual breeze and crinkled into innumerable parallel folds. A Perseus who takes Andromeda's arm, as she steps from her rock, has the air of an exquisite handing a lady from a carriage; <sup>2</sup> Endymion sits dozing on the mountain, with nodding head, while his dog barks at the sky, whence no doubt the goddess was descending; <sup>3</sup> a nymph, dressed in the height of fashion, gives a satyr-child a drink, shaded by a tree that contains a whole menagerie of beasts, birds and reptiles.<sup>4</sup> A fondness for caves with rocky borders, manifest in the Ara Pacis, is carried furthest in two slabs in Vienna, called the Grimani reliefs (after a former owner): <sup>5</sup> in each a cave occupies the centre of the foreground, in one stands a ewe suckling a lamb, from the other a lioness and her cub growl at the spectator. The distance is treated in much the same manner as in the Ara Pacis, though here it is more developed and the date may therefore be later; the slabs, which seem to have decorated a curved fountain, are carved in low relief, except for the caves and their occupants, which stand practically in the round. Animals, rare in Greece except as sepulchral symbols, become favourite subjects under the empire, when almost every known species was represented: the Vatican owns the largest collection,<sup>6</sup> but entertaining pieces have been distributed over all Europe, one of the quaintest among them being a hippopotamus in red marble,

<sup>1</sup> A good selection is illustrated in *Conservatori Cat.*, pls. 123-4; corpus by von Rohden, *Architektonischen Tonreliefs* (Winter, *Ant. Terrakotten*, iv).

<sup>2</sup> Strong, pl. xva.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xvb.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xivb.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, figs. 49-51.

<sup>6</sup> *Cat.*, ii; better illustrations in *Art and Archæology*, iii, 1916, pp. 99, 153.

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in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek (No. 187). There also exist copies of a group in the round, comparable to the Munich relief; a peasant sits on a rock and holds a rope encircling the neck of his cow.<sup>1</sup>

Characteristic, too, of early Roman decoration are the elongated figures seen on one of the panels of a triangular base of a candelabrum (Pl. 138).<sup>2</sup> From the ear of wheat in the woman's hand she should be identified as Ceres; the other two sides contain a Lycian Apollo and a bearded Bacchus, of archaistic technique like Pl. 119b. In the Ceres, archaism reveals its presence in the parallel folds of drapery between the feet, in the small head and the body too long for its width: these proportions originate on Panathenaic vases. The base was found in Rome near the Baths of Titus and should be placed towards the middle of the century. A frieze from the theatre at Fiesole, executed in a similar manner, dates from the reign of Claudius,<sup>3</sup> while comparison may also be made with the drums of the column of Jupiter at Mainz.<sup>4</sup> This curious monument of Nero's reign bore figures of deities around the shaft, in zones placed one above the other, to conform with the drums of which the column was composed. Naturally types of Greek origin predominate, but they have been transformed in accordance with the spirit of the first century, in a praiseworthy attempt to conceive new and living forms for the Latin deities.

A less important branch of religious decorative art is afforded by the sepulchral altars, very numerous throughout the first hundred and fifty years of the empire, after which they were superseded by their rivals, the sarcophagi. The study of these monuments<sup>5</sup> has been facilitated by the fact that inscriptions frequently give the date of the death, hence their historical value is out of all proportion to their artistic merits. Yet in the majority of Julio-Claudian instances the decoration consists wholly of festoons or similar motives; the altar of greatest sculptural interest, that of Livia's freedman, Amemptus,<sup>6</sup> bears a relief of centaur musicians ridden by Cupids, a subject

<sup>1</sup> Amelung, *Röm. Mitt.*, xxiii, 1908, p. 1, pls. i-iii.

<sup>2</sup> Terme, *Guida*, 744.

<sup>3</sup> Galli, *Fiesole*, p. 123, figs. 109-19.

<sup>4</sup> Strong, p. 98, figs. 68, 69; *Burlington Magazine*, xxv, 1914, p. 153; Cook, *Zeus*, ii, 1, p. 93, pl. iv.

<sup>5</sup> Collected by Altmann, *Römischen Grabaltäre der Kaiserszeit*.

<sup>6</sup> Strong, fig. 39.

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related to the Hellenistic group of the Capitoline, but treated in a Roman manner.

As an instance of the recasting of ancient types for decorative ends, a favourite practice of the early empire, may be quoted the little head of a sphinx (Pl. 134*b*), which terminated the arm of a marble chair.<sup>1</sup> An imitation of late archaic work, its Roman date becomes obvious with a glance at the eyes, for here the artist's deliberate *gaucherie* did not take him as far as the incompetence of the Primitives. The regular ripple of the hair, the sharp-edged plane that includes the forehead and nose, the pronounced eyebrows, the high cheek-bones, all point to archaic influence. The mouth, too, was probably significant, for in archaistic heads the 'archaic smile' was habitually exaggerated.

Much has been written on the influence of Oriental Hellenism on Roman art; Alexandria, and to a lesser degree, Antioch, have been especially singled out by certain scholars and assigned a most important rôle. Among the minor arts the theme invites unlimited controversy,<sup>2</sup> but so far as sculpture is concerned the subject is comparatively simple. The appearance at Rome of imitations of Egyptian works can always be explained on decorative or religious grounds. Thus a fine head in the Conservatori was found in a temple of Isis, and is thought to represent the goddess rather a mortal woman; it is a mere translation into marble of an Egyptian granite original, the style being that of native sculpture of the late Ptolemaic age.<sup>3</sup> But in most of the instances in which Oriental influence occurs in the minor arts, it went no further than the employment of an exotic motive for the sake of quaintness, just as a Chinese scene may be painted on English pottery. Thus terracotta plaques often bear designs, like those on the base of the Nile statue (Pl. 131), of pygmies chasing crocodiles on a river that swarms with the creatures, while cranes and hippopotami march along the bank. Equally untrue to facts is the design on the support of a marble table (Pl. 134*a*), purchased for the Art Institute of Chicago. The tree is intended for a date-palm,

<sup>1</sup> N. C. G., No. 41.

<sup>2</sup> The latest views are expressed by Pagenstecher, *Nekropolis*, and Ippel, *Bronzefund von Galjûb*, p. 87.

<sup>3</sup> Cat., p. 63, No. 1, pl. 16; Picard, *Sculpture Antique*, II, fig. 118; Delbrück, *Antike Porträts*, pl. 28.

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but its branches do not spring from one point in the correct manner, nor does the fruit droop below the lowest branches as it should; it is the conception of a date-palm of a man accustomed to pines or deciduous trees. The monster by its side is distantly derived from one of the mythological creatures of Mesopotamian origin, though Western technique has transformed the Eastern motive: the type was naturalized in Italy, where it was habitually used under the early empire for table supports—trestles translated into marble—on which the flat top of the table was laid.<sup>1</sup> The monsters sit in the pose of a cat, front feet close together, chest curving out; they are always placed back to back, and a scrap of the companion figure on the Chicago slab is just visible on the projecting corner of the stone beyond the tree.

A curious feature has been noted in first-century decoration, in that the subjects do not vary according to the material; they are executed in marble, metal or stucco in the identical form assumed in pictures.<sup>2</sup> This is not only a sign of pictorial influence, but also of that lack of structural sense so manifest in Roman architecture; the typical Roman building has a brick core plastered with stucco and stone accretions, and in their ruined condition such buildings as the imperial palaces or the Baths of Caracalla appeal to a higher standard of taste than they would, had they remained in their pristine vulgarity.

<sup>1</sup> Richter, *Anc. Furniture*, figs. 332-6; Metropolitan Museum, *Handbook*, fig. 221.

<sup>2</sup> In addition to the frescoes of Pompei, those of Nero's Golden House have now been adequately published by Weege, *Jahrb.*, xxviii, 1913, p. 127, pls. iv-xxii.

ROMAN EXPERIMENTS: VESPASIAN  
TO TRAJAN

(A.D. 69-117)

§ 1. *The Flavians and Nerva*

THE assassination of Nero in 68 was followed by rather more than a year of civil war, which ended in the triumph of Vespasian, who had previously been entrusted with the suppression of a Jewish rebellion. The extinction of the Julio-Claudian house and the foundation of a new dynasty by a man of insignificant birth, brought among its concomitants the triumph of the popular art of Italy over the more refined and Hellenic style, patronized by the late rulers and the fashionable society which imitated them. A gradual mitigation of the academic qualities of Augustan sculptures had been effected in the course of time; it now became pronounced. In the reaction arose a style of baroque tendencies, in which the accuracy of popular portraiture was almost untouched by idealism, and the reliefs retained the poses of Augustan compositions brightened by colourful designs of extreme light and shade.

In the province of portraiture, the head of Vespasian himself from Ostia (Pl. 135b)<sup>1</sup> reveals the greatness of the revolution. Vespasian was a man of tough sense, and his are the most lifelike of imperial portraits of the first two centuries: his successors were not always so unflinching nor so irreverent towards the shams beneath which the emperors could be veiled; he even refused to conceal his humble birth and occasionally visited the farm of his ancestors in the Sabine hills. His sons, Titus and Domitian, relapsed somewhat into the beautifying manner of the earlier empire. But the shortness of Titus' reign and the destruction of Domitian's monuments, after his murder in 96, result in a scarcity of emperors' heads apart from those of Vespasian.

The method of wearing the hair indicates that a portrait from Smyrna (Pl. 136a)<sup>2</sup> is contemporary with Titus. When compared with Italian work this head appears deficient in detail; attention is

<sup>1</sup> Helbig, 1430.<sup>2</sup> Athens Museum, No. 328.

## VESPASIAN TO TRAJAN

concentrated on the important features, especially the upper eyelids and mouth, while the rest is but sketchily modelled. The photographic accuracy of the true Roman portrait rarely occurs in the eastern provinces: it sufficed there if a man's official character were revealed, while sepulchral statues of women were almost invariably fitted with stock heads rather than portraits. Monotony is, on the whole, the impression gathered from a collection of Greek statues of the early empire (e.g. *Olympia*, III, Pls xlix-lxix), although the execution often reaches a high standard of merit and an occasional interesting piece comes to light. The ambitious artist had too often migrated to Rome, the more lucrative field of activity.

The realism of Flavian portraits did not extend to the body, for which the conventional fourth-century types were used; moreover mortals took on the types of deities from this century onwards, in an increasing number. In Pl. 136*b*, a middle-aged Roman lady is identified as Venus and supplied with a cupid, whose feet remain on the base of the statue, to remove all doubt as to the impersonation. The Capitoline type was selected, but the head is a portrait; the hair is dressed in the remarkable manner of the later Flavians and thus dates the work at the end of the century. The sculptor, being of his period, could not abstain from a modification of the flesh, too plentiful but at least firm in his prototype, to suit the middle-aged face above it. Though possibly a member of the ruling house, the woman may equally well have been a private individual since Roman husbands often invested the memorials of their dead wives with the attributes of the goddess of love. There is a half-draped figure inscribed to the memory of Ulpia Epigone,<sup>1</sup> whose hair is similarly arranged and who holds a fat hand in the approved pudic manner.

No finer example of a Flavian statue has yet come to light than the bronze Victory at Brescia, found there in the ruins of a temple built by Vespasian in A.D. 72.<sup>2</sup> The type of the figure is based on that of an Aphrodite, who stood almost in the position of the Venus of Milo; a half-draped copy, found at Capua, now belongs to the Naples Museum,<sup>3</sup> while a fully-draped variant exists in the Louvre (No. 398). As befits a Victory, this figure is fully draped and equipped with a pair of great wings, which spring from the shoulders in a direction more backwards than sideways. In style it recalls the reliefs

<sup>1</sup> Strong, pl. xxiii.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xxviii.

<sup>3</sup> *Guida*, No. 25.

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of the column at Mainz, and is another example of the endeavour to recast old types.

The statue of the Nile (Pl. 131) in the Vatican, was found on the site of a temple of Isis, from which a companion statue of the Tiber (now in the Louvre) was also recovered, in addition to a number of sculptures in the Egyptian manner. The principal figure is antique in nearly every detail, but the nose of the sphinx is restored, and the upper parts of the bodies of the children are nearly all modern. The Sphinx, emblem of the land of Egypt, supports the river-god, whose infants symbolize the seasonal inundation on which Egypt's irrigation system depends; there are sixteen children, one for each cubit's rise in the water level (the height of 16 cubits being the accepted maximum), while their dispersal higher up or lower down on the body carries the allegory further. One group of children on the left is playing with a crocodile, another with an ichneumon; the sixteenth rides in the cornucopia, which is crammed with the fruits and flowers of the prosperity given by a full flood. The water flows from the pointed end of the cornucopia under cover of the drapery (for the sources of the Nile were a mystery in antiquity), and surrounds the base. Here are carved scenes from the life along the river banks, on every side except the front, where there was enough to see without calling attention to the base. Combats between crocodiles and hippopotami, with aquatic birds as spectators, start the reliefs on the left side; next come boat-loads of pygmies hunting crocodiles; another crocodile has his tail in the grip of a hippopotamus while a watchful ichneumon is waiting to jump into his open mouth and bite his vitals; last of all come herds of cattle grazing quietly beside the stream.

The sculptor has suggested the fluid nature of the god in many ways; by his smooth body which is also powerfully built as befits a river of such importance; by his flowing hair and his air of inability to raise himself from his watery bed. His sixteen children frolic wildly, but he lies indolently, only troubling to hold out some ears of corn (badly restored), a sample of the crops he produces with such ease. The point is significant, for Egypt was the country on which Rome chiefly depended for its bread. The workmanship of the Nile statue is so superior to that of the Tiber, that it has been thought to be a reproduction of an older Hellenistic statue, whereas the Tiber

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was considered to be merely a companion produced by a Roman sculptor. As far as is known, the Egyptian type of the Nile god, Hapi, was the only personification of the river until fairly late in Hellenistic times, when a seated figure in the Greek manner was invented (it occurs first on a cup not earlier than the second century B.C.), and this is the one position in which the god is found in Romano-Egyptian terracotta work. I have therefore expressed the opinion <sup>1</sup> that the Vatican Nile is a purely Roman type, based possibly on a picture: with this every detail of the style agrees, and for parallels to the general conception one need only turn to the Tellus scene and to terracotta plaques and mosaics of 'Nile life,' manufactured in Rome.<sup>2</sup> The type may have arisen under the Julio-Claudian dynasty, it was certainly in use under the Flavians,<sup>3</sup> but the date of the Vatican statue can be only vaguely ascertained – like so many Roman statues. Lehmann-Hartleben believes it to be an Antonine copy of an Alexandrian figure;<sup>4</sup> personally I can see no reason why it should not be a more or less original work of the first century A.D.

The originality of the Flavian Age is best displayed in the reliefs on the Arch of Titus, which was in reality completed during the reign of Domitian (81-96), although decreed to commemorate the fall of Jerusalem in 71; at least it was not supplied with its inscription until after the death of Titus, ten years later.<sup>5</sup> Of the two main reliefs on either side of the passage of the Arch, one represents the spoils of the Jewish temple carried in procession, the other the emperor driving, accompanied by Victory, in his triumphal chariot, past soldiers marching with lances sloped over their shoulders. In the centre, only the lances appear above the chariot and horses; the figures in the foreground are rendered distinct by deep shadows cast between them, and a general play of light and shade prevails; but the soldiers are outlined in such low relief that, although clearly distinguished, they cast no shadow upon the background. The artist aimed at conveying the illusion of a procession seen through an open frame, with merely air and no wall behind it, all its members clear cut as if against the sky. Wickhoff, in his eagerness to discover

<sup>1</sup> *Journal of Egyptian Archæology*, xi, 1925, p. 189.      <sup>2</sup> Helbig, 1267.

<sup>3</sup> A half-draped figure from Domitian's villa is identified by Lugli, *Bull. Comm.*, xlviii, 1920, p. 19, pl. ii.

<sup>4</sup> *Traianssäule*, p. 126.

<sup>5</sup> Strong, pl. xx, figs. 71-74.



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originality in Roman art, cites this relief as a proof that Romans had invented illusionism in art (which by the way he is inclined to confuse with impressionism). With justice it may be said that, under the influence of pictorial technique, they were here attempting such a thing; but it was not successful and in simpler Roman sculptures the attempt was abandoned. In truth the materials of the sculptor are not pliable enough for complete success at any time, and at that time neither designer nor workmen had the requisite knowledge of the laws of perspective to approach the desired effect. In the more adaptable materials of the painter, illusionism, or naturalism carried as far as it can go, may be accomplished; a perfect example may be seen in the London picture of a Flemish merchant and his wife by one of the van Eycks. A simpler, more successful and therefore more pleasing relief is the sacrifice scene found at Pompei, and thereby dated before the eruption of 79.<sup>1</sup>

Another product of unfettered art and dizzy perspective, the relief of Pl. 139, was discovered outside Rome at a tomb of the Haterius family, which is probably identical with the building depicted. Such tombs were composed of a brick core faced with marble or stucco: an effort of the imagination is required at the present day, when every Roman tomb is but a shapeless mass of bricks, to realize the original appearance when cased with gay reliefs. The main portion of the tomb, in the shape of a Corinthian temple, served no doubt as the chapel for the cult of the dead. In its pediment is seen the bust of a woman, on the side wall are the busts of three children, members of the family. The figures below represent the three Fates, on the intervening strip cupids are playing, this band apparently running right round the building. The substructure, built of large square blocks by the side of the steps, is elsewhere overlaid with decoration, including a Hercules seated on a basket within a shrine; his drinking cup decorates its pediment, his bow and club fill the triangular spaces above. The doorway next to him presumably led into the vault, which may have received light and air through the grill of upright pillars further to the left. Above the grill is an altar on which a sacrifice is burning. But in accordance with custom the altar should have stood further to the left, in line with the steps; the sculptor had to move it in order to squeeze in the queer ladder

<sup>1</sup> Lehmann-Hartleben, *Trajanssäule*, fig. 5.

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device, moved onwards by a treadmill, by which two workmen are approaching the roof to add another piece of ornament. The roof, however, looks complete and it seems as though their destination were among the collection of objects above. Here we see a woman with a bird in her hand reclining on a couch placed against a curtain, close to a large candelabrum-base, on which an offering burns violently. An altar in front of the couch also bears a fire tended by an old woman; three children are playing on the ground. An erection on the right, like a triple arch, holds in its central niche a nude female figure, while above it are three colossal masks roughly blocked out. These objects all use the same base, decorated with eagles carrying garlands, so that they formed one entity to the sculptor's mind; they can scarcely have stood on the roof of the little temple and it has been suggested that they actually stood inside, but are shown in this position because it was impossible to represent them indoors. They would in this view be reproductions of miscellaneous monuments dedicated to the dead. It is of course conceivable that they were arranged upon a different section of the exterior. The problem has not yet been solved and even to contemporaries, unless some explanation were given to them, it must have been equally puzzling. In the anxiety to fit in everything relevant, both the end and the side of the tomb are carved full-face, and this is true of most representations of buildings in reliefs. In Pompeian paintings the drawing is generally more correct.

Domitian's villa on the Alban hills has yielded a fair number of sculptures, but none are particularly striking, the better pieces having no doubt been removed after his death.<sup>1</sup> When he was murdered in 96, Domitian was engaged upon building a forum with a temple in honour of Minerva, which was completed two years later by Nerva, presumably without alteration to the plans, which must have been already half realized.<sup>2</sup> The frieze is composed of a single row of figures monotonously carved and badly co-ordinated, whose pursuits have yet to be satisfactorily explained but appear to have reference to the cult of the goddess. The river-god, seated in a bed of reeds, should be noted for comparison with the Nile. There is close relation between the style of these reliefs, and those of Trajan's

<sup>1</sup> The finds are collected by Lugli, *Bull. Comm.*, xlviii, 1922, p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Strong, p. 131, fig. 84, pls. xxix, xxx.

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column, so that the end of the century was not, as some have thought, attended by any drastic change in art.

Nerva only reigned from 96 to 98, therefore few portraits of him exist, but in so far as they are known his features correspond with those of a statue of a seated emperor in Copenhagen (Pl. 140a), although in its case they are much idealized.<sup>1</sup> The nose, right arm and right hip are restored, in addition to the left forearm and portions of the drapery. The grandeur of the figure is due to the heavy mass of the toga, which forms thin, close-pleated folds, in marked contrast to the severity of the nude parts.

### § 2. *The Reign of Trajan*

On a splendid bust in the Naples Museum (Pl. 142) the hair is dressed in the fashion adopted by Nerva's successor, Trajan (98-117). The length of bust is also typical of the age; it had become customary to extend the bust to just below the breasts. Both the identity and provenance of the bust, one of the finest of the age, are unknown, although an Italian site is indicated by the fact that the piece formerly belonged to the Farnese Collection. In treatment the portrait corresponds with that of the Vespasian head (Pl. 135b) and other Flavian works; there had been little alteration in the course of the last half-century. The heads of Trajan return generally to the idealizing tradition of the Julio-Claudians, except that realistic portraits of him are found on his column: from these <sup>2</sup> the extent to which the emperor's bulldog face was modified in other official sculptures will be appreciated.

Trajan's work at Rome was concentrated on the new Forum that bears his name. It has been said that this was started under Domitian, for an ancient historian (of no great repute) mentions that Trajan completed 'forums and other buildings' left unfinished by Domitian.<sup>3</sup> In any event the construction of this forum cannot have been far advanced. It seems to have been built between 111 and 114, by a Greek architect, Apollodorus of Damascus, who also planned a bridge over the Danube for the Dacian campaigns of 102-5. Four slabs of battle-scenes in the Arch of Constantine <sup>4</sup> have been

<sup>1</sup> Lippold, *Kopien*, p. 187.

<sup>2</sup> Lehmann-Hartleben, *Trajanssäule*, p. 93, fig. 13.

<sup>3</sup> Strong, p. 135.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, figs. 87-91.

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recognized as part of the wall decorations of the forum, but their damaged condition does not allow the emperor's face to be identified. The Arch is adorned too with statues of barbarians resembling those discovered in Trajan's forum,<sup>1</sup> where they seem to have stood in a long series of parallel niches. The motive of the barbarian prisoner, at first used only in female figures to personify conquered races, is now turned to good account for decorative purposes. Dacians, the most formidable race subdued by the emperor, are probably represented here, wearing a thick native dress; their captive condition is inferred from their dejected attitudes and lowered heads. From a statue of this description came the head in Berlin (Pl. 140*b*) (No. 461), which is reported to have been found in Rome and from its style and type may have stood with the other figures in Trajan's forum. The nose is restored and the surface rather worn, so that a metallic effect, caused in other examples by the liberal use of the drill to separate the locks of unkempt hair, is disguised by time.

In a statue in the Loggia dei Lanzi (Pl. 135*a*),<sup>2</sup> is seen the female counterpart of such figures. The nose, the fingers, the upper part of the left arm and the right arm, are restored. The dress, long hair and full development of the body suggests a German – the size of the women of that race much impressed the Romans – and for this reason the statue was at first named 'Thusnelda,' after the wife of Arminius, who was captured and led in a Triumph through Rome; but it is now supposed to be a personification of Germania rather than a portrait. The arrangement of the drapery may be compared with that of a goddess on the Arch of Benevento (Pl. 143*a*), except that the figure of the goddess was intended to be seen from the height of the Arch and therefore her drapery is more cursorily treated. Since the fine detail of 'Thusnelda' occurs in works of about 100 A.D. including the frieze of Nerva's forum, a Trajanic is more probable than a Julio-Claudian date; such intensity of grief as is revealed by the contracted brows and heavy mouth, would be unexpected from an Augustan sculptor. But it must be remembered that figures of captured races appear on the Augustus of Prima Porta, and a prototype of 'Thusnelda' in a less pathetic style may have been conceived under an earlier emperor.

<sup>1</sup> Naples, *Guida*, 76, 77.    <sup>2</sup> Amelung, *Führer durch Florenz*, No. 6.

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On the Ara Pacis is an allegorical representation of the peace bestowed by Augustus, but on the monument commemorating Trajan's Dacian war a narrative of the events was required by a more soldierly emperor. If the form of a column was adopted by the Senate's decree mainly because the available space in the forum was too small to accommodate any other type of monument, yet it suited the requirements of the narrative style. This is the first instance of a solitary column decorated with a band of narrative sculpture climbing spirally up to its summit: the column of Jupiter at Mainz was composed of drums laid horizontally, each bearing a relief perfectly distinct from those above and below it; a nearer parallel is the pillar from the tomb of the Haterii, round the shaft of which climbs a rose. The narrative style is achieved but the result is grotesque, for no one would wish to walk round a pillar twenty-two times, watching the story unfold itself; moreover the end of the column is a hundred Roman feet above its base, and few eyes can distinguish from such a distance figures in low relief and only a few inches in height. In antiquity, however, the court in which the column stood was surrounded by arcades of two stories, which might have mitigated this last objection. Having decided on a columnar form, the depth of the bands could not be greater or the figures larger than they are, unless the column were very much thicker; had a deep band and large figures been substituted, very little of each scene would have been visible at a time and the effect would have been far from continuous. A fault which could be corrected, however, is the overcrowding of each scene. Excuses, even here, lie ready to hand; Michael Angelo when he had completed one panel on the roof of the Sistine Chapel could rectify his mistake of overcrowding, but no such break in the design of a stone column could be effected. Furthermore the use of colour and metal accessories must have enormously increased the visibility of the reliefs.

The column<sup>1</sup> tapered towards its summit on which stood a colossal statue of Trajan, represented on coins after the year 110: coins before this date show an eagle in its place. The change in the design was probably made on the emperor's decision to be buried in the base of the column, where a small chamber was accordingly prepared. An inscription built into the base records the decree of

<sup>1</sup> Lehmann-Hartleben, *Trajanssäule*, for discussion and plates.

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the Senate, together with the date 113, doubtless that of the dedication of the completed monument.

While the influence of older compositions in the form of friezes, and of the pictures or modelled figures carried in triumphal processions, can undoubtedly be traced, there prevails in the column a tendency to form larger masses and groups, each tightly bound up, of rhythmically placed members. The greater mastery of perspective acquired during the preceding 150 years – forced on the sculptor of Roman monuments in order to accommodate the element of the crowd, a problem not presented in Greek art – has enabled the designer to accumulate deep blocks of figures where before he would have been compelled to spread a thin line over a larger expanse. The Trajanic designer had no scruples in altering the size of people or inanimate objects to suit his purposes, and the buildings on his reliefs are invariably made much smaller than they should be, sometimes no larger than the figures immediately beside them. Figures in the background, even if pressed close to those in the front row, are habitually placed higher up, although they were represented on the same level in the Ara Pacis and Arch of Titus; here can be traced the influence of the narrative pictures carried in triumphal processions, in which the figures behind were raised to a higher level.

Battle-scenes are given less space than might be expected in a narrative of Trajan's campaign, far less than would be accorded in a Greek monument. The Romans were interested in the course and results of the battles rather than the actual fighting itself; in both the Arch of Titus and the Arch of Trajan at Benevento, only one relief of the set is devoted to a battle-scene. The column transforms the subject into the concerted operations of troops, sometimes in a *mêlée*, but plainly engaged on a general advance instead of in the series of single combats usual in Greek friezes, although individual figures often have Greek prototypes. In sieges, too, the old simple composition, such as we find at Gjölbaschi, where the line of a high wall divides the scene into two distinct halves, is broken up; figures are massed in front of a low wall so that it plays no prominent part in the design, sometimes it runs up and down hill with violent twists, allowing the troops on either side to fall into large bodies of men pressing in definite directions, symmetry being carefully pre-

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served by balancing the movements of one section against another. The drapery is important to the design; it both binds together the masses of men, and emphasizes, by the systematic direction of its lines, the calmness or desperation of the combatants or the moods and feelings of important personages. But drapery so treated tends to become formalized to such an extent that it loses its meaning as clothing, hence stock patterns of folds are repeated in figure after figure, line for line, with a mechanical dullness from which the eye turns.

Clearly the reliefs were all designed by one mind, however many hands were employed on its execution. The story is told with due regard to the emotions and artistic interest aroused by each section, with a gradual quickening as a crucial moment approaches, and a gradual relaxing when it has passed. Strongly contrasting episodes are placed side by side; on the left of Pl. 141 is seen civilization, on the right barbarism. Trajan, seated on a stool, dispenses rewards to his soldiers, one of whom is kissing his hand, while two others are embracing in their happiness: but in the following scene Dacian women are torturing Roman prisoners. An obviously intentional counterpart to this episode occurs further to the left, beyond that of Trajan and his soldiers: here a group of captured Dacians is seen under unobtrusive guard inside a humanely-conducted prison-camp.<sup>1</sup> The composition here, as in several other places, takes the form of a triptych, with the image of imperial beneficence in the centre, flanked by two pieces of propaganda. On the right of Pl. 141 begins the next episode, where Trajan is about to step into his galley.

The narrative of the whole column falls into two halves, divided by the truce that actually separated the first and second Dacian wars; the division is marked by a figure of Victory. So far its arrangement might seem genuinely historical, but the order of the episodes does not correspond with those of literary sources and the designer must have aimed more at giving a fine impression of the successful war, than at a detailed account of it. He includes all the regular incidents of a Roman war – the emperor's addresses to the army, sacrifices, construction of buildings and engines of warfare, the capture of prisoners, the emperor's interviews with prisoners or embassies,

<sup>1</sup> Lehmann-Hartleben, *Trajanssäule*, pl. 22.

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troops on the march, journeys by land and sea, the flight and pursuit of the enemy, the removal of the spoil: even in such scenes as the suicide of the defeated Dacian chiefs a favourite motive of ancient art is introduced.

The direction of advancing troops is from left to right, in accordance with the revolving of the spiral: and when occasionally the Dacians take the offensive they, too, move in the same direction. Herein lies that appearance of continuity which pervades the column, though in reality the composition can be divided into separate scenes, with landscapes interspersed, like the trees placed in the Gjölbасchi frieze to mark the end of each section. The frequency of painted or modelled scenery in triumphal processions perhaps inclined the artist to afford more space to this element than is given in other Roman monuments; but it must be noted that in size the natural features and buildings are invariably subordinated to the human elements, for man is still 'the measure of all things.' Pure landscape is only employed at the extremity of the relief-spiral, where the height of the relief field is not enough to admit figures. Moreover linear perspective is completely ignored, and this Trajanic master returns to the conventions of the Polygnotan painters of the late fifth century, who painted almost 'bird's-eye views' in which figures were drawn without relation to the height of the horizon. A high horizon and a tendency towards a perspective characterizes the painting of the two previous centuries, but, with the rest of the illusionist technique, were rejected by the Trajanic artist in favour of the archaic method of placing the back row of figures undiminished in size, higher than the front row. But unlike the archaic artist the Trajanic designer took as his unit not one man but a group of men, and thus gained a means of composition by which to play with symmetry and antithesis, parallelism and rhythmical division. The result is geometric, but the different actions of individual figures in the groups prevent the monotony of the archaic geometric compositions. The Trajanic column has the same surface treatment for all kinds of objects – flesh, hair, drapery, wood, stone, earth, leaves – and all are cut clearly from one another. In this, as in other points, is seen the resemblance to archaic art and the rejection of the experiments of Illusionism, which makes the column a forerunner of the art of the fourth century A.D.



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Another large monument <sup>1</sup> was erected after the Dacian war on the lower Danube, where the city of Tropæum Trajani was built on the site now known as Adamklissi. In 1837 its ruins were examined by von Moltke, then attached to the Turkish army: he recognized the nature of the building, but no further investigations took place until the district was annexed to Roumania. The trophy, which gave to the town its name, stood on an enormous circular base, 100 feet in height and 125 feet in diameter. The trophy itself took the usual form of a tree-trunk hung with a helmet, a cuirass, two shields and two greaves, all on a gigantic scale; by its side were relatively inconspicuous figures of prisoners, themselves of more than life-size. Into the base were set sculptured metopes illustrating the campaign, and on a line of crenellations above were reliefs of captives with their hands tied behind their backs. Whereas the form of the building is impressive, and may be compared with the tomb of Cecilia Metella and the Castle of Sant' Angelo, the sculpture was crude to the point of becoming comic. Its primitive nature led at first to conjectures that attributed it to an anachronistic provincial school of the Augustan Age, or to decadent provincials of the Constantinian Age; but the motives are frequently paralleled on the Column, so that the backward nature must be due to inexperienced hands of Trajan's own time. Moreover the survival of large fragments of that emperor's dedicatory inscription ought to have prevented wild speculations as to its date; in addition a neighbouring rock was inscribed in 109, by order of Trajan, to the memory of the Roman soldiers who fell in his Dacian campaigns.<sup>2</sup>

The finest Trajanic relief yet known (if indeed it be Trajanic and not late Flavian), survives in two fragments from Puteoli, owned by the museums of Berlin and Philadelphia.<sup>3</sup> Roman soldiers are represented, two walking towards the right, the rest facing the spectator, these last having probably stood at the corner of the

<sup>1</sup> Tocilescu, Benndorf and Niemann, *Monument von Adamklissi*; Antonescu, *Trophée d'Adamklissi*.

<sup>2</sup> Couissin still upholds the date of 29 B.C., believing the monument to record a victory of Crassus, *Rev. Arch.*, 1924, I, p. 29. Cf. Drexel, *Neue Jahrbücher*, xxv, 1922, p. 330.

<sup>3</sup> Berlin No. 887; Sieveking, *Sitzungsberichte Bayer. Akad. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Klasse*, 1919, p. 3; Phila. *Museum Journal*, iv, Dec., 1913, p. 142, fig. 125; Strong, p. 205, fig. 120.

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monument. The second of the moving figures is overlapped by the other and therefore carved in very low relief; while the spear carried by the man in front projects across his head and shoulders. The spear is cut free from the background where it crosses the second figure, so as to throw a strong shadow and increase the illusion of distance. The sculptor aimed at presenting the moving soldiers in three-quarters view, but fell into difficulties with the low relief figure, in which he was driven to represent the feet and head in true profile. For the front view he resorted to higher relief, making of the drapery a complex design built of bold streaks of shadow.

There exist great varieties in Trajanic sculpture, and a more conventional style appears at Benevento, the terminus of a road constructed by Trajan, where an Arch was erected to commemorate his good government. The Senate, which had conferred the title of *Optimus* upon him, seems to have decreed the erection of the Arch in 114; one of the reliefs represents an event of that year. It is unlikely that the Arch was finished until after the death of Trajan in 117; for the reliefs of the Attic differ in style from the rest, and they contain the figure of Hadrian, his successor. The fact that Trajan did not appoint a successor until his own life was ending is almost conclusive evidence that this portion could not have been carved in his own lifetime; his widow and Hadrian were popularly accused of inventing the story of the adoption by the unimaginative soldier of this strangely different man, whose complex character roused the astonishment of the age.

The façade towards the city of Benevento and in the direction of Rome is covered with reliefs illustrating the benefits of Trajan's internal policy, while on the façade towards the country are recorded the victories of his provincial policy; the subjects on the walls of the passage through the Arch reminded the citizens of Benevento itself of the favours bestowed upon their own city. The arrangement is thus geographically apt. The discussion, as regards the style, of the reliefs of the Attic will be reserved for the next chapter, but for the sake of completion a description of their subjects will be given here. Towards the city, the Capitoline Triad and the lesser deities (Pl. 143a) are preparing to receive Trajan, who is approaching the temple of Jupiter Custos, where Dea Roma awaits him with

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the Roman Penates and two consuls:<sup>1</sup> the two panels of this scene are separated by the dedicatory inscription of the Arch. Jupiter points the thunderbolt at Trajan recognizing him as *Optimus*, the inaugurator of a new era: a stronger interpretation of the scene is that Jupiter is handing over his thunderbolt in token of his abdication in favour of the Roman Emperor. Certainly the Greek gods, never conspicuous in Roman art, become now insignificant and almost non-existent. Eastern parallels to the scene are found a hundred and fifty years before, on the monument of the Nimrud Dagħ, where Antiochus I of Commagene shakes the hand of Zeus and on another relief stands face to face with Apollo-Mithras on terms of equality.<sup>2</sup> On the middle slab of the left pier, a female figure with a crown, in the shape of a *vallum*, and holding a standard, presents two veterans to the emperor to receive their reward. The Diana and Silvanus beside her represent the earthly reward for faithful military service.<sup>3</sup> On the middle slab of the right pier Trajan receives a deputation of merchants; this relief has been thought by its style to have been finished under Hadrian. Facing the country on the Attic are four deities, assigned as protectors to the newly-won province of Dacia, and a scene of the emperor receiving the submission of Mesopotamia, where Hadrian again accompanies him. On the left pier the Germans are giving their oath of fidelity in the presence of Jupiter Feretrius, the god of oaths. Mars and Virtus present a provincial to the emperor to receive a Roman education; for the scenes on the façade are intended to exhibit the good fruits of submission rather than the painful process of conquest. On the right, Trajan receives an embassy of Parthians, introduced by their patron Hercules.

The narrow frieze running round under the attic represents a triumphal procession. On one side of the passage is a sacrifice scene, on the other in an intimate and paternal scene compared with the subjects of high policy on the façades, Trajan distributes alms to the poor children of Benevento.

<sup>1</sup> Strong, pl. xxxviii.

<sup>2</sup> Humann and Puchstein, *Reisen in Kleinasien und Nordsyrien*; L. G. S., pl. 106b.

<sup>3</sup> Strong, fig. 111.

VIRTUOSITY: HADRIAN TO  
CARACALLA

(A.D. 117-217)

§ 1. *The Reign of Hadrian*

HADRIAN's cultured personality affected Roman art as deeply as Augustus', bringing into immediate fashion a classicist style of Greek rather than Roman creation. Thus the Trajanic and Hadrianic reliefs of Benevento, although divided by an insignificant space of time, show such great stylistic divergences that they have been satisfactorily classified according to the reigns to which they belong.<sup>1</sup> On the Trajanic panels the figures seem composed merely of drapery and heads, as on the Ara Pacis, whereas in the Hadrianic sections the garment is moulded to fit and indicate the body beneath. The whole conception of relief is different; it is no longer pictorial; the figures of the Attic in high relief, appear more like a succession of isolated statues attached to a background which is no longer part of the composition, resembling in this respect works of the Hellenistic period, such as the Pergamene Gigantomachy. This separation of figures and background, taking away the illusion of depth, gives the Capitoline Triad and the inferior deities (Pl. 143a) an appearance of being crushed up against a wall; moreover the lesser gods are placed in the intervals between the greater gods, and they too are carved in high relief instead of fading into the background. It is the fact that all the heads are on the one level that gives the impression of the group being crushed together; in earlier reliefs it was generally contrived that the front row should be seated or stooping.

For the next stage in Hadrianic art it is necessary to turn once more to the Arch of Constantine built two hundred years later, when sculptures of nearly every dynasty of the Roman empire were collected for its adornment. Unfortunately this museum was deprived of its original inscriptions, so that its sources and exact dates cannot be guaranteed, though the researches of a generation have to a large

<sup>1</sup> Snijder, *Jahrb.*, xli, 1926, p. 94.

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extent established their chronological order. The material of Pl. 159 appears to be genuinely Constantinian except for two circular panels (two of a set of eight) at the top, which are dateable on stylistic grounds to the first half of the second century.<sup>1</sup> In some cases the faces have been recut to resemble those of some third-century emperor, in others the head has been replaced altogether by a head of Constantine, hence the features offer no clue, but a basis has been found for a very plausible conjecture that the emperor in question was Hadrian. Hadrian popularized the growth of beards, and in many of the heads re-carved in the third century, traces of an older beard are visible. The resemblance between these medallions and other known Hadrianic sculptures as well as the destruction of the works of Domitian, leads to the rejection of the old theory that they are Domitianic. Moreover Hadrian was a sportsman, who struck coins representing his hunting exploits, so that there is an inherent probability in ascribing to him a set of hunting reliefs. The eight medallions have for subjects, the start of the emperor's party with a sacrifice to Silvanus, the hunting of a bear and the offering of it to Apollo, the hunting of a boar and the offering of it to Diana, the hunting of a lion and offering of it to Hercules, and the emperor's return.<sup>2</sup> The date falls, from what is known of Hadrian's life, between 128 and 138, therefore at least ten years later than the completion of the Arch of Benevento. The medallions are of a more decidedly Greek character; there had been time for the taste of Hadrian, jeeringly called the 'little Greek,' to mould the style of the sculptors dependent on his patronage. A background is left as though it were a wall on which nothing could impinge, while the figures are packed into the foreground. The drapery falls into small folds, unimportant compared with the bold divisions of Trajanic work, but richer in effect, and carried out by the 'plastic' method of raising the folds and outlining them by shadows that fade into the ground on either side: but although the sculptor adopted these principles of Greek drapery he neglects its delicate transitions, just as he does not always correlate the body and its clothing, which

<sup>1</sup> Hekler, *Jahresh.*, xxi-xxii, 1922-4, p. 180; Br. Br., 565; Snijder, *Jahrb.*, xli, 1926, p. 100.

<sup>2</sup> Possible original arrangement restored by Buschor, *Röm. Mitt.*, xxxviii-ix, 1923-4, p. 52.

## HADRIAN TO CARACALLA

occasionally becomes a mass of drapery standing by itself. Such slips prove the conversion of this particular artist to be merely subservience to fashion, and he might revert to his old methods if his customers allowed him: the change of style must be attributed to the emperor and the court rather than to the artists, who were obliged to carve to their demand. It is extremely difficult to generalize about Roman sculpture of any period, for the imperial sculptor is eclectic, picking his styles at will, while at all periods the native tendency, towards extreme realism in heads and indifference to other parts of the body, is seen to a greater or lesser degree; one can only say definitely that the majority of Hadrianic as of Augustan work is more cultured and more eclectic than that of other periods. In accordance with classical tradition, Hadrianic sculptures rely less on light and shadow and pictorial illusion, more on clear outlines and simplicity of pattern; in fact the desire was to obtain a pleasing effect rather than to give as correct a representation as possible.

A second result of this neo-classicism is the more careful treatment of the body. The men on the medallions stand firmly on their feet and their abbreviated dresses show their powerful limbs; a dead lion would look incongruous beside the insubstantial Senators of the *Ara Pacis*, whereas Hadrian's sturdy retinue are equal to their task; and when he sacrifices to Hercules, his body is firm and taut, as compared with that of the ethereal Æneas. As foils to the dignity of the emperor are a groom, who holds the bridle of the horse, and the unimpressive dummy of Hercules (whose feet alone appear in Pl. 159). The drapery falls in straight folds often separated by wide intervals of blankness. In the slight depth of the relief the artist has returned to the archaic convention, but without sacrificing the skill gained in representing figures one behind the other. Here again there is no suggestion of depth and the background is simply a background.

The sculpture collected by Hadrian for his enormous villa at Tivoli included many copies, and the original works, whether of his own age or earlier, rarely possess great merit: the most characteristic creation of the age was the Antinous type. This young man, a native of Asia Minor, was an imperial favourite who drowned himself in the Nile during Hadrian's visit to Egypt in 130, in order to prevent, by a human sacrifice, the fulfilment of a prophecy against the emperor. Hadrian decreed him a god, justifying his apotheosis by his death in

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the sacred river. His cult was accepted at Delphi and Olympia, where it long survived, while in Egypt the number of cheap amulets testify to the popularity of his worship. But all the Antinous types, even if they do not embody the actual appearance of the youth, are of almost contemporary date: he is best represented in the Delphi statue and in the Mandragone head in the Louvre (Pl. 144). Both are based on the ideals of the Pheidian school. The prototype of the Delphi statue <sup>1</sup> is an Apollo, copies of which were found in the Tiber, and at Cherchel: it stands on the left leg, with the right slightly relaxed; the chest is heavy with the curved breast-bone of Antinous; the body is smooth and unmuscled, although the Apollo has the broken contours of the athlete; the face is smooth and fleshy. The Mandragone head is more delicate of feature: the forehead and level brows, almost meeting above deep-set eyes, give an impression of severity to the face, which is contradicted by the sensuous half-parted lips, and the shortness of the space between the mouth and nostrils. A resemblance to the Bologna head of the Lemnian Athena (Pl. 50a) has been noted, but is superficial; in fact it establishes the Hadrianic date of that copy almost as much as it proves that a Pheidian type was adapted to portray Antinous.<sup>2</sup> The Hellenic influence is, of course, profound, but the nose has a slightly aquiline form instead of the classic straight line.

In both the Mandragone head and the Delphi statue, the underlying Pheidian type is blurred by a lavish use of oil on the surface of the marble (the process known as *ganosis*). The resulting combination of material softness and sensuousness with severity and purity of line, won great popularity, because it not only immortalized the features of a handsome imperial favourite, but also embodied the sensuality, melancholy and youth, which his contemporaries found so attractive a combination; to a less romantic age he might appear overfed and spoilt.

As regards details of the technique, the Louvre head had the eyebrows only faintly indicated, while the eyes were inlaid in enamel or precious stones, and metal leaves were affixed to the band of ivy that surrounded the hair. In the Delphi head the eyebrows and hair are less distinctly modelled; in a statue at Naples <sup>3</sup> the brows are represented by a light feathering, the hair consists of a crisp mass in which each

<sup>1</sup> Hekler, 250b.    <sup>2</sup> Lippold, *Kopien*, p. 194.    <sup>3</sup> Hekler, 250a, 251-3.

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lock describes an arc of a circle, and the eyeballs are carved as circles within which lies a crescent-shaped trough to indicate the pupils.

Antinous has many rôles: in the Mandragone head and the Braschi statue in the Vatican he is the mystic Dionysus; in the Lateran statue he is Vertumnus, a god of the seasons and fruits of the earth; at Eleusis he is Apollo with the omphalos, and in Egypt he is Osiris or Serapis. In two reliefs he is identified with Silvanus: the half-length in the Villa Albani <sup>1</sup> may be closely compared with the Delphi statue, from which type it diverges mainly in the more emphatic curve of the breast-bone, but the other, signed by Antonianus of Aphrodisias, departs altogether from the usual type; <sup>2</sup> the pose recalls Attic gravestones of the end of the fifth century B.C., on which a young man stands in an easy attitude with a dog at his side, but here an altar hung with many bunches of grapes is carved in very low relief in the background. The drapery is subordinated to the body, for the Greeks had not lost an appreciation for the human form which the Romans never really felt.

Aphrodisian sculptors signed their works more frequently than other artists of the empire, no doubt because their excellence commanded a higher price; signed pieces were probably made for export as a guarantee of genuineness. The Capitoline centaurs offer another example (Pl. 108a), and further works of the school, including some discovered at Aphrodisias itself, are collected by Gauckler: <sup>3</sup> it appears that the same style prevailed throughout Asia Minor and Macedonia. <sup>4</sup>

Reliefs of other subjects attributable to the close of Hadrian's reign have been preserved, among them two large reliefs in the Palazzo dei Conservatori. <sup>5</sup> One of these represents the apotheosis of an empress, who is carried up to heaven by a winged female figure which stretches diagonally across the slab; below sits the emperor watching the burning pyre, by which reclines a youth personifying the Campus Martius, scene of the funeral. The next relief shows the emperor delivering a speech, no doubt the proclamation of the apotheosis; it is remarkable for the awkward manner in which figures

<sup>1</sup> Hekler, 256.

<sup>2</sup> *Ausonia*, iii, 1908, p. 3, pl. i.

<sup>3</sup> *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des Inscr.*, 1908, p. 351.

<sup>4</sup> Picard and Macridy, *B. C. H.*, xlv, 1921, p. 455.

<sup>5</sup> Strong, p. 213, figs. 126-7; Snijder, *Jahrb.*, xli, 1926, p. 107.



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varying in size are distributed at different levels filling the entire panel, except for the space in one of the top corners, occupied by a small temple.

The Dresden head, Pl. 146a (No. 398), resembles a number of similar portraits from Athens, which from the long disordered hair were at first taken for barbarians, though it is more likely that the fashion was the mark of a group of residents; a town largely composed of persons engaged in literary or learned pursuits might well indulge in oddities. The most curious of these heads <sup>1</sup> was at various times identified incongruously as Christ, Commodus, Herodes Atticus, a Thracian king, and the sophist Polemon of Laodicea; <sup>2</sup> its likeness to the Dresden head is so close that the latter, too, can safely be described as Greek work. These heads date before A.D. 150, and some at least are Hadrianic, for the execution is not unlike that of some heads of Antinous in the eyes, eyebrows and hair.

The execution of the Capitoline centaurs in grey marble, found in Hadrian's villa, at Tivoli, probably also belongs to his reign,<sup>3</sup> to which, too, can be assigned other instances of the use of coloured marble such as the red satyr from the same villa.<sup>4</sup> An admirable head of a young African (Pl. 148a) <sup>5</sup> is also executed in dark grey marble with eyes inlaid in white and dark grey. The lumpy treatment of the hair suggests the liberal use of butter still practised by certain tribes of the Sudan, a district with which the Romans were in close touch, although it retained its independence. He wears his hair in the national manner, and as that privilege would have been denied in Roman territory to a slave, he may have been a chief, a visitor to the empire, or one of those travelling adventurers whose acceptance by society was derided by the satirists; he cannot have been a merchant for the external trade of the Sudan was in the hands of a foreign colony. The presence of a replica in the same materials in the Terme <sup>6</sup> suggests the favourite of fashion, whose busts might be multiplied during his tenure of power.

<sup>1</sup> Hekler, 261; Strong, fig. 234.

<sup>2</sup> Graindor, *Marbres et Textes*, p. 41, pl. III. 9.

<sup>3</sup> The hair has been considered Antonine work; Lippold, *Kopien*, p. 104.

<sup>4</sup> Helbig, 870.

<sup>5</sup> Dresden, No. 187a.

<sup>6</sup> Paribeni, in *Saggi di Storia antica e di Archeologia*, a G. Beloch, p. 203, figs. 4, 5.

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Another effective piece of coloured sculpture from Rome (Pl. 147) <sup>1</sup> is the statue of an old fisherman, carried out in black marble with a strip of yellow marble to represent the single article of clothing round his hips. The restorations include both arms, the inlay of the eyes, and other small portions; their accuracy can be decided from replicas in ordinary marble; the right arm is almost correct (the fingers should be grasping a fishing-net), the left hand held a basket of fish at arm's length. Rheumatism was inevitable in the life of a poor fisherman and the knees and back are distorted accordingly. His sole rag, wrapped round his hips, reveals a body wrinkled with age and underfeeding, and overgrown with veins; his face is hopelessly brutalized. There is no touch of idealism, every unpleasant detail is scrupulously carved. It is another example of the native Roman love of realism, which is expressed in many statues, and affected even the more educated classes. In this case the illusion is completely successful and the aim of Roman art, photographic accuracy, has been perfectly realized. Such a *reductio ad absurdum* of their ideals seems to have glutted even the Roman appetite for the life-like, with the result that a progressive reaction towards stylization can be traced in sculptures of the next few centuries.

A more normal example of fine decorative sculpture is given by the famous Venus at Syracuse (Pl. 145), inspired by a type of Aphrodite which originated later than Praxiteles. The goddess is rising from the sea, which is symbolized by the dolphin by her side, and leans slightly forward to hold together the two ends of her garment; the right arm is bent across the body. The pose is therefore related to that of the so-called Venus Pudica, initiated by Praxiteles and followed by countless lesser artists, but here the position of neither hand depends entirely upon modesty or coquetry; the right hand must have been occupied with the loose hair that would fall over the breasts, by which are lumps on the surface of the body, marking the ends of tresses. The real function of the drapery, which had no logical right to be present at the birth of the goddess from the sea, lies in its providing an admirable foil to the smooth body, for which purpose the cloth is smooth in the centre and much crumpled round the legs. On the whole the folds are coarsely carved and the drapery is only roughly worked at the back. The legs and feet are almost

<sup>1</sup> Louvre, No. 470.

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without modelling, although great care was devoted to the nude parts of the back, which reach to the top of the thighs;<sup>1</sup> while the surface is excessively smooth and polished. The date of this very able statue and a similar fragment in the Louvre<sup>2</sup> cannot be decided within narrow limits, but the present writer favours the beginning or middle of the second century A.D.; in any event, it cannot claim the place among Hellenistic works formerly assigned to it. Its Neo-Attic relations put the date of its prototype about the first<sup>3</sup> century B.C.<sup>3</sup>

The principate of Hadrian marks the commencement of a period of mass-production of decorative sculpture (especially in the round), which endured till the end of the century. Hundreds of statues, copies or adaptations more often than originals, were required by wealthy citizens throughout the empire, for the adornment of their houses or their gardens, or to be erected in public places as monuments of their generosity; quality became a matter of slight importance, and in truth the vast majority of second-century sculpture has no right to be considered as art. Very rare are the statues equal to the Syracuse Venus, while its subject is typical of the age. An instance of Oriental art being adopted for decorative ends is given by two supporting figures carved in red granite in the Egyptian style, used for architectural purposes in Hadrian's villa.<sup>4</sup> Closely related is a statue in red marble showing Antinous in the guise of a Pharaoh,<sup>5</sup> where the face and costume are purely Egyptian, but the modelling of the body purely western; there can be little doubt that the artist was a Greek or a Roman, and the simple fact that Antinous was drowned in the Nile suffices to account for this exotic representation of him.

In most respects Hadrianic decorative reliefs differ little from those of the preceding century. Elegant mythological scenes were still produced, in fact when the study of this class of subject has advanced it will perhaps be found necessary to date the majority in the second rather than in the first century. A celebrated set of eight reliefs, housed in the Palazzo Spada, appears to contain more

<sup>1</sup> Bulle, pl. 157.

<sup>2</sup> No. 1787; Warrack, *Greek Sculpture*, pl. 85.

<sup>3</sup> Klein, *Vom antiken Rokoko*, p. 88, definitely puts it late in that century; but such conjectures carry little weight.

<sup>4</sup> Helbig, 306, 307.

<sup>5</sup> Munich, No. 27.

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Hadrianic than other elements, though indeed the copyist has selected types of various dates and schools and reduced them all to the same shape to form a series.<sup>1</sup> Peaceful sentimentality is the prevailing note, the situations are seldom dramatically rendered, though of course in such subjects as the Theft of the Palladium or the Serpent killing the child Opheltes, the artist practises less restraint than in groups of mythological personages conversing. Two of the reliefs introducing Paris with Eros and Oenone respectively, exhibit later characteristics than the others, for which reason Wace definitely assigns them to the Antonine Age, dating the rest vaguely to Hadrian or his immediate successor, Antoninus Pius. A similar problem attaches to the sarcophagi which abound later in the century, and which must have started in Hadrian's reign; the repeated use without alteration, of the same motives prevents any accurate dating of sarcophagi and it is better to treat the development as predominately Antonine, while admitting the Hadrianic origin of some motives.

### § 2. *The Antonine Age*

The Antonine Age was one of wealth and foppery, only interrupted by incessant barbarian invasions, hordes being driven against the empire's borders by the pressure of other hordes pouring out of the Steppes. In art the Hadrianic style persists in a modified form; a more schematic treatment of drapery matches the lifeless composition; the hair becomes elaborately curled, the eyebrows are usually carved and exceptions to the custom of marking the pupils become rarer.

Few sculptures are known to belong to the lengthy reign of Antoninus Pius (138-161); that this was a time of artistic inactivity is proved by the slight difference in the style when portraits of that emperor are compared with those of Hadrian. Sculpture was plentiful on the one great monument, the Hadrianeum or temple of the deified Hadrian, to which, in general opinion, belong the eleven Corinthian columns now built into the Bourse at Rome: the *podium* below was decorated at the base of each column with an allegorical figure representing a subdued province. Of the thirty-eight figures

<sup>1</sup> Strong, p. 245, figs. 149, 150; Wace, *B. S. R.*, v, 1910, pp. 167, 197, pls. xvii-xxi; Helbig, 1810-17.

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only sixteen remain, distributed between the Naples Museum and various Roman collections; in spite of carefully varied attitudes they are not a lively spectacle, and are far from well carved.<sup>1</sup>

A Greek plutocrat, Herodes Atticus, was distinguished at the middle of the second century by his munificence in erecting huge buildings all over Greece. At Olympia he celebrated his provision of a water supply (about 155) by filling an *exedra* (rounded recess) at the fountain with statues of members of the imperial family and his own.<sup>2</sup> The portrait of Herodes also occurs elsewhere in Greece.<sup>3</sup>

A large base, now in the Vatican gardens,<sup>4</sup> had supported a plain column, dedicated, in the joint reign of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, to the honour of Antoninus and Faustina. One of the main sides is occupied by the inscription, the other by a relief, in which the deified couple, attended by eagles, ascend to heaven on the back of a winged genius, whose figure crosses the field diagonally; below it sit Dea Roma and a personification of the Campus Martius, the scene of the funeral pyre (identified by the obelisk held on his hip). The bold composition, well adapted to a public monument, is more balanced than its Hadrianic prototype, where the actions of the flying figure are confused with drapery, wisely omitted by the later sculptor to obtain definite lines from a clean-limbed body. But an overloading with accessories damages the general effect. On the two other sides a military parade takes the curious form of detachments of infantry encircled by galloping cavalry, 'like a round-about at a fair.'

The skill displayed in this flying genius was never equalled in the round. A statue of Victory, dedicated by one Marcus Satrius for the campaigns of the two emperors (161 and 168), is clumsily adopted from Greek prototypes. The figure, of gilt bronze, was found at Calvatone and acquired by the Berlin Museum.<sup>5</sup> But good portrait statues were produced, for example the bronze equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius on the Capitol.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bienkowski, *De Simulacris barbarorum gentium apud Romanos*, p. 53.

<sup>2</sup> *Olympia*, iii, pls. lxx-lxxviii.

<sup>3</sup> Philadelphus, *B. C. H.*, xlv, 1920, p. 170.

<sup>4</sup> Strong, p. 249, figs. 151, 152.

<sup>5</sup> No. 5; Kekule von Stradonitz, *Die griechische Skulptur*, p. 371; Schröder, 67 *Winckelmannsfeste*, Berlin, 1907, *Victoria von Calvatone*.

<sup>6</sup> Hekler, 266.

## HADRIAN TO CARACALLA

The portraits of Marcus Aurelius do not improve the reputation of that philosopher, he appears physically weak and mentally indecisive; but the portraits of Lucius Verus, the colleague of his first eight years, have an enlivening touch of madness. The finest is a bust in Copenhagen (Pl. 146*b*), well preserved apart from the restored nose.<sup>1</sup> It must be confessed that it differs from the usual Verus portrait, so that its identity has been disputed; on the other hand it was found in Rome together with a number of coins stamped with his effigy, and the work is roughly contemporary with his reign. Hekler compares it with a herm in Athens, inscribed with a date 160-161. Moreover such a temperament as the bust reveals cannot have existed outside the imperial house, and is not proper to any other member at the time; the brooding eyes and loose mouth belong to an irresponsible egoist stricken with the insanity that has held so many autocrats. But the fleshiness of Verus as he was usually portrayed has in this bust been refined away, and the features seem almost emaciated within the ring of tumbling hair that rises above them. Verus used to powder his hair with gold dust, so it was probably gilt in portraits. Perhaps the divergency from the regular type of this bust and another in Leipzig, apparently a replica, is explicable on the same grounds as the variations in the Antinous portraits - that is the licence allowed to sculptors who were working after the Apotheosis of their subject. Since the line of the drapery breaks off abruptly instead of being rounded off, it has been surmised that the bust was copied from a complete statue.

The mode of hair-dressing places an ivy-wreathed female head from Amorgos (Pl. 149*a*) in Aurelius' reign;<sup>2</sup> a wide face is accentuated by the centre parting, and as the Empress Faustina the Younger seems to have had the same width of face, it is likely that the characteristic was introduced into non-imperial portraits of her time. The simplicity of female heads, compared with male heads of the period, results from the method of carving the hair in parallel wavy lines instead of by elaborate undercutting. Male portraits are at this time extremely common in Greece, especially at Athens, where developments can be followed in a large series of named, and

<sup>1</sup> No. 706; A. B., 901-2; Hekler, *Jahresh.*, xxi-ii, 1922-4, p. 191.

<sup>2</sup> Athens Mus., No. 325; Collignon, *B. C. H.*, xii, 1889, p. 40, pls. x, xi.

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often dated, busts of *Cosmetae*, officials of the gymnasia.<sup>1</sup> In general, the Greeks followed out hesitatingly and belatedly the alterations in style and technique that portraiture underwent at Rome in the second and third centuries; they avoided the strengthless Antonine elegance.

Historical reliefs of Marcus Aurelius' reign are easily recognizable. The most characteristic are the three in the Conservatori<sup>2</sup> and eight panels built into the Arch of Constantine, of which Pl. 149*b* gives an example. These eight, if indeed not all the eleven, were originally placed in an Arch erected in honour of the emperor's double triumph over the Germans and Sarmatians.<sup>3</sup> Before their incorporation in Constantine's Arch the reliefs were used by some third-century emperor, whose features were substituted for those of Marcus, while the officials were changed to the likeness of contemporary courtiers. This was effected by recutting the old surface; it could not be recut again, so that Constantine was obliged to substitute a new head when his turn came to usurp the figure of the emperor. This head, too, disappeared in the course of time and a restored head was fitted at the Renaissance; the subordinate figures retain the third-century features. The scene illustrated in Pl. 149*b* commemorates the gift of prize-money to the populace, represented by the few persons in the lower row. Attended by officials, the emperor distributes the money handed to him by a youth. The composition is quiet and formal, the figures take their places with a regularity emphasized by the even spacing of the posts behind them; their drapery breaks into lifeless patterns; they are indeed carefully differentiated by their faces and dress, but they have none of the energy that gives the individual touch to the Hadrianic medallions of the same Arch (Pl. 159), or even to the relief at Benevento (Pl. 143*a*). Imperial art had started to decay with the Empire itself. But the technique remains adequate, if spiritless; of few of the later monuments can as much be said.

The most considerable Aurelian monument is the column commemorating the wars of 171-176, but it remained unfinished at the

<sup>1</sup> Collective study by Graindor, *B. C. H.*, xxxix, 1915, p. 241, pls. xvi-xxvi, and xl, 1, p. 74; Hekler, 258, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Strong, p. 253, figs. 161-3.

<sup>3</sup> *B. S. R.*, iii, p. 251, pls. xxii-v, xxvii-viii; *Jahresh.*, xxi-ii, 1922-24, p. 181; Strong, p. 253, figs. 153-160.

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emperor's death and was not completed till 193. Statues of both Marcus and Faustina stood on the summit, which therefore had to be wider than that of Trajan's column; the height in each case is a hundred Roman feet.<sup>1</sup> The column itself rests on a *torus* decorated with oak leaves; the spiral of reliefs begins at once and reaches the top in twenty-three turns; it is divided in the centre by a Victory in the act of adorning a trophy, showing that there were two campaigns represented, the German war of 171 and the Sarmatian war of 173-5. In the first series the German type predominates – round heads, dignified carriage, regular features; in the second series is the Sarmatian type – sloping foreheads, open mouths, rough hair and untrimmed beards. It is not a faithful historical account any more than is the Trajanic monument, of which it forms an imitation. The later work has been carelessly designed – either because the artist was inferior or because he would not waste time on work which would never be closely inspected. In any event the composition is slovenly; in place of the concerted action of groups of men, whereby the Trajanic artist built up a vigorous narrative, there are found lifeless collections of figures; the massed battle scenes are replaced by double lines of combatants in the academic manner borrowed from the Greeks. A lower standard of execution is observable, although conspicuous only towards the base of the shaft.

At Ephesus, a town singled out as the recipient of imperial munificence in the second century, large reliefs of Marcus Aurelius' reign have been found, as well as two slabs representing the Apotheosis of that emperor.<sup>2</sup> The treatment differs from that of other reliefs of this subject; the Emperor, wearing armour because he died on a campaign, takes the hand of Victory as he steps into the chariot of the Sun; the Sun-god stands with Roma at the head of his impatient horses, beneath her feet sits Earth with her children. On the next panel the Moon, with the Evening Star, drives her chariot-team of deer, following the lead of Night, into the stream of Ocean, personified as a young man with a rudder. The influence of the Gigantomachy is manifest both in the idea and its execution; though if the reliefs are of Italian marble, as they seem to be, they must have been

<sup>1</sup> Strong, figs. 163-175; Calderini, Petersen, and von Domaszewski, *Marcus-Säule*.

<sup>2</sup> Strong, p. 258, pl. 1.



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transported to Ephesus in their finished state, for no one would export that inferior material in the block.

Decorative reliefs of the Antonine Age are numerous, thanks to the sarcophagi, some of which reach a high standard. Their subjects range widely over the field of ancient mythology; the choice, it was formerly believed, rested on the artist's caprice, but recently attempts have been made to explain every scene as symbolic of the after-life.<sup>1</sup> A necessary compromise will, no doubt, be reached some day, but in the absence of literary evidence it will frequently remain impossible to decide whether any given subject had or had not an allegorical significance. It is a question of little importance, however, for a work of this sort, since it will be admitted that, the theme once chosen, the treatment will be governed by decorative requirements, irrespective of an inner meaning.

Thus, when a pair of griffins occurs on a sarcophagus, they are placed heraldically facing one another, separated by a candelabrum; and a frieze composed of such pairs decorates the temple of Antoninus and Faustina, built in Rome by Marcus Aurelius.<sup>2</sup> Here the connection of the griffin with the solar deities, who are symbolized by the burning candelabrum, refers no doubt to the after-life;<sup>3</sup> the monsters on furniture (Pl. 134*a*) serve a purely decorative purpose, without a shade of further meaning, whereas on the temple of Apollo Didymeus (near Miletus) griffins were chosen because they are especially associated with Apollo.<sup>4</sup>

One of the earliest themes to be adapted to sarcophagi was the frieze of cupids; the employments of these sportive creatures had long been recognized as suitable for the composition of friezes.<sup>5</sup> On a sarcophagus belonging to the Rhode Island School of Design at Providence (Pl. 148*b*), a parody of a big-game hunt is in process, a troop of cupids spearing lions with help of hounds. It is worth recalling the fact that under the Empire scenes of animals fighting human beings or one another had a vogue, due, at least in part, to exhibitions of this nature in the amphitheatres.

<sup>1</sup> Strong, *Apotheosis and After-life*, carries this tendency furthest.

<sup>2</sup> Strong, pl. xlvii.

<sup>3</sup> Snyder, in *Raccolta Ramorino*, p. 264.

<sup>4</sup> Thomas and Rayet, *Milet et la Golfe Latmique*, pls. 49, 51.

<sup>5</sup> For an early example see the fresco of cupid goldsmiths in the House of the Vettii at Pompei, Walters, *Art of the Romans*, pl. xlii.

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One of the sides of this sarcophagus, 7 feet in length, is bordered by rustic deities standing at the corners half-sunk in acanthus plants; the opposite side depicts an incident from the Trojan War, the body of Hector being dragged after Achilles' chariot; subjects quite unrelated to the others fill the narrow ends. The lid takes the shape of a gabled roof, with palmettes as acroteria and lion-heads with open mouths forming an escape for rain-water. A liberal use of the drill is characteristic of the work, of early Antonine date; another point worthy of note is that in the corner figure, the folds of the drapery are represented by shallow channels which give the surface a strangely flat effect when they are placed far apart.

The Providence sarcophagus differs from the ordinary Roman type (Pl. 150) which has the form of a box with a flat-topped lid; as the Roman type was intended to be placed in the cramped interior of a tomb, where it would necessarily be pushed against the wall, the back was left plain while the sides received a less careful attention than the front, and were usually carved in lower relief. In Greece, on the other hand, the architectural design of ancient sarcophagi was retained, as in the Sidon examples of the fifth and fourth centuries; the Greek type, represented by the Providence sarcophagus, was actually a small reproduction of a tomb, intended to be seen from all sides; since the architectural form was maintained the sculptural decoration was subordinated to it.<sup>1</sup>

One of the finest of Antonine sarcophagi from Italy was acquired by the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek from the Villa Casali.<sup>2</sup> It is 7 feet in length and the subjects of both box and lid are Bacchic, as is frequent on sarcophagi, but here the scenes are distinctly unusual. In the centre of the box Bacchus and Ariadne are seen reclining on a bank to drink, overshadowed by a vine; their attendant leopards lie at their feet. Below a fight between Pan and Cupid has taken place on a plot of ground sprinkled with a basketful of sand for the purpose; Cupid, holding the palm of victory, is now hustling off Pan with his hands tied behind his back, while Silenus and another cupid drive him onwards from the rear. Neither Bacchus nor Ariadne takes any interest in the affair, but Mercury has watched in his capacity of patron of prize-fights (*Eragonios*) and the troop of maenads and

<sup>1</sup> Weigand, *Jahrb.*, xxix, 1914, p. 37, and *Strena Buliciana*, p. 104.

<sup>2</sup> No. 778; Br. Br., 410; *Jahrb.*, *Glypt. N. C.*, 152.

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satyrs is intent on the sport. The venerable priest of Bacchus, holding torches, looks on with ecclesiastical unconcern. Scattered about the ground are the animals and ritual apparatus proper to Bacchus – snakes, panthers and goats, a winnowing fan (*vannus*), casket (*cista mystica*) and altar carved with the image of the god. On the lid Bacchus and Ariadne again appear carousing, with a satyr drinking from a horn and a maenad playing the double flute and dancing with sounding-boards (*kroupezia*) fastened to her feet. To the left enters a chariot drawn by two leopards, one of them ridden by a cupid playing the lyre; to the right comes a troop of maenads carrying off Pan's wine. Beyond are two more maenads engaged with the *cista* and *vannus*, which have been placed on a rock; a satyr starts back at the sight of the snakes that crawl out of the *cista* when the lid is lifted. For the most part it must be admitted that the figures on the lid have a cramped appearance, though the sculptor availed himself of the antique convention which allowed a figure to alter in size to fit the space it must occupy. Here, as in other sarcophagi, the play of light and shadow is evident. The skill exhibited in grouping, and the liveliness of the figures, ranks this artist high among Romans. His faults, like his virtues, are those of his age – the excessive use of the drill produces an unpleasant, worm-eaten effect, while the slim figures are elongated almost to deformity.

That the Antonine artists excelled in the expression of emotion may be learnt by a fragment in New York.<sup>1</sup> The dying Meleager, nude among a crowd of draped figures, is being carried home by a friend and two bare-footed slaves, while an old slave leans grieving over his master, and other mourners behind bury their faces in their garments. Titian's picture of the burial of Christ resembles the scene both in design and in some of the details, and a duplicate may have come to light during the Renaissance. The relief probably formed the central portion of the front of an Italian sarcophagus, in which the neighbouring panels contained other incidents in the story, placed side by side in the continuous manner introduced in Trajan's column and popular on sarcophagi.

Towards A.D. 160, a peculiarly individual school of sarcophagus masons was established in Asia Minor, exporting its products to Italy and other parts of the Empire: except in Asia Minor, they are

<sup>1</sup> *Bulletin of Metr. Mus.*, xvii, Feb., 1922, p. 34, fig.

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not discovered far from the coast. The centre of the school was probably Ephesus; certainly it lay near one of the harbours of western Asia Minor, in the ancient land of Lydia. The earlier works include two sarcophagi from Torre Nuova of approximately the year 165,<sup>1</sup> one from Melfi of some years later,<sup>2</sup> and another from Sardis in Lydia. The last, dating about 190, has been taken by Prof. Morey as his text for a complete study of this group and related work in Asia Minor.<sup>3</sup> This Lydian school began under strong Attic influence; it is probable that the first 'Lydian' artists were actually trained in Athens, where contemporary art came nearer to the spirit of the distant past than in any other region of the Empire. The classic calm and dignity of the Torre Nuova groupings obviously spring from familiarity with the monuments of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C., while the frame of the relief consists only of a column at each corner and mouldings above and below. In the Melfi sarcophagus the front panel is broken by four columns in addition to those at the corners, thus forming no less than five niches, which are connected at the top by bands of ornament; these form a peak over the central niche and a horizontal bar over the two on either side of it, while the two exterior niches are arched (compare the later sarcophagus, Pl. 153*b*). Each niche houses a figure, thus reproducing the ornamental façades of second-century buildings in Asia Minor. The ends are similarly divided into niches but the central niche of one end is carved in the shape of a door – the false door used in the tombs of Asia Minor since the archaic period. On the lid lies a recumbent full-sized figure of the deceased; this motive was long in favour among the Etruscans, after which the Romans adopted it, and now it makes its appearance in the Greek countries, incongruously combined with the convention of the tomb-shaped sarcophagus. The borrowing of a Western motive reverses the usual order of events, for Italian sarcophagi were rarely exported eastwards<sup>4</sup> except to Dalmatia, whereas in Greek countries their export supported a flourishing industry and the Italians sometimes imitated Eastern products. While the lid of the Lydian sarcophagus invariably retains the same form, with a recumbent figure thereon, the arrangement of the

<sup>1</sup> Strong, figs. 181–2, pl. liv.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pls. xxxiv, xxxv, lv.

<sup>3</sup> Sardis, v, *Sarcophagus of Sabina*.

<sup>4</sup> Rodenwaldt, *Röm. Mitt.*, xxxviii–ix, 1923–4, p. 10.

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entablature above the niches varies from the Melfi type to a row of simple horizontal bands or a row of arches of identical size and shape; the head of an arch is always filled with a cockle-shell, the valve pointing downwards, this being a common architectural feature in the eastern provinces. The figures are adaptations of ancient types of deities, comparable to the statues produced at Aphrodisias at this date; less use is made of the drill than was customary in contemporary Italy, or in Asia Minor at a later date.

The fully developed Antonine style, based on the lavish use of the drill, is seen at the highest point of its virtuosity in an extraordinary bust in the Conservatori (Pl. 151a).<sup>1</sup> During the latter years of his reign (180-192), Commodus identified himself with *Hercules Romanus* and was worshipped in this form. The sculptor accordingly gives him the club and lion-skin proper to the god; the muzzle of the skin lies on top of his head, the paws are tied in front; in his left hand he holds the apple of the Hesperides. On the other hand, the allegorical designs of the base refer to the emperor alone. Upon a block of Oriental alabaster kneels an Amazon holding a cornucopia full of fruit, while a similar object on the other side was originally grasped by a companion figure; above an Amazon's shield, with Gorgon's heads as its central device, ends in two eagles' heads; below lies a globe on which are engraved a ram and a bull, astronomical signs no doubt connected with events in Commodus' life. The stress laid on Amazons can be accounted for by the name *Amazonius* which he assumed at the extreme end of his reign, and which he pressed into the calendar as a substitute for January. If this interpretation be correct, the bust can hardly have been completed in the short space of time between the assumption of that name and his murder, after which his monuments were blotted out by the Senate's decree of *damnatio memoriae*. It has been suggested that it is a work of Severus' reign commissioned after 197, when Commodus was 'consecrated'; moreover the statue was discovered in a building possessed by the descendants of Severus. The head is an idealized portrait, in expression and features surprisingly like Marcus Aurelius, the philosophic father of this profligate; indeed the whole Antonine family has a strong resemblance in spite of differences in character. The curly hair is common to all its members; in the bust it would be gilded,

<sup>1</sup> Cat., p. 139, No. 20.

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for Commodus had golden hair, so bright that it required no brightening gold-dust: it is executed in a novel manner, by boring holes so deeply that they form pits of darkness, whereas previously the lumps of hair stood up plainly from the scalp, which was visible in the hollows left between them. The surface of the stone is polished so highly that it gleams like porcelain. Another stroke of the chisel would have broken the marble where the lion-skin overhangs the hair, so finely is it trimmed; the skill of ancient sculptors is nowhere displayed to greater advantage than in this bust, in which some critics see also great artistic merit.<sup>1</sup> It is, of course, a matter of taste, but the balance of opinion would probably favour the view that this is a supreme example of æsthetic error.

### § 3. *The Dynasty of Severus*

Another piece which gave full play to the Roman love of photographic accuracy and to the skill of sculptors at the close of the second century, is a female portrait in Copenhagen (Pl. 151b).<sup>2</sup> The brown hair is distinguished from the flesh merely by the careful polishing of the latter. An uncertain identification sees in the portrait the wife or daughter of Didius Julianus, who is reported to have bought the throne by auction in the camp of the Prætorian Guards and who held it for part of 193. As the instigators of his ambition, both women appear on the coins of his short reign, but their features are not sufficiently distinguishable to guarantee any identification, especially since the nose of the Copenhagen head has been restored. Its date is at least certain – the last few years of the second century.

A sterner work of approximately A.D. 200 is the upper part of a statue found in the House of the Vestals (Pl. 143b).<sup>3</sup> On this site lay numerous bases – all of them erected in the third or fourth century, except for two of the early empire – commemorating the Chief Vestal Virgins whose statues had once stood above. Their head-dress is peculiar; a long woollen fillet is bound many times round the hair and falls in a loop over each shoulder, while above they wear a veil (*suffibulum*) composed of a four-sided white cloth with a purple border, and fastened at the neck by a brooch. Other insignia of the Vestal Virgin, mentioned in ancient literature, are omitted in sculpture, perhaps from an unwillingness to depart too far from Greek

<sup>1</sup> Strong, p. 387.

<sup>2</sup> No. 717; A. B., 767, 768.

<sup>3</sup> Helbig, 1357.

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models. The faces often resemble those of modern nuns, whose life has much the same tenour.

There are no large monuments to record from the column of Marcus Aurelius to the Arch of Septimus Severus,<sup>1</sup> erected in 201 to commemorate the capture of Ctesiphon and Seleucia and to celebrate the *decennalia*. It is still standing in the Forum, but the bronze chariot drawn by six horses on the summit, and two equestrian statues from the corners, have disappeared. On either façade four columns stand on bases decorated with reliefs of Parthian prisoners led by legionaries. Facing the Capitol, on the key-stone of the central arch, is the figure of Mars, on the triangular spaces at either side are the Genii of Summer and Autumn, river-gods decorate the tympanums of the two lateral arches, above them stretch narrow bands of minute figures: while larger reliefs above the two lateral arches record incidents of the war. On the façade towards the Forum, the reliefs are too worn for identification. In this Arch the combined influence of Trajan's Column and the Arch of Benevento is visible: the reliefs are disposed in two lines corresponding to the panels of the latter, but the division is marked only by an irregular line, composing the floor of the upper relief. In the play of light and shade and the compression of figures is seen the continuance of the technique found in Hadrianic work: there is no attempt to give a pictorial illusion of depth.

Another Arch, still standing, was dedicated in 204 to the emperor and his family by the merchants and silversmiths of the Forum Boarium; it bears on the passage the portraits of Septimius Severus and Julia Domna on one side, and on the other side Caracalla in the act of sacrificing. The rich floral decoration of its pilasters had its importance in the development of Renaissance ornamentation.

Sarcophagi of the third century differ from those of the Antonine reigns in their more crowded compositions; several figures are fitted in one behind the other and even less free space than before is left.<sup>2</sup> An interesting sarcophagus in the Palazzo Ricardi at Florence<sup>3</sup> has its front carved in imitation of the Lydian style, while the sides are covered with very low reliefs, of an emperor inspecting a prisoner and a sacrifice scene. The architecture of the front differs from Asiatic

<sup>1</sup> Strong, p. 303, pls. lx-lxii.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, fig. 199.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. lvi; Rodenwalt, *Röm. Mitt.*, xxxviii-ix, 1923-4, p. 10, figs. 3, 4.

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examples, and its central niche holds a representation of a Roman wedding. These Roman subjects make it plain that the sarcophagus and its like were made in Italy, in spite of the Asiatic elements. Another group of sarcophagi were now produced in Asia Minor in which the use of the drill was still more pronounced, but since these were not exported in appreciable numbers and did not attain their full development till later, discussion of them should be reserved for the next chapter, in dealing with the best sarcophagus, that from Sidamara (Pl. 153*b*).

In portraiture the extinction of the Antonine house led at first to little change. The bronze statue of Septimus Severus in the Brussels Museum<sup>1</sup> is perhaps stiffer and more formal than Antonine figures, but the heads of his portraits are scarcely distinguishable from those of Marcus Aurelius. The busts of his son Caracalla fall in a different category, for which the personality of the man is responsible. Apart from the nose and the brooch that fastens the cloak, the Naples bust (Pl. 152*a*)<sup>2</sup> is wholly antique. A cloak and cuirass are worn over the tunic; the hair is more roughly cut than in the Commodus, the eyebrows, too, are more distinct, and the flesh surface is broken by deep wrinkles, and the waxlike polish is omitted. In general the style is less courtly and more realistic than any imperial portrait since the time of Vespasian. The head turns towards the left in conscious imitation of Alexander the Great, for whom Caracalla had such admiration that he assumed his name and formed a 'Macedonian phalanx' of guards; the historian Herodian says that he had even seen pictures in which one side of the face resembled Alexander, and the other side Caracalla. But as Gibbon pungently states: 'in no action of his life did Caracalla express the faintest resemblance of the Macedonian hero except in the murder of great numbers of his own and his father's friends.' Antiquity was most impressed by the ferocity so ably portrayed in this bust, and no doubt the capricious tyrant enjoyed his reputation. The murder of his brother in his mother's arms outraged Roman family feeling to such an extent that the massacre of 'twenty thousand' of the dead man's adherents appeared to them venial in comparison.

The greatest work of Caracalla's reign, the enormous Baths built in Rome between 211 and 216, was decorated with sculptures and

<sup>1</sup> Furtwängler, *Sammlung Sornzée*, pl. 30.

<sup>2</sup> Guida, 979.



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mosaics on a gigantic scale to match the building. Of the statues the most noteworthy is a Flora or Victory in Naples,<sup>1</sup> ultimately based on the style of 400 B.C., and the Farnese Hercules, 10 feet in height, signed by Glycon the Athenian: the original of the Hercules was Lysippus, and it has been argued by the existence of another copy on the same scale that Lysippus' statue, too, was of this size. Lippold<sup>2</sup> believes that Glycon's statue cannot have been carved expressly for the Baths, dating it earlier on the ground that so good a work could not have been produced by an age which carved the poor and minute copy on one of the capitals.<sup>3</sup> Apart from the obvious fact that a capital executed by a stone-mason does not fairly represent the art of his day, it may be urged that the head of the colossus appears no older than late Antonine and has most resemblance to the style of the Caracalla portraits; the hair is drilled and the eyes are deeply bored; but Lippold claims that the surface is deceitful because it has been worked over, and that the eyes were hollowed only to receive paint. It is true that the head, as well as the arms and legs, are made from separate blocks but there is no reason therefore to suppose that a later sculptor replaced a new head on an older statue. The body is disfigured by bulging muscles, the responsibility for which rests as much with Lysippus as with Glycon.

The group known as the 'Farnese Bull' in Naples, another of the ornaments of the Baths of Caracalla, is the largest surviving sculpture of antiquity (Pl. 152b).<sup>4</sup> It illustrates the story of Dirce, who was tied to a bull by the youths, Zethus and Amphion, in return for her cruelty to their mother Antiope, who stands watching the proceedings; the rocky ground of the mountain Cithaeron, whose Genius sits on the right between the legs of one of the youths, is covered with flora and fauna carved in relief. A group of this subject is mentioned by Pliny as comprising the figures of the two sons, Dirce and the bull; his silence concerning the subsidiary figures is significant, implying that they were added to the Naples group by a Roman copyist. Further, he states that it was the work of Apollonius and Tauriscus of Tralles, and was brought to Rome from Rhodes. The artists' father, Menecrates, is doubtfully identified as one of the sculptors of the Gigantomachy of Pergamon: but the recurrence of the same names

<sup>1</sup> Guida, 242.

<sup>3</sup> Strong, fig. 185.

<sup>2</sup> Kopien, p. 56.

<sup>4</sup> Guida, 260.

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through several generations of this family of sculptors leaves the epigraphical evidence indecisive. Of the two later figures, Antiope and Cithaeron, one is similar to the Flora from the Baths and the other is obviously a Roman type. The peculiar structure of the group must be due to the late artist; composed in the form of a pyramid, the base is built up in three levels; on the highest, which occupies the centre, stand the bull and Amphion, whose body is propped up by the tree-trunk against which he has laid his lyre; on the middle level stands Zethus, pulling down the bull's head by means of a rope attached to its horns, and Dirce is seated near an altar of Dionysus with one foot resting on the lowest plane. The group has been thoroughly restored at various times, and of the figures practically half is new, so that the details do not assist in disentangling the original from the accretions. This, however, has been attempted by Studniczka, largely on the questionable ground of the exigencies of design, and he has reconstructed the simpler group recorded by Pliny and illustrated on Lydian coins.<sup>1</sup> The Roman group has more historical value; in spite of the restorations it can confidently be ascribed to a period after A.D. 150 and may belong to Caracalla's reign as well as any other. The cursory treatment of the drapery of Antiope is one of the most decisive features that contribute towards this result. As to the æsthetic value, it was a more impressive piece of decoration because of that elaboration which annoys the modern critic.

In addition to the Baths, Caracalla built largely at Baalbek in Syria, the shrine of the Baal whom the Romans called Jupiter Helopolitanus. The gigantic temples on this site remain in a fair state of preservation, the most impressive of all the Empire's ruins, but they yielded not more than two or three statues and those of a provincial standard,<sup>2</sup> and very few reliefs. The most ambitious of these decorate the rims of two extensive fountain-tanks, 2 feet 6 inches high. In the portions illustrated in Pl. 153*a*, tritons are swimming with Nereids seated on their tails and holding up cloaks that the wind blows out around them. These tanks<sup>3</sup> do not rise beyond the

<sup>1</sup> *Zeitschrift für den bildender Kunst*, 1903, p. 171; cf. now a mosaic, von Nagy, *Röm. Mitt.*, xl, 1925, p. 51, and Pfuhl, next vol., p. 227.

<sup>2</sup> *Coll. Warocqué*, No. 23; *Rev. Arch.*, xl, 1902, 1, pls. ii-iv.

<sup>3</sup> Fully illustrated in Weigand, *Baalbek*, 1, p. 93, pls. 105-114.

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mediocre level of the Roman sarcophagi. In part unfinished, they can be ascribed with most probability to the reign of Caracalla, the last emperor to undertake seriously the task of completing the sanctuary laid out by Antoninus Pius. A well-deserved assassination cut short his activities in 217, and Baalbek was never finished.

With Caracalla perished Antonine sculpture. Eighteen years later began that quick succession of soldier emperors, rushed into the purple by their own ambitions and the greed of their armies, which brought the Empire to temporary ruin. Henceforth the small extent to which imperial patronage was available limited the activities of artists, whose work comes nearer in spirit to fourth-century than to Antonine art. Here in fact begins the straight road to Byzantinism.

## CHAPTER XVIII

# THE TRANSITION TO BYZANTINE ART: END OF THE PAGAN EMPIRE

(A.D. 217-337)

### § 1. *The Soldier Emperors*

SCULPTURE was almost entirely confined to portraits, sarcophagi and small decorative reliefs, during the last hundred years in which Rome remained the capital of the Empire. The ruffians who rose to ephemeral power in the third century had neither the time nor the impulse to carry out great historical reliefs such as those of the earlier empire, while the few meritorious emperors were confronted with more urgent calls on their depleted treasuries. Of portraits, both of private persons and of emperors, there is no lack, but it is rare to find more than one head of each individual, therefore identifications proposed for those which seem to represent emperors can seldom be considered certain in the absence of inscriptions.

Apart from portrait busts, the best work of the age is to be found on the sarcophagi, on which the heads especially deserve considerable praise.<sup>1</sup> Rome was the headquarters of the industry; from there sarcophagi were exported to the western provinces and occasionally to the East. In this Roman school of the mid-third century, the composition of reliefs was more crowded than ever before; in the battle scene of a famous sarcophagus in the Terme,<sup>2</sup> figures are heaped together all over the panel, those at the top being intended to be imagined in the background. By contorting the figures it was possible to crowd in as many as four, one above the other, each large enough to cover, if extended, half or more of the total height of the relief: the deep undercutting feasible by means of the drill helped to distinguish the various layers of human bodies, but the use of this instrument produced unpleasant, spongelike hair, and coarsened the treatment of drapery.

The possibilities of this technique were fully explored in the

<sup>1</sup> Rodenwaldt, *Zeitschrift für bildenden Kunst*, xxxiii, 1922, p. 119, where eleven of the best are illustrated.

<sup>2</sup> Walters, *Art of the Romans*, pl. xxxv; Strong, fig. 200.

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Sidamara sarcophagi of Asia Minor, which began in the first quarter of the third century, but did not reach their best until the second quarter, to which belonged the great sarcophagus, 12 feet in length, found near the site of Sidamara itself.<sup>1</sup> Like the Lydian group (now passing out of fashion), their plan results from a fusion of the Greek tomb-shape and the Italian design of a flat-topped chest bearing a recumbent figure. In this particular example two figures, a man and a woman, are represented on the lid, on the edge of which is a frieze of cupids fighting wild animals, athletes training, and chariot-racing. Like its Lydian prototype, the surface of the chest is divided by a colonnade, and a doorway is represented on one of the ends; the other end and the side beneath the faces of the recumbent couple are filled by hunting scenes, incongruous in their architectural setting: but since the stage of a Roman theatre was given just such a background the absurdity would not have struck an ancient spectator. The fourth side, decorated, too, like all Greek sarcophagi, contains the principal relief (Pl. 153*b*). The dead man occupies the central niche; seated on a stool ending in lion's paws, he reads a half-unrolled scroll which he holds in the left hand, while the right rests on the lion-skin covering the stool. The head reproduces without individual traits the conventional type of the philosopher, poet or rhetorician; the pupils of the eyes are incised, the short, curly hair stands up from the forehead, where the frontal sinus is accentuated. He is raised upon a dais, so that his head falls level with those of the standing figures; this seated figure is, however, too wide for the niche and in order to avoid spoiling the colonnade design, the dais is placed to the left of the exact centre, so that the left column only shows between the legs of the stool, and the whole of the right column is visible except where the outstretched leg passes over it. The effect is clumsy and painfully unsymmetrical. The female figure to the right of the dead man, of matronly aspect, therefore perhaps his wife, is of a fourth-century Hera type; contrary to the general practice of the sarcophagus the eyes are not incised. Behind him on the left is another female figure dressed as Artemis, but which may represent his daughter. The arched niches at either end are each occupied by a Dioscurus holding a horse, much telescoped and reduced in size; their forefeet rest on a small tree-trunk which grows out of the column, a comic

<sup>1</sup> Constantinople Mus., No. 112; Morey, *Sarcophagus of Sabina*, on the type.

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device which lamentably confuses the design at the end of the composition where simple contours and firm lines are most needed.

Excessive use of the drill, which produces violent juxtapositions of light and shade, and transforms classical mouldings into nothing better than vermiculation, results from the Roman taste for pictorial rather than sculptural effects. Repeated anti-classic tendencies in imperial art are expressed in the taste for a continuous motive without beginning or end, like an arabesque, as against the ancient use of the independent and fully developed incident; every available space of the background is covered with decoration instead of leaving a clear surface to emphasize the profile and line of a smaller stock of motives.

Since the Roman school provided the western provinces with sarcophagi of both western and eastern design, there was no export of the Sidamara type, which found its market in the East. A sarcophagus of the Romanized edition of the Asiatic type has, for the central panel of its three niches, the group of Pl. 156b,<sup>1</sup> representing a Roman bride and bridegroom clasping hands in front of a curtain; a child genius stands between them holding a cornucopia to suggest the fruitfulness of marriage; on a much restored panel to the left stands Artemis in her capacity of goddess of marriage and child-birth, accompanied by another female figure, perhaps the wife; the corresponding panel to the right is occupied by a bearded man of philosophic mien, probably the husband, absurdly restored with a sword, and by his side stands another small figure. These side niches more often contain figures of Dioscuri, as on Asiatic sarcophagi. Coins frequently represented the emperor and empress clasping hands at their wedding ceremony: but since this is a sarcophagus the hand-clasp should be interpreted rather as that of the last separation, and the child holding the cornucopia as symbolizing the children the couple had produced, rather than the children they hoped to produce. Both man and wife have reached a considerable age to judge by their faces, but these are idealizations, not portraits. The man wears his toga in the third-century manner, with a band of folds across the breast: the treatment of the drapery is a good example of the Roman habit of cutting hollows for the shadows

<sup>1</sup> Ny Carlsberg, No. 790; Rodenwaldt, *Röm. Mitt.*, xxxviii-ix, 1923-4, p. 20.

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instead of raising the high-light folds above the general surface. The form of the woman's body is skilfully shown through her drapery and the contrast between the curtain and the clothing is clearly expressed. This Roman sculpture has a liveliness absent in the traditional Hellenism of Asia Minor, where, however, there prevails a finer sense for pattern. Apart from the borrowing of the general scheme, no specifically Greek touches can be traced; the work and subjects are characteristically Roman and related to such sculpture in the round as the capital could offer at the time.

Into portraiture a great change entered, soon after Caracalla's death. The contrasts in the modelling of Antonine heads diminished under the Severus dynasty, to be then abandoned completely for a sterner, harder treatment; similarly the tired, peevish expression of the late second century was strengthened by Caracalla into one of ferocity, and whatever the character of the individual, the expression remained forceful and definite. The germ of the new modelling can be traced in the bust of Caracalla (Pl. 152a); its full development appears in the bust of Philip the Arabian, emperor from 244 to 249,<sup>1</sup> and in the bronze colossus of Trebonianus Gallus (251-253) in New York.<sup>2</sup> An advancement towards simplification has been made in the technique, helped by the fashion of wearing the hair smooth and close-cut. The hair and beard could now be represented by means of short strokes or points on a smooth surface, raised only slightly over the level of the face: this method was used from the Republican period onwards for heads of almost bald men or the shaven priests of Isis, but it is now applied to hair trained to lie close to the head. Shallow grooves are cut where Antonine sculptors would require greater depth, the lips are thin, the eyes bulge from the head and the eyebrows no longer project. The whole effect is flat and dry. The bust now reaches to the waist; the umbo of the toga is folded thickly across the chest in the new fashion, found also on the sarcophagi. With the exception of the edge of the left ear and the point of the nose, the bust of Philip is in good preservation, and the identification, based upon coin-portraits, may be taken as assured. The guileful nature of the adventurer, who rose to power through an obscure conspiracy, is well expressed in the face. In the bust of

<sup>1</sup> Helbig, 44; Hekler, 293.

<sup>2</sup> Delbrück, *Bildnisse römischer Kaiser*, pls. 34, 35.

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Pupienus,<sup>1</sup> who died in 238, the long beard is merely channeled with the drill, and the toga is arranged in the same manner as in the bust of Philip. Another remarkable portrait is the bronze head at Munich,<sup>2</sup> which has been recognized as Maximin the Thracian, who reigned 235-238. The structure of this head, in planes set at an angle one to another, has been conjectured to be imitated from the porphyry sculpture of Egypt; but until porphyry work of undoubted contemporaneity is available for study, nothing should be built on the suggestion. It is possible that the long bony face of Maximin himself was responsible for such a treatment. He was a man of extraordinary physique, 8 feet in height and of prodigious strength, if the stories related about him be true; his coins are sufficiently striking to justify an unusual technique in a larger portrait. But an equally harsh treatment of the face may be noted in a marble figure of Egyptian provenance, representing an old man carousing on a couch in the attitude of sarcophagus-lids;<sup>3</sup> in this case it must be remembered that no marble existed in Egypt, and no one can decide whether the raw stone or the finished statue was imported.

For the female type that corresponds to the bust of Philip the Arabian a head in Copenhagen (No. 753) (Pl. 155*b*) must serve as an example; from the hair-dressing it dates probably from the decade in which his reign fell, although no identification can be conjectured. The neck is rounded for insertion into a statue. In the polished flesh-surface lingers the tradition of the previous century, but perhaps greater emphasis is laid on the eyes; in essentials the style is far closer to that of the late Antonine Age than is customary in contemporary male portraiture.

An interesting school, much influenced by the sculpture of the late archaic period, flourished in Greece towards the mid-third century. Its masterpieces are the heads of a youth (Pl. 155*a*) and a boxer in Copenhagen;<sup>4</sup> in details such as the eyes and hair, the rendering cannot be distinguished from ordinary Roman work; but

<sup>1</sup> Hekler, 291*b*; Strong, fig. 242.

<sup>2</sup> Strong, pl. lxxvi; Delbrück, *Antike Porträts*, pl. 52.

<sup>3</sup> Collignon, *Statues funéraires*, p. 357, fig. 227.

<sup>4</sup> Nos. 469*a*, 469*b*; Poulsen deals with this Greek school, *Têtes et Bustes*, *Kgl. Danske Vid. Selskab*, 1913, No. 5.



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in general effect the head resembles the Discobolus of Myron, of seven hundred years before. Intervening periods demanded a more sentimental or more intellectual type of athlete.<sup>1</sup> The difference between the early artist and the late artist lies in this; the rough treatment of the hair was due to incompetence in Myron, whereas the late artist was an impressionist desiring to give an effect to be seen from a distance or gathered from a rapid glance: he was anxious to avoid prettiness, and the decision of the athlete's features is unmarred by any touch of the grace that characterized the work of fifty years before. In its return to archaic treatment, this style is a forerunner of the fourth century.

The provincial school of Palmyra presages, in a different line, the main current of later Roman art. Commanding the caravan route across the Syrian desert to Mesopotamia, this vassal kingdom of Rome gained wealth and importance after the first century A.D. Its art was peculiar; it was borrowed in the first instance from neighbours, who were subject to Parthia, but was greatly altered in conformity with the changes that took place in the Roman Empire.<sup>2</sup> The oldest of the dated monuments belong only to 9 B.C., and very few, if any, of the sculptures are later than 273, for lack of foresight involved the state in a war with Rome which ended in the destruction of the city in that year, just as it reached the climax of prosperity. Throughout the last century and a half, the wealthy merchants had rivalled one another in the richness of their tombs, equipped with busts of all the members of the family. In many cases the portraits bore a date as well as the name of the deceased, so that the history of the art is easily followed. The Louvre bust (Pl. 158a) of Tuel, daughter of Taime, is typical of the latest members of the series. Here the sculptor has made no distinction between the texture of flesh, drapery, hair, jewellery or foliage; it is frankly a piece of decoration as intricately patterned as a carpet; there is no more feeling in the eye than in the jewellery; the folds of the drapery are carved in the same manner as the divisions in the foliage in the background – by channels cut with but little variation in depth. The points of resemblance between this art and Byzantine are too numer-

<sup>1</sup> A favourite of the earlier empire is illustrated by Hekler, 194a.

<sup>2</sup> L. G. S., p. 73; Chabot, *Choix d'Inscriptions de Palmyre*, for illustrations of representative series.

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ous to be entirely due to coincidence; the difference between the Roman heads of the third century and this gravestone is comparable to the difference between the Roman art of that time and of the following century.

The fact that the Palmyrene style forecasts Roman developments might be thus explained: absence of opportunity was steadily reducing the sculptors of Rome to mere masons, and after a few generations of this process, the art of the capital would sink to the level of degenerate provincial styles. At the most, the resemblance is due to an influence felt in common by the Romans and the Palmyrenes, and not to the influence of Palmyra upon the capital; Palmyra lapsed into a mere village in the middle of a desert crossed by no Roman, and there is no evidence that any sculptures were removed as trophies; nor did the style linger in Syria, because it had never been widely diffused, being rarely seen far from the border of the desert. A relief from Sidon in Copenhagen (No. 838) is an exception; some surprising frescoes at Dura, a Greek outpost on the middle Euphrates, betray similar influences, which probably came direct from Parthia, while the statues from the same site are valueless imitations of ordinary Greek types.<sup>1</sup> If the schematization visible in late Roman art is due to external influence, it, too, came directly from the East; the Parthian Empire had been conquered in 226 by the Sassanians of Persia, who at once became lavish patrons of an art derived from that of their predecessors, a formal, essentially Oriental art. Constantinople was in a position to feel the reactions between East and West, and its art became more and more Oriental in feeling as time passed: down to the age of Constantine this influence was practically confined to the eastern borders of the Empire, but the time was then ripe for sculptors to welcome the example of formal work in the heart of the Empire.

During the last quarter of the third century, while Rome was still the capital, portraits returned to a slightly contrasting and colourful style, although the dotted rendering of the hair remained in some heads. Gallienus (253-268) may be responsible for the slight reaction, for he was a dandy and might be expected to dislike too sober a representation of the hair which he carefully powdered with gold-dust. Less elegant than the other portraits is the colossal head in Copen-

<sup>1</sup> Cumont, *Fouilles de Doura-Europus*.

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hagen (Pl. 156a);<sup>1</sup> he appears as an older man, less idealized, and the surface lacks the polish of other heads. It belonged to a statue on a scale of 9 or 10 feet. The more youthful types probably date to the period in which he was his father's colleague, while this certainly belongs to his own reign (260-268), during which the anxiety caused by no less than nineteen pretenders to his throne, the news of whose rebellions he always received with a careless smile, may have aged even this singular character. If he had any solid qualities they escaped the observance of ancient historians, whose account Gibbon has delightfully summarized: 'He was a master of several curious but useless sciences, a ready orator, an elegant poet, a skilful gardener, an excellent cook, and a most contemptible prince.'

A head identified by coins as Probus (276-282),<sup>2</sup> does not depart so far from the treatment of the Philip, perhaps because the features and character of the two men were more alike; the hair is more prominent in the Probus. On the other hand, another head, recognized from coins as Carinus (283-285),<sup>3</sup> follows the type of Gallienus. The portraiture of the later third century shows therefore a slow development towards formality, modified by the characteristics of the individual portrayed.

### § 2. *Revival of the Empire*

The return of settled government, after 285, brought a revival in the output of larger monuments. A successful war against the Persians, ending in 297, was commemorated by the erection of a triumphal arch at Salonica in honour of Galerius.<sup>4</sup> The accumulated rubbish of centuries raised the ground around it until the reliefs came within easy reach, a fact of which devoted Moslems took advantage to mutilate the representations of the human form: the figures of Galerius had probably been attacked long before by Christians, in revenge for his persecution of the Church. But although their condition is deplorable, these reliefs are among the most instructive relics of the later empire. On the inner side of the pier illustrated in

<sup>1</sup> No. 768; *J. R. S.*, vi, 1916, p. 52, pl. x.

<sup>2</sup> Delbrück, *Bildnisse römischer Kaiser*, pl. 37; Strong, pl. lxxvii.

<sup>3</sup> Delbrück, *ibid.*, pl. 38; Strong, pl. lxxvii.

<sup>4</sup> Kinch, *L'arc de triomphe de Salonique*; Wulff, *Altchristliche und Byzantinische Kunst*, i, p. 161; Picard, *La Sculpture Antique*, ii, fig. 187.

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Pl. 157 are four independent lines of relief; the upper two contain a narrative, the third an allegorical scene of triumph, the fourth a series of Victories holding trophies composed of enemy armour. In the first band Galerius and his retinue are seen at the opening of the campaign, approaching a frontier city, of which the inhabitants come out to meet him; the second shows the decisive battle, in which Galerius rides down the hostile commander, striking him with a lance, while an eagle shoots a flash of lightning in the Cæsar's defence. In the centre of the third line sit the two emperors who then divided the provinces, the river-gods Tigris and Euphrates supporting their thrones; next, the two Cæsars hold out their right hands to raise the kneeling personifications of Armenia and Mesopotamia; lastly comes a row of genii and gods, ending with Ocean and Earth, who recline in either corner.

The tendencies found in Trajan's column persist in these reliefs; the designers do not care whether or not their groupings have a decorative effect; nor do they disperse their figures over a symmetrically graded series of planes like those in the Hadrianic medallions in the Arch of Constantine (Pl. 159); nor do they hesitate to take liberties with the size of objects, reducing towns to the height of men, and representing the enemy smaller than the Romans. At close quarters it can be seen that many portions are not raised above the background, but are merely surrounded with a furrow cut in the stone to produce at a distance the effect of a shadow cast by a projecting mass: this convention of 'optical contours' is seldom found in Roman work (except in Gaul in the first century) and has been assigned to Oriental influence, for it was a method long used both in Asia and Egypt. But it may as plausibly be attributed to acquaintance with the technique of painting, especially since the reliefs were originally coloured. On the other hand the subject and composition fairly closely resemble those of third-century Persian rock-carvings.<sup>1</sup>

In 303 a basis was erected in the Roman Forum, on the anniversary of Diocletian's inauguration of the two 'Cæsars,' a political device which had thus far succeeded in preventing soldiers' rebellions. The subjects chosen for the basis were by no means original – the Emperor sacrificing to Mars and Roma, the *Suovetaurilia*, a procession of Senators, two Victories displaying a shield inscribed

<sup>1</sup> Sarre, *Kunst des alten Persiens*; Sarre and Herzfeld, *Iranische Felsreliefs*.

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'*Cæsarum Decennalia Feliciter*.'<sup>1</sup> The drapery is intersected by deep channels to indicate shadows, and similar lines are cut round the figures, making them stand out from the background; the long hair of the Victories is simply represented by a network of pits spread over a flat surface. Throughout very few planes are used; the relief largely dispenses with modelling in favour of a flat surface and dark grooves.

In sarcophagi of about 300 the same style appears as in this base; technique had become gradually simplified since the mid-third century, just as composition had lost the exuberance of that era, and the human figure was now conventionally represented.<sup>2</sup>

Diocletian's palace at Split (Spalato) in Dalmatia contained few reliefs and those of poor quality; his colleague resided in Milan, where again no sculpture was employed. The next large monument to require sculpture was the triumphal arch erected in honour of Constantine's victory in the civil war of 312; in addition to the assortment of older sculpture collected and built into the Arch a considerable amount of new work was needed.<sup>3</sup> This was probably completed soon after 313, when the edict of toleration legalized the practice of Christianity. That Christians were employed on the carving of the reliefs has been suggested to account for their childish character, compared, for instance, with that of Diocletian's base in the Forum; certainly the Victories on the piers exhibit a different technique, with drapery crinkled into innumerable small channels, while masses of it run in sweeping folds at right angles across the rest. This method occurs eight hundred years before in Acropolis *korai*. The Christian sarcophagi of the fourth century employ the style of the long reliefs of the Arch (Pl. 159), but this is by no means proof of the sculptor's religion, for in the pagan sarcophagi of Diocletian's time occur parallels both to the basis of 303 and to the various sections of the Arch.<sup>4</sup> A significant point is the rapidity with which art was altering in the West, where the revolution from classical to Byzantine art progressed more rapidly than in the East.

Apart from the two Hadrianic medallions at the top, all the sculp-

<sup>1</sup> Strong, p. 317, pls. lxxv, lxxvi; Riegl, *Spätromische Kunstindustrie*, p. 154.

<sup>2</sup> Riegl, *op. cit.*, figs. 25, 27.

<sup>3</sup> Strong, p. 331, figs. 201-8, pls. lxxvii, lxxviii.

<sup>4</sup> Riegl, *op. cit.*, figs. 25, 27.

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tures of Pl. 159 belong to the reign of Constantine himself, for their mixture of styles is accountable in a time of transition, and the technique of their details is identical. The little figure over the cornerstone of the Arch, an emperor in a cuirass and military cloak, follows the conventional type of centuries, but the treatment is more formal and rectangular. The reclining figures to either side of the Arch are derived from equally conventional types of greater antiquity, and again the difference is in the execution; a straight cut divides finger from finger, the graceless drapery is intersected by indiscriminating and meandering runs of the drill; the faces are out of shape, and the bodies merely adumbrated. Interest in the human body had perished. Ivory carvings of Alexandria frequently bear figures like the one on the right of Pl. 159, better if anything, for Rome no longer led the provinces in the expression of the nude. But in the scene above, the break from tradition is complete; such a relief might be found above the doorway of a mediaeval cathedral. The Emperor sits enthroned in the midst, like Christ on the Judgment Day, his staff of nine Senators and two Lictors behind him; in front are lines of dumpy figures in naïve attitudes of acclamation, recipients of the Emperor's bounty; eight of these are dressed as Senators, the rest are ordinary citizens. Constantine holds a closed scroll in his left hand, with his right he empties a plate, holding twelve coins, into the end of a toga which one of the Senators extends with both hands. A Senator on the tribunal passes the Emperor the money for distribution. In four small tribunals, officials are attending to the common people, who are only entitled to six coins apiece; in each case a clerk verifies the names of the recipients while another records the payments.

An absurd simplicity prevails throughout the relief, in composition and perspective, in grouping and proportions and details of the figures. The loss of most of the skill that classical art had gained in every direction must be due either to the employment of incompetent sculptors, whether Christian or pagan, or to deliberate abandonment; on the whole it is just to say that the result is due to a mixture of the two with a greater amount of the element of incompetence. In ancient archaistic work, as in modernist work to-day, the simplification is conscious, naturalism is despised; but in these reliefs, with their air of *naïveté*, perspective and naturalism are lacking

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because they could not be attained; the power had been lost by a century's disuse. It must also be remembered that the reliefs were high up on the Arch, where defects would not be visible; many of the figures have no feet, for the sculptor knew that the omission would be screened by the mouldings below the reliefs.

Crude though they may be, these reliefs possess some merits foreign to classical art. In spite of incompetence, the populace seems more lifelike than in older works with their stereotyped copies of ideal heads; there exists a childlike desire to capture the characteristics of real people, but it ends, in the lack of any standard of beauty, in caricature and vulgarity. The silhouette is raised above the background, but all attempt to mould the figures in the round is avoided. Figures are allowed to vary in size according to their importance, a principle which developed further in mediaeval art so that any part of the body, perhaps an accusing finger, which needed emphasis was enlarged out of all proportion. The figures of each group move in concert, in an axis assigned to it; the true prototype for this convention existed in ancient Egypt, although a hint of it is found in Trajan's Column. The whole work is an example of that movement which was to leave ancient sculpture very much in the condition in which it started.

It would not, however, be true to say that all work of the Roman school reverted to the standard of the provinces under the early empire. A statue in the Conservatori (Pl. 158b),<sup>1</sup> in which the nose and the left hand with the sceptre are the only important restorations, shows a magistrate in the dress of higher officials from the time of Constantine onwards. The right hand is about to throw a cloth to the ground, which action was the signal for the start of a chariot race, an event of such importance in the later empire that the highest in the land might serve as starter. The clean-shaven face and regular hair of this and a companion statue of an older man<sup>2</sup> are probably to be dated to the reign of Constantine, on whose coins the classical treatment of features persists to the same extent as in these statues. Yet the body is unclassically, but not incompetently treated, as an almost regular post on which to hang schematic and unreal garments, a toga worn in an abbreviated manner over a short upper garment with loose sleeves (*dalmatica*), and a close-fitting

<sup>1</sup> Cat., p. 114, No. 67.

<sup>2</sup> Cat., p. 114, No. 66, pl. 42.

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tunic with long sleeves. The feet are covered by what may be the 'gilt boots' (*calcei aurati*) of senatorial rank. The head is slightly turned to the side, but in a third-century portrait it would turn further: apart from the rounded cheeks the planes of the face are sharply divided from each other. Not only does the body depart as little as possible from the form of an oblong, but one plane suffices for nearly the whole figure, though the right arm has to be forced into a constrained position so that it shall conform to the rest. Here can be traced a revival of a primitive convention by which figures were allowed to spread their limbs sideways, but not backwards or forwards. But unlike the flat archaic figures which appear from the front as reliefs without background, the figure is solidly conceived, the eye being carried round to the back of the statue by the lines of the drapery. The surface is covered with a series of shallow folds, furrows which fade away before they reach the end of the garment; they tend to lengthen the body at the expense of its width, as do the overlapping pleats at the bottom of the *dalmatica*. This last detail was perhaps imitated from archaic drapery; indeed the drapery generally is comparable to that of the time of the Persian wars.

The chronology of fourth-century portraiture remains chaotic, but although the proportion of classical influence varied according to the sculptor's taste, the bronze head of Pl. 160*b* represents, so far as can be at present decided, the average style of the first half of the century. The subject of the head is now generally identified as Constans or Constantius, sons of Constantine;<sup>1</sup> the same man appears to be represented in another bronze head found in Nish, Constantine's birthplace, for which reason it was formerly identified as Constantine himself. In reality none of the names affixed to portraits from this time onwards can be regarded as final, except in the case of an inscribed statue of Constantine at the church of St. John Lateran;<sup>2</sup> where the head is extremely poor. There is, however, sufficient facial resemblance to establish the probability that an enormous marble head in the Conservatori<sup>3</sup> also represents Constantine; it belonged to a seated figure of which the arms and lower legs also survive, the rest of the body presumably being executed in wood. The sculptor seems to have failed to conquer the difficulties

<sup>1</sup> Cat., p. 173, No. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Strong, pl. lxxx.

<sup>3</sup> Cat., p. 5, No. 2; Strong, fig. 252.



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offered by a head 8 feet high; it has an air of incompetence very different from the masterly bronzes, where a sense for likeness is combined with one for decoration. Yet the Conservatori bronze (Pl. 160*b*) is nearly 6 feet high. Its main characteristics are common to all the high-class work of the age: details are neglected, only the outlines of the face and of such parts as the eyebrows, eyelids and lips are modelled with the utmost distinction and with as regular lines as possible; the eyebrows and fringe form thick masses while the rest of the hair is marked out into a multitude of close-set locks; the melancholy eyes look upwards and somewhat to the side, though the head itself does not turn as in third-century portraits, but is held rigidly straight to the front. This return to the 'frontality' convention of Oriental and archaic art was completed in the latter part of the century, when the eyes, too, follow the direction of the head and body.

Female portraits of the Constantinian period are best represented by a head (Pl. 160*a*), doubtfully identified as St. Helena, the emperor's mother.<sup>1</sup> As a morganatic wife of low birth, she did not receive the status of empress until her son came to power, after which coins were struck with her effigy; in these the hair is dressed as in the Copenhagen portrait, which sufficiently resembles them in features for the identification to be plausible – the nose is restored, which renders certainty unattainable. The base is adapted for placing on a statue. The formal treatment of the face and hair is characteristic of the age, as is the attention directed to the eyes, one of which is noticeably wider than the other. The effect satisfies, although gained by the slightest possible means, the amount of modelling in the face being niggardly in the extreme. A decadence in technical power might well be expected for the future, even if the absence of detail at this time resulted from a restraint deliberately exercised on æsthetic grounds.

A possible influence of the contemporary porphyry sculpture of Egypt upon the art of the capital has been mentioned in connection with the portrait of Maximin (235–238). A century later, porphyry sarcophagi were prepared for the use of Constantine's family: their Egyptian origin is certain as regards the material, proven as regards the shape and decoration so far as any point can be proved without

<sup>1</sup> N. C. G., No. 773; A. B., 58; Wulff, *Altchristliche Kunst.*, I, p. 157.

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written evidence, for in both respects Egypt offers parallels enough.<sup>1</sup> The style, that of the eastern shores of the Mediterranean, reveals little contamination by the popular art of Egypt, now fast developing into the Coptic stage, in which classical influence seldom obtrudes itself upon the untrained eye. Built into the outer wall of St. Mark's at Venice stand two small porphyry groups, each of two armed men in fraternal embrace, who have been interpreted as the two emperors and two Caesars of A.D. 300.<sup>2</sup> The grounds for this specious identification do not suffice to place it beyond dispute, but meanwhile a fine porphyry head in Cairo<sup>3</sup> has been ascribed on this evidence to the same period: in all these works the iris and pupil are rendered by incised circles placed exactly in the centre of the eye. Since this mannerism did not appear in European portraits till a generation or two after 300, arguments in favour of an Egyptian origin in the porphyry technique have been put forward. But the Venice and Cairo works belong to a more naïve school than the sarcophagi, which, however, would fall a generation later on this hypothesis; in reality, the provincial art of Egypt dropped gradually, with no revival, into its Coptic decadence, so that high-class sculptures such as these – their material was too expensive to be wasted on inferior workmen – should be dated *after* the sarcophagi rather than before them. The central position of the pupils in fourth-century eyes would then be explained as a natural completion of that principle of 'frontality' which had been steadily developed under Constantine and his sons, as the final step by which Roman art became mediaeval art.

The only circumstance which might have hindered this transformation was the change of the capital in 330 from Rome to Constantinople, situated in a Greek land where the classical tradition preserved its strength; and in truth the Byzantine style retained a greater element of Hellenism, and for a longer time, than did the Italian. But against the obstacle of Greek conservatism was ranged the power of Christianity, officially embraced by the dying Constantine in 337; the new religion was equipped on the one hand from the

<sup>1</sup> Strzygowski, *Orient oder Rom*, p. 75; Wulff, *Altchristliche Kunst.*, I, p. 141, figs. 128, 129.

<sup>2</sup> Strong, pl. lxxix.

<sup>3</sup> Delbrück, *Antike Porträts*, pl. 54.

## CLASSICAL SCULPTURE

popular art of Rome and the provinces, and on the other hand from the Oriental art of northern Mesopotamia, the one solidly Christian region of the time. Neither impulse was compatible with classical ideals; therefore the adoption of Christianity as the state religion of the empire forms the most suitable ending to the history of classical art.

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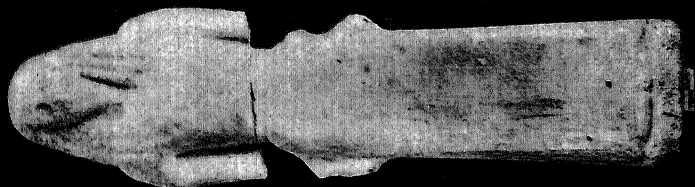
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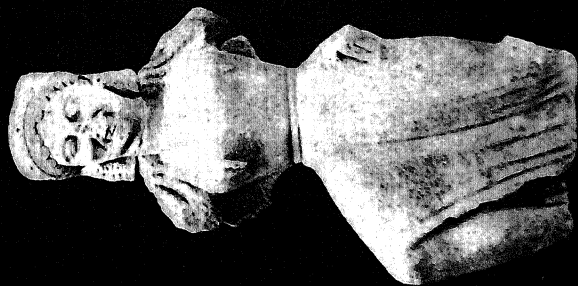
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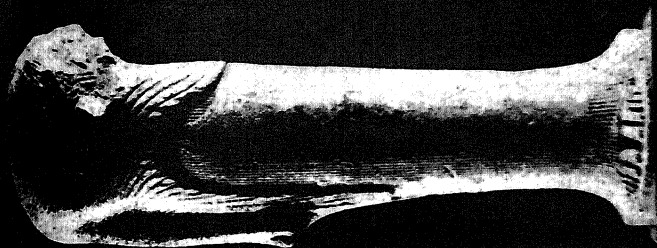




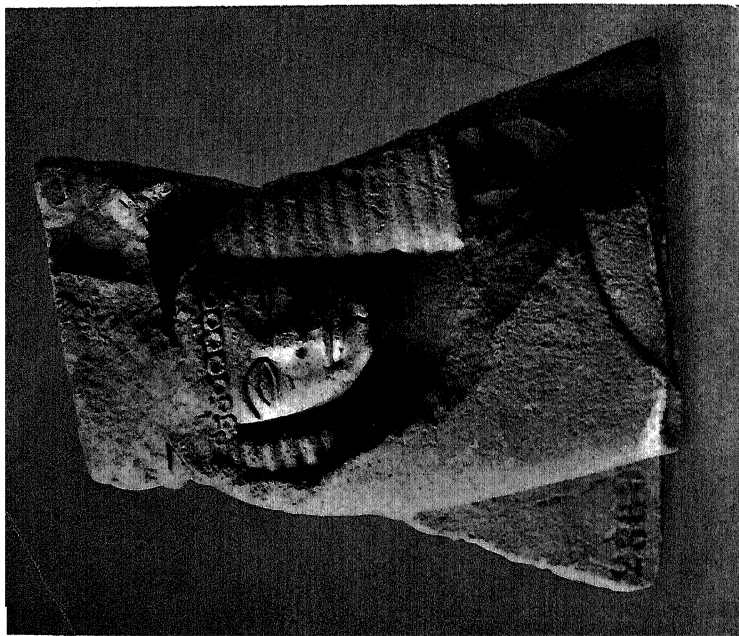
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KORE OF NICANDRA (ATHENS)



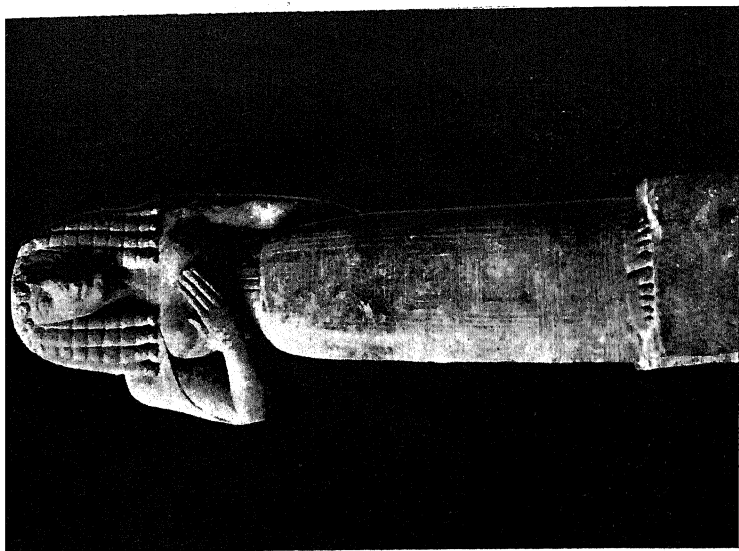
(b)  
NIKE FROM DELOS (ATHENS)



(c)  
KORE OF CHIERAMYES (LOUVRE)



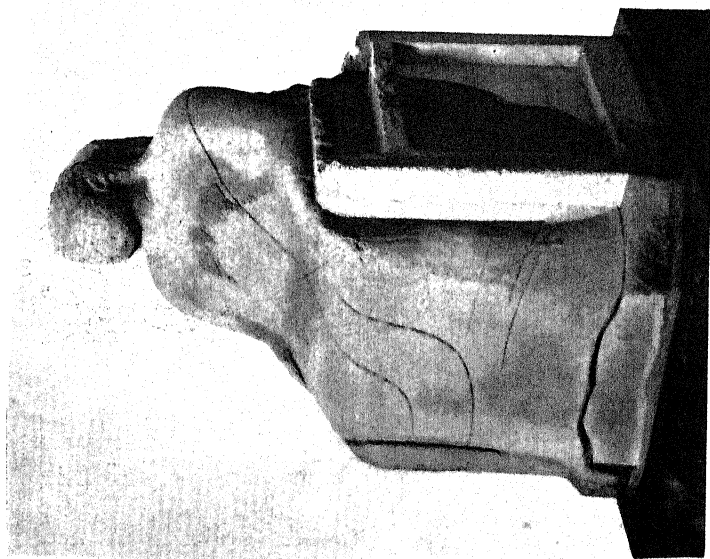
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BUST FROM MYCENAE (ATHENS).



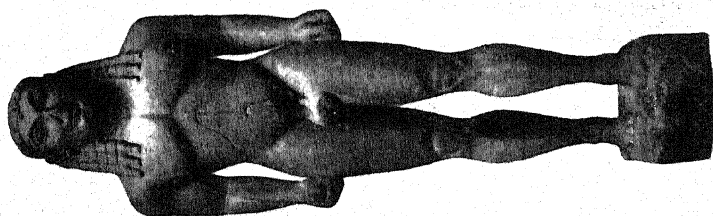
(b)  
FEMALE STATUETTE FROM AGERRE (LOUVRE).



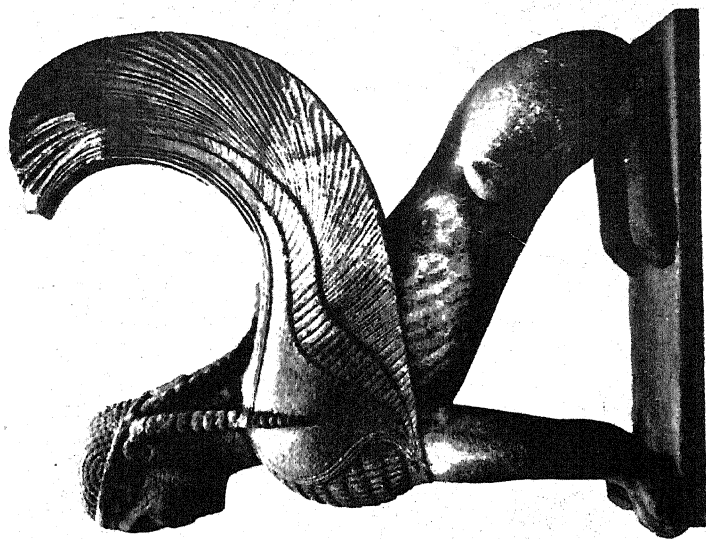
(b) HEAD OF BRANCHIDE CLAES (CONSTANTINOPLE).  
FEMALE STATUETTE FROM ATTERRE (LOUVRE).



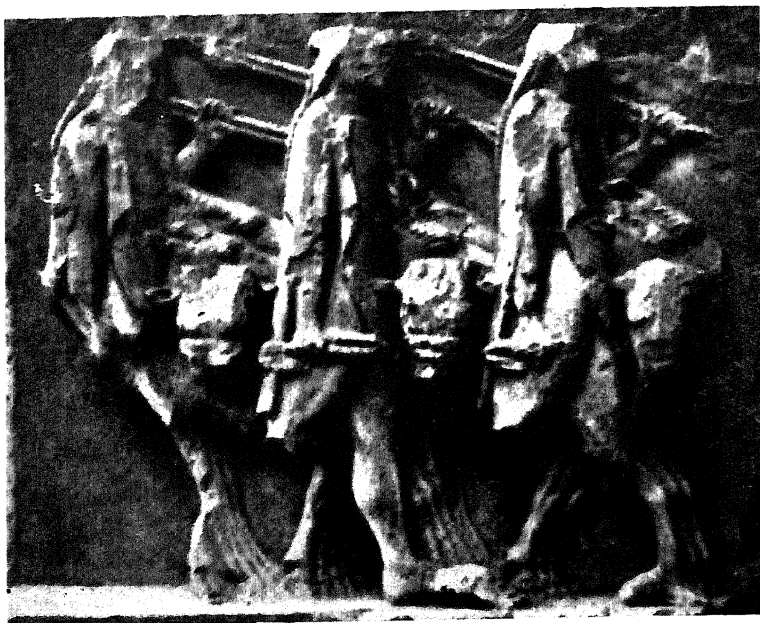
(a) SEATED MAN FROM BRANCHIDE (BRITISH MUSEUM).  
FROM MYCENAE (ATHENS).



(a)  
TWIN KOUROS (DELPHI).



(b)  
NAXIAN SPHINX (DELPHI).



(a) CATTLE-RAID FRAGMENT.



(b) ARGO METOPE, ON SMALLER SCALE.  
METOPES FROM SICYONIAN TREASURY (DELPHI).



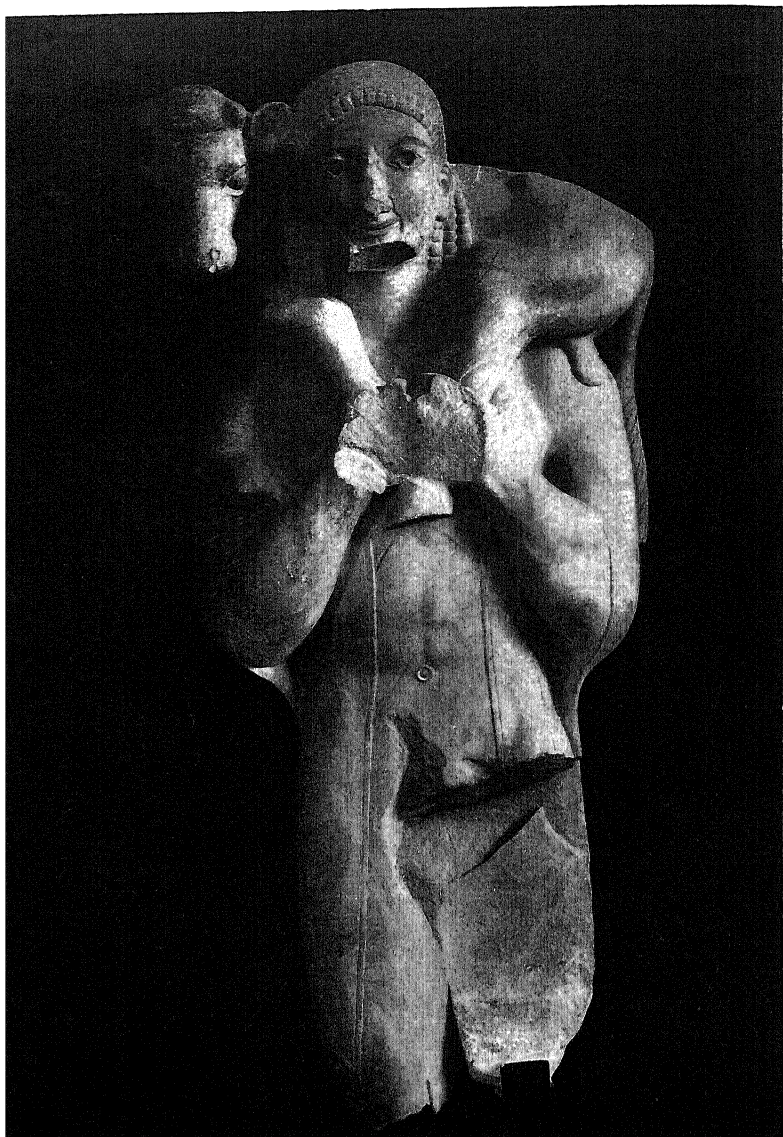
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FRAGMENTS OF FIGURES FROM EPHEBUS AND LOW RELIEFS FROM XANTHUS  
(BRITISH MUSEUM).



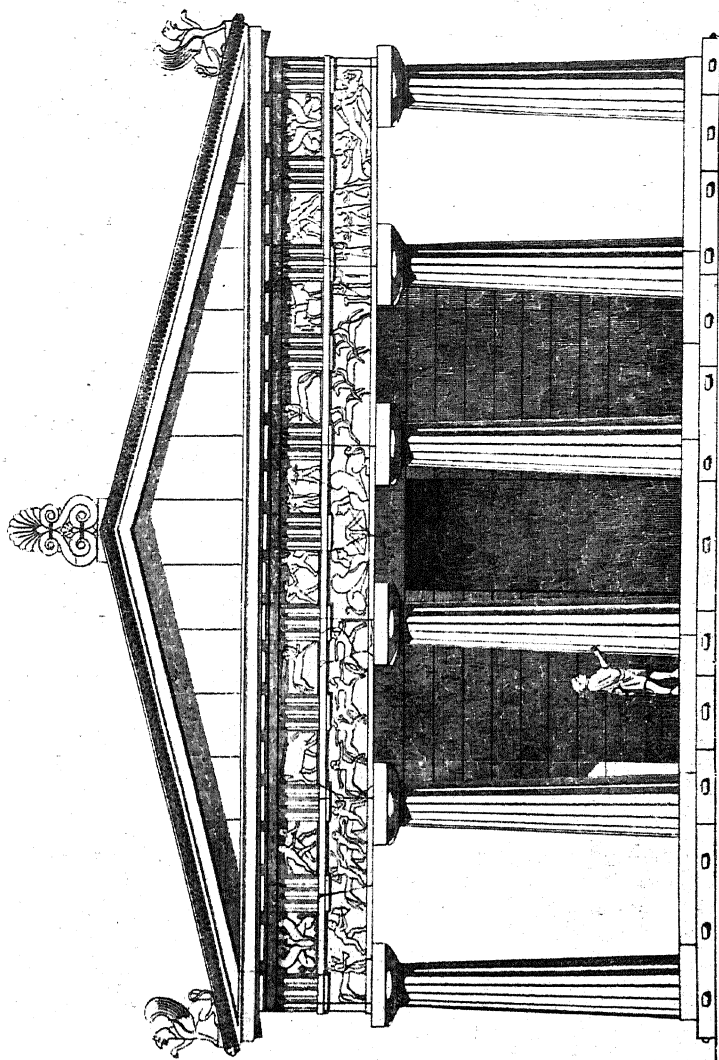
(b)

THREE-BODIED MONSTER, 'BLUEBEARD' (ACROPOLIS MUSEUM).



MOSCHOPHORUS (ACROPOLIS MUSEUM).





*[By courtesy of the Archaeological Institute of America.]*

RESTORATION OF TEMPLE AT ASSOES.



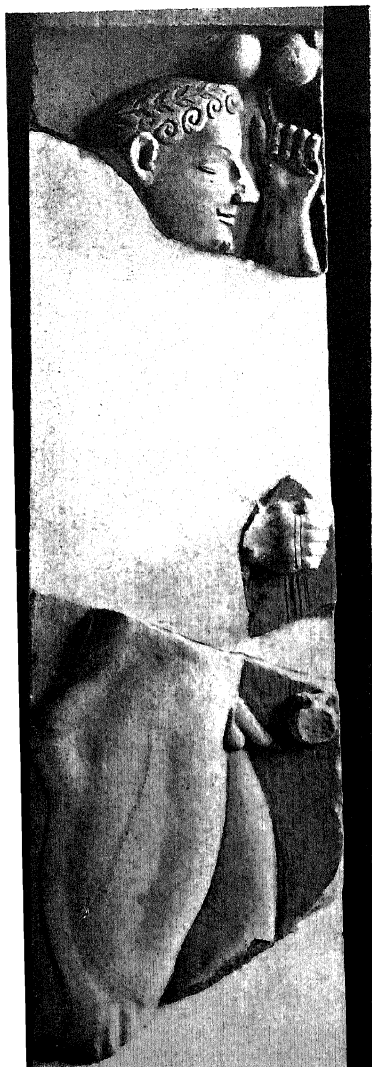
(a)  
THE 'RAMPIN' HEAD (LOUVRE).



(b)  
MALE HEAD (BERLIN).



STELA FROM CHRYSAPHA (BERLIN).



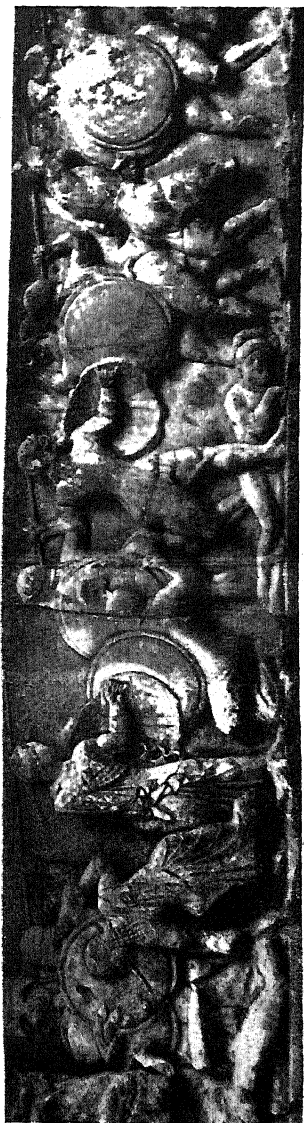
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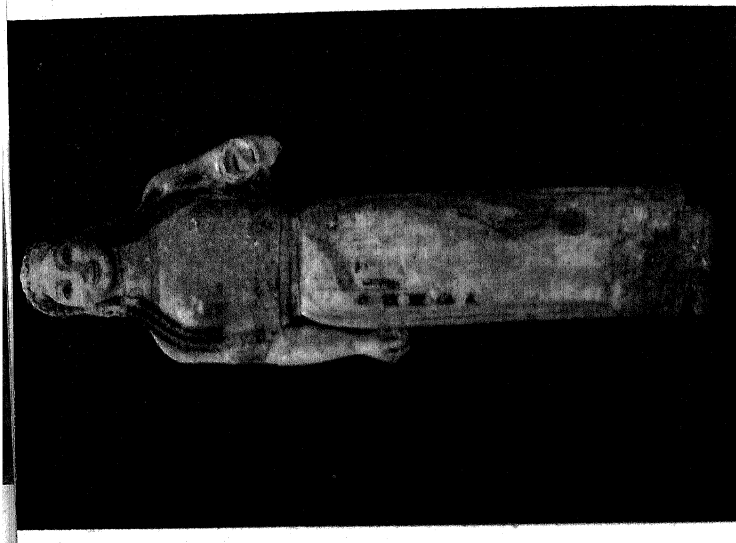
STELA OF ATHLETE (BOSTON).



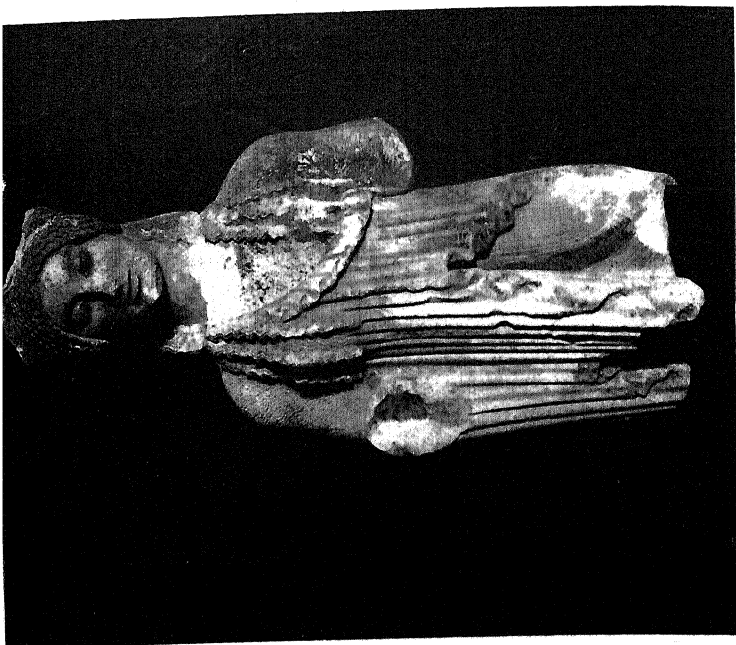
(b)

STELA OF ATHLETE AND GIRL (NEW YORK).

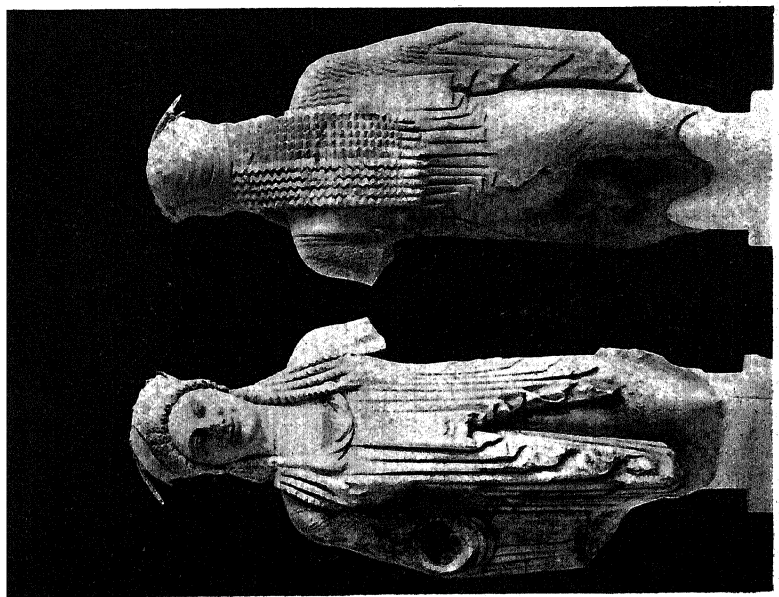
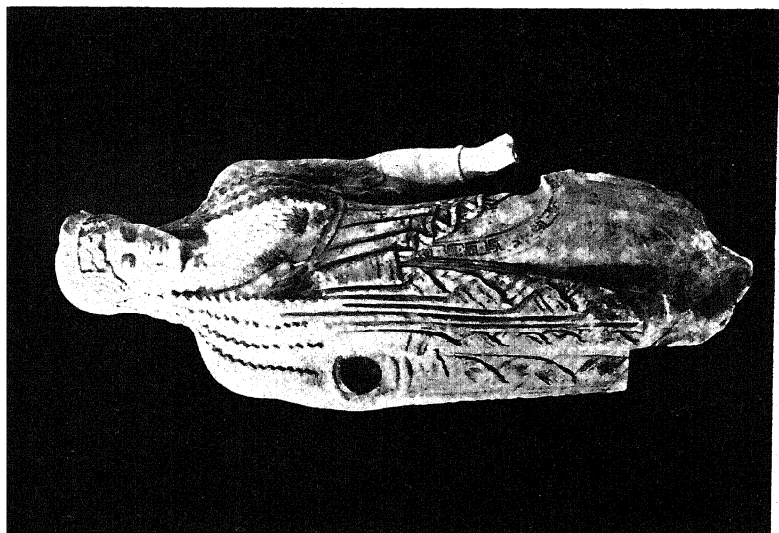




(a)  
KORE, NO. 679 (ACROPOLIS MUSEUM)



(b)  
KORE, NO. 674 (ACROPOLIS MUSEUM)

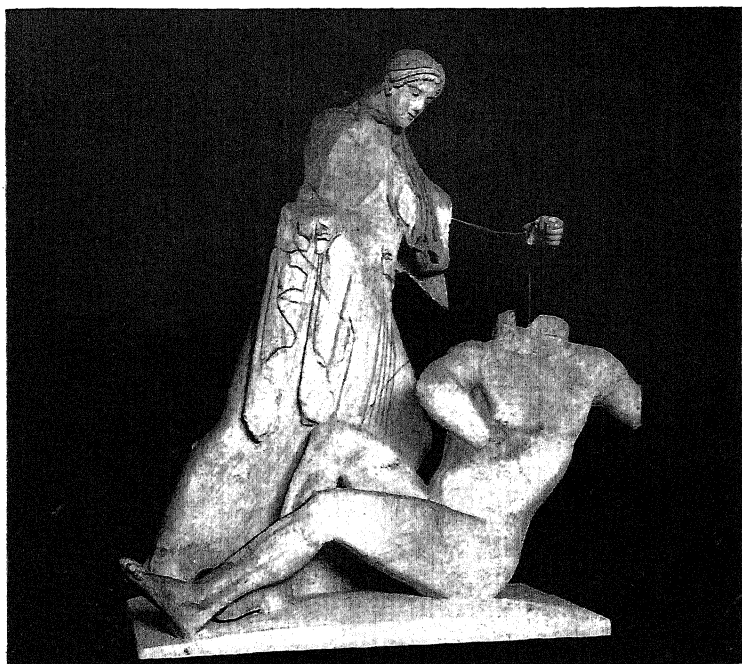






RELIEFS ON BASE OF A STATUE (ATHENS).





(a) ATHENA AND GIANT (ACROPOLIS MUSEUM).

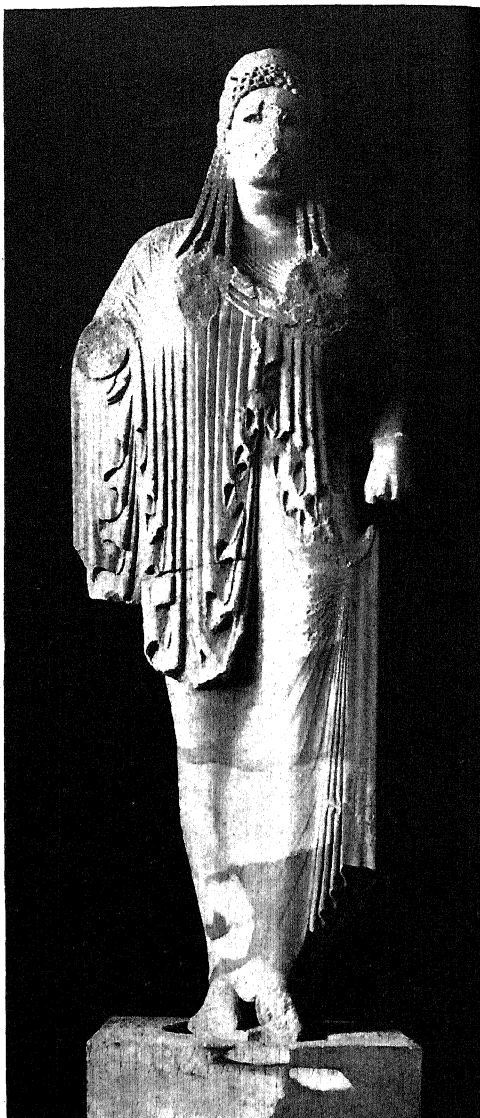


(b) PEDIMENTAL GROUP FROM TEMPLE OF APOLLO (DELPHI).



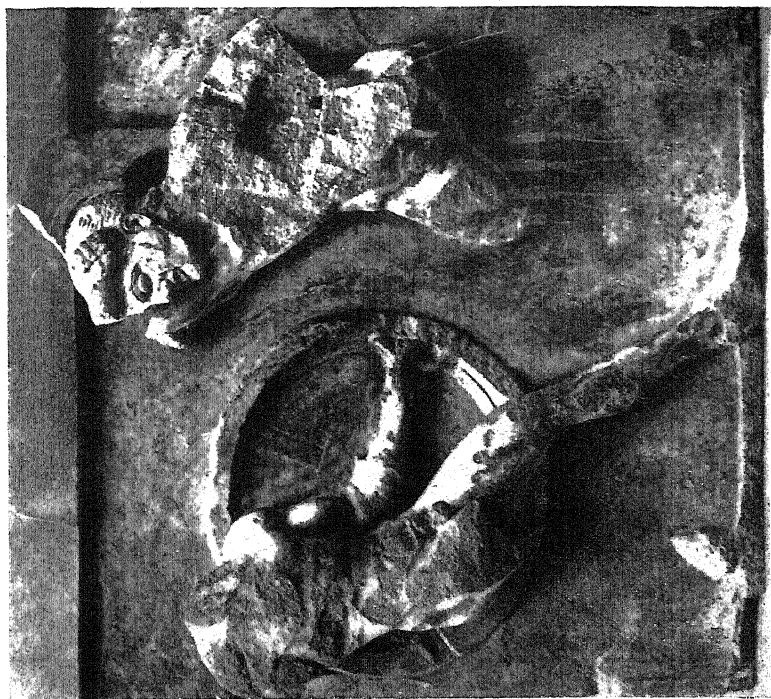
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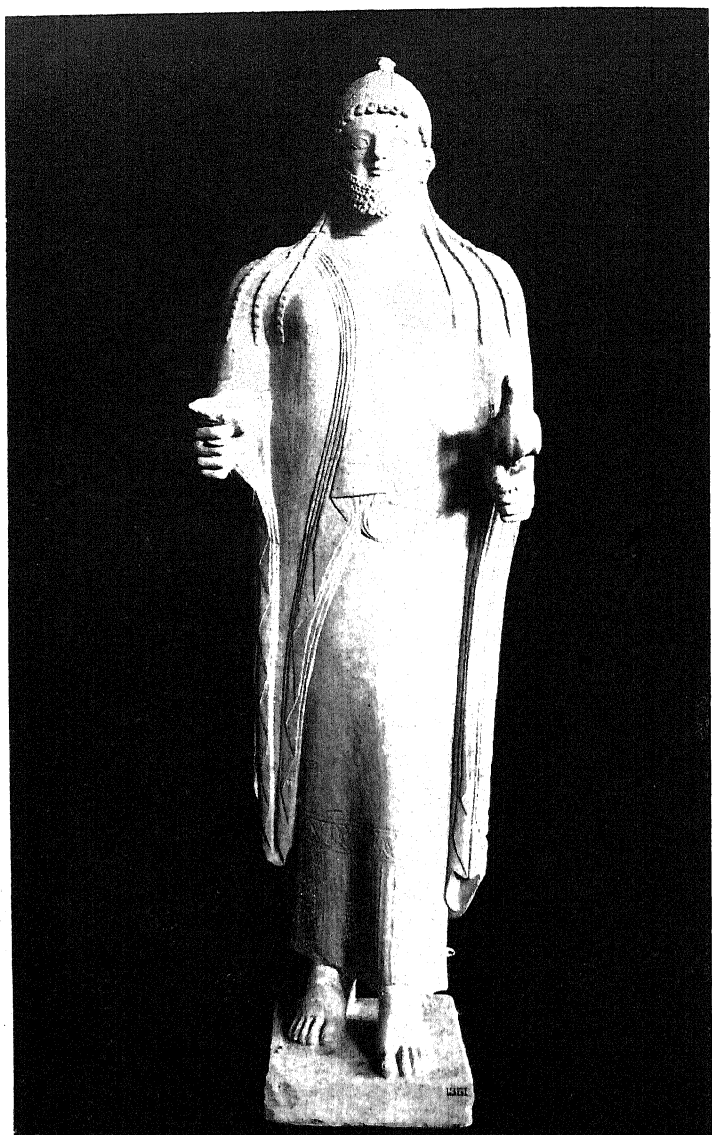
STELA OF ARISTION (ATHENS).



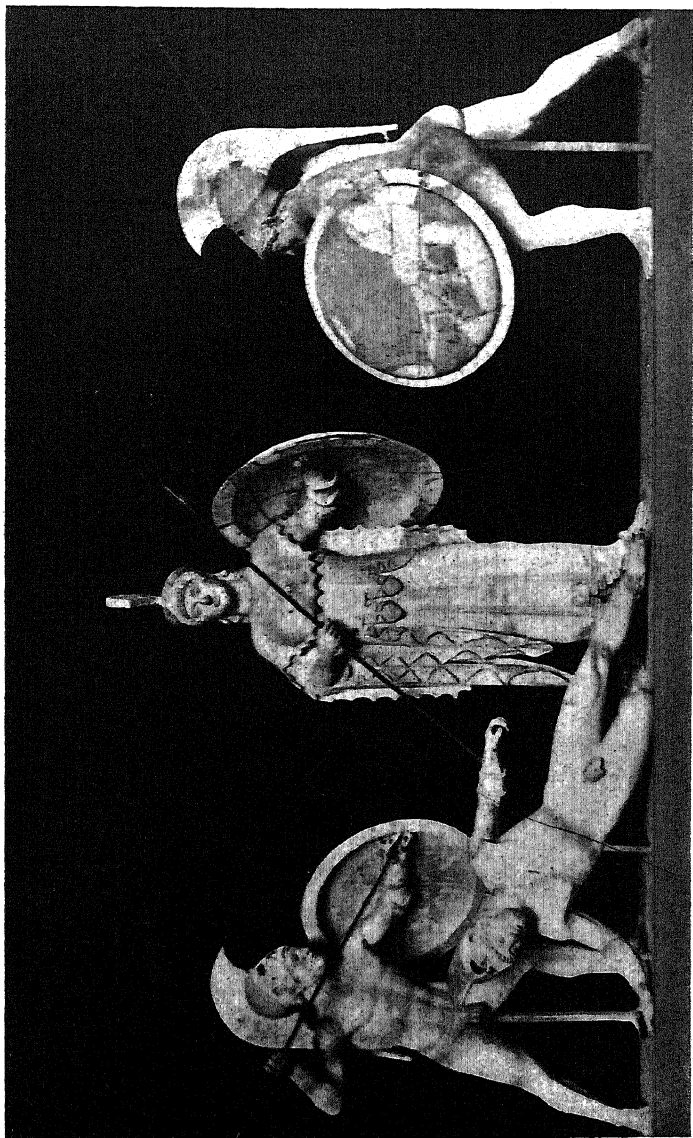
(b)

KORE OF ANTENOR (ACROPOLIS MUSEUM).





STATUE FROM CYPRUS (NEW YORK).

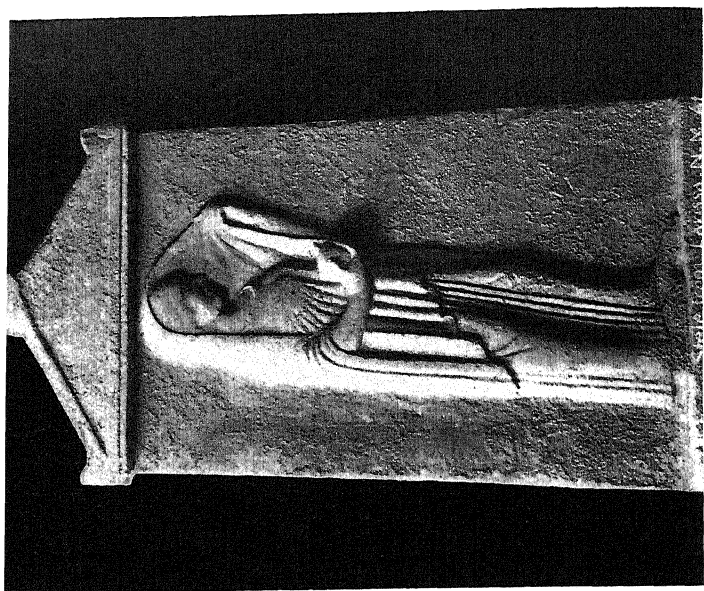


FIGURES FROM WEST PEDIMENT AT JGINA (MUNICH).



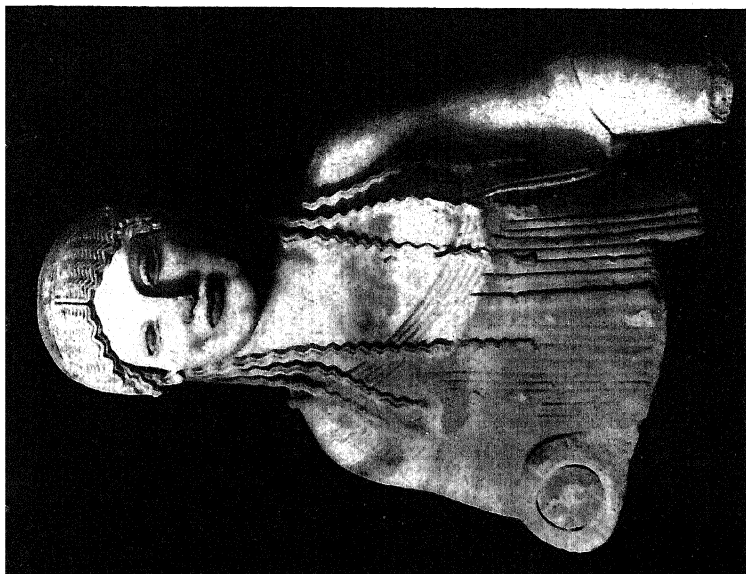
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BRONZE HEAD FROM ACROPOLIS (ATHENS).



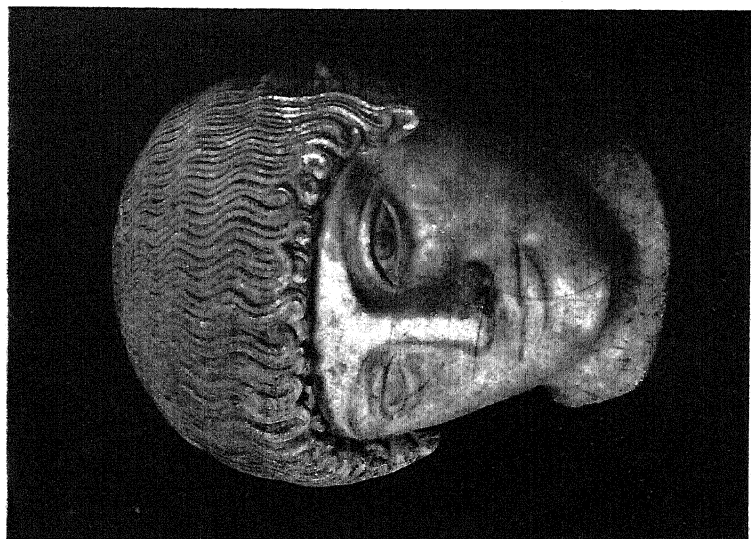
(b)

STELA OF GIRL, FROM LARISA (ATHENS).



(a)

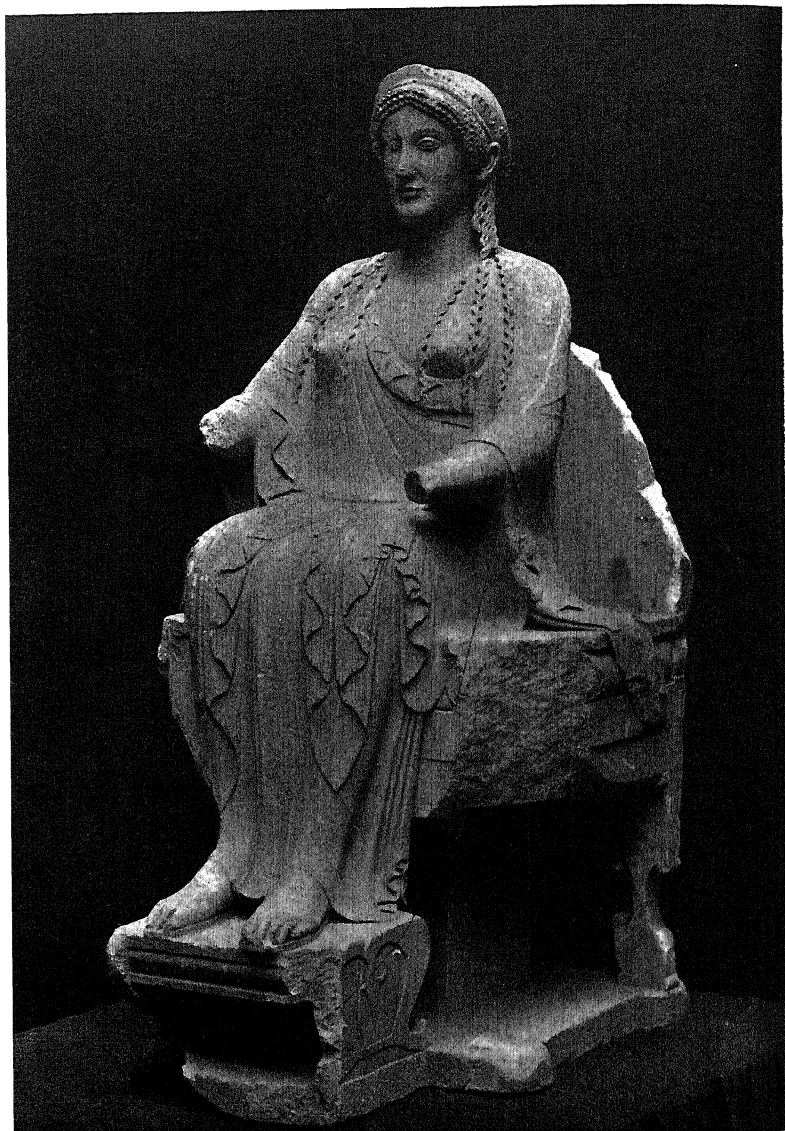
KORE OF EUTHYDICUS (ACROPOLIS MUSEUM).



(b)

HEAD OF YOUTH (ACROPOLIS MUSEUM).





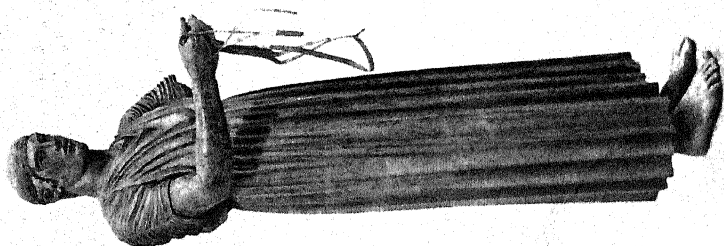
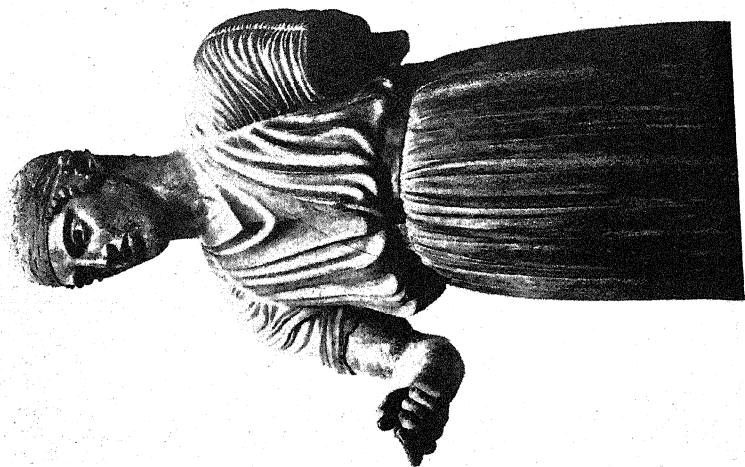
SEATED GODDESS (BERLIN).





TYRANNICIDES (NAPLES).

[ALINARI Photo.]

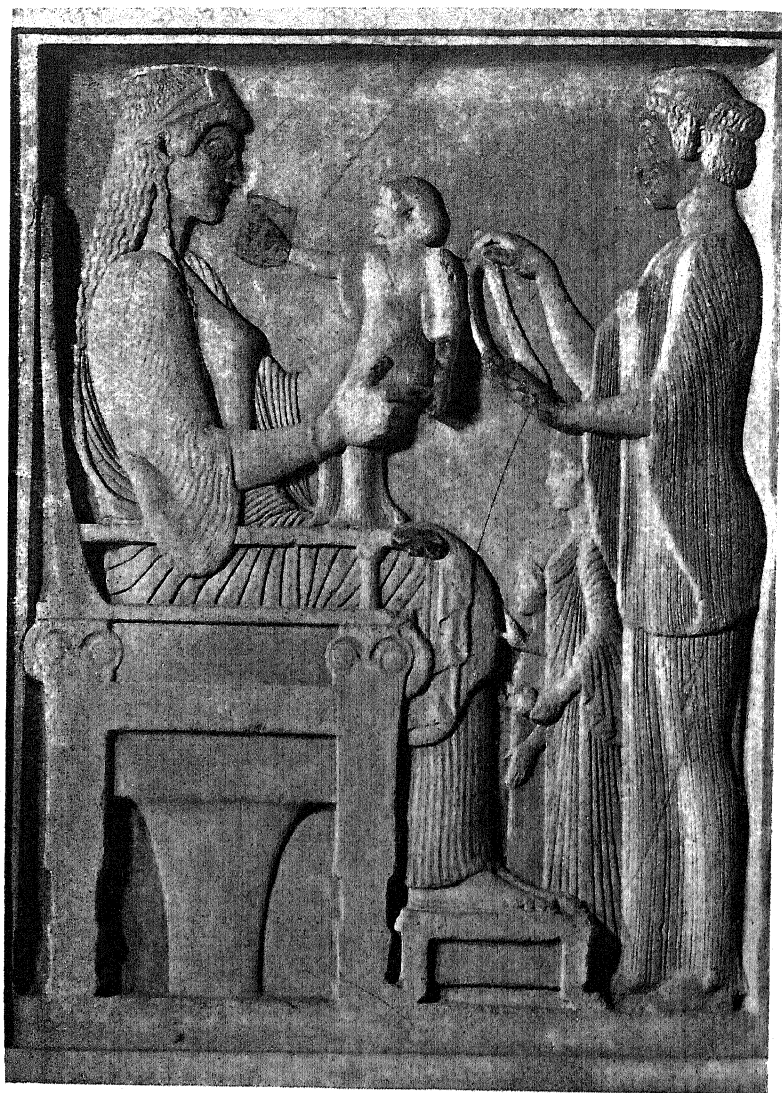




(a)



(b)



'LEUCOTHEA' STELA (VILLA ALBANI).



(a)

WEST SIDE OF 'HARPY'  
TOMB (BRITISH MUSEUM).



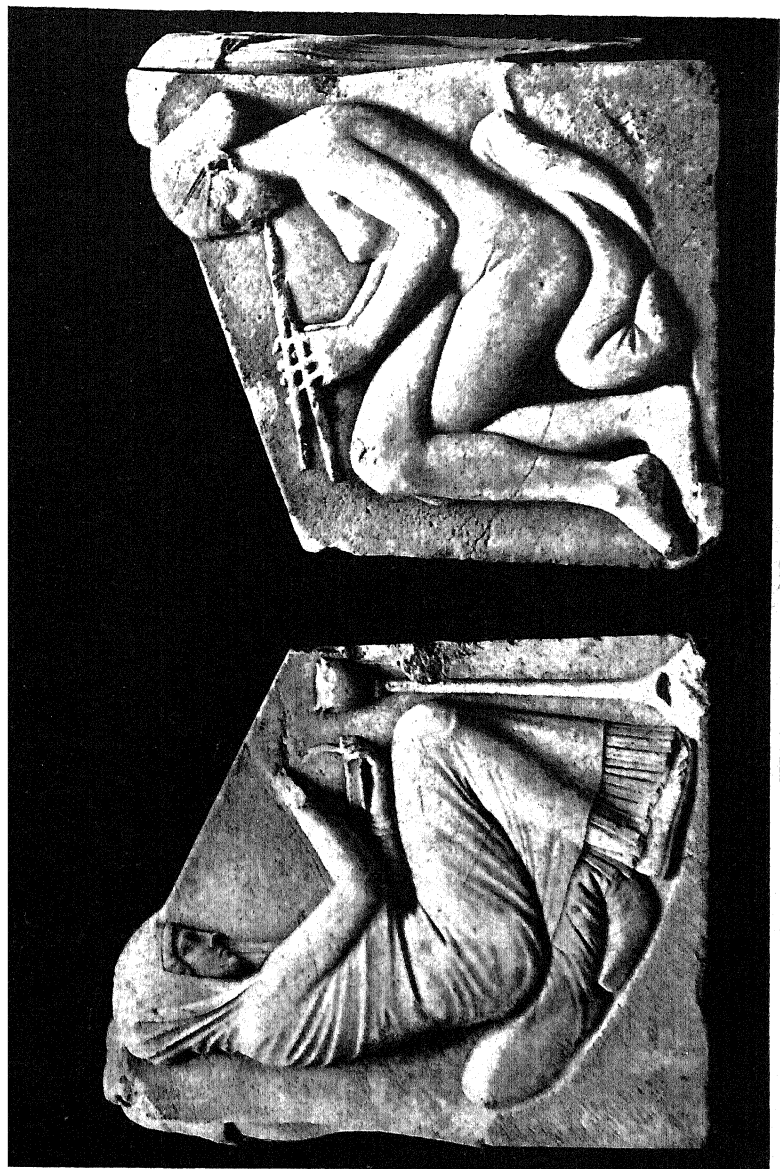
(b)

FUNERARY BANQUET  
(CONSTANTINOPLE).

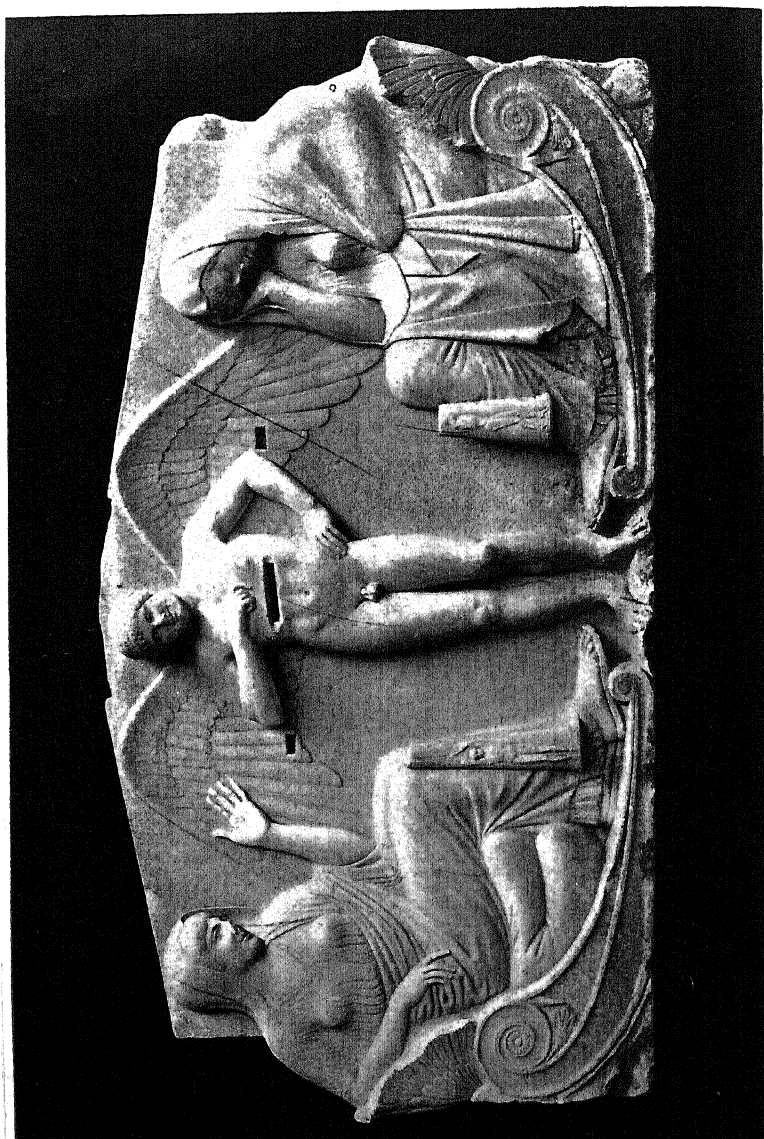


FRONT OF 'LUDOVISI THRONE' (TERME)





SIDES OF 'LUDOVISI THRONE' (TERME).

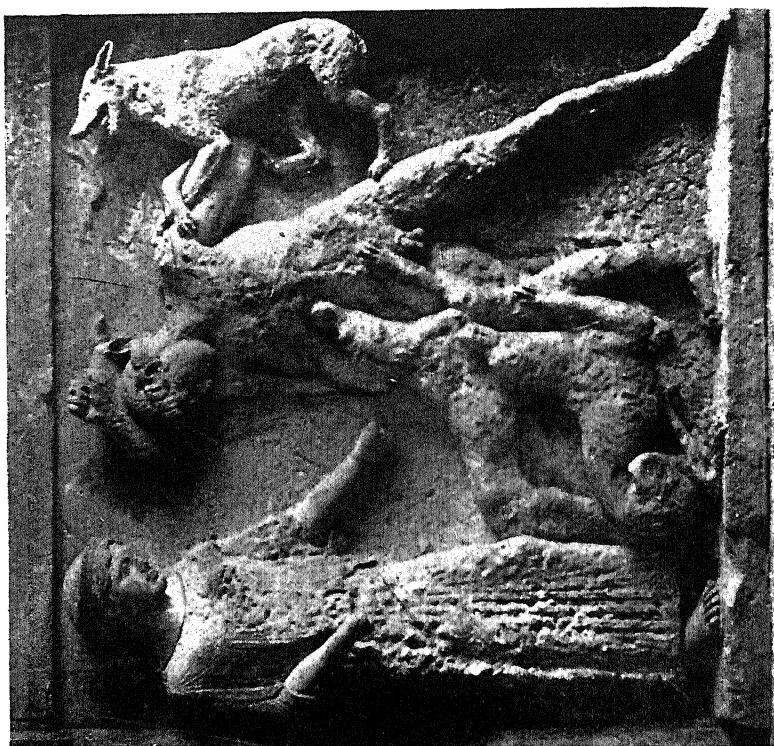


FRONT OF 'THRONE' (BOSTON)

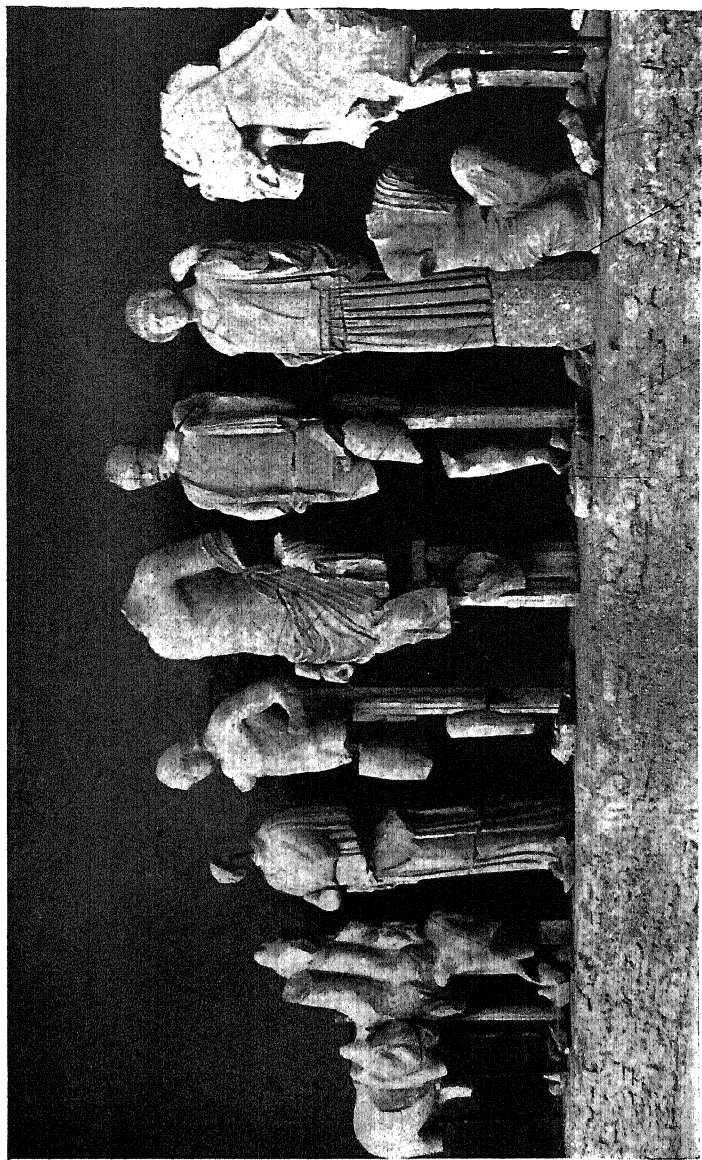




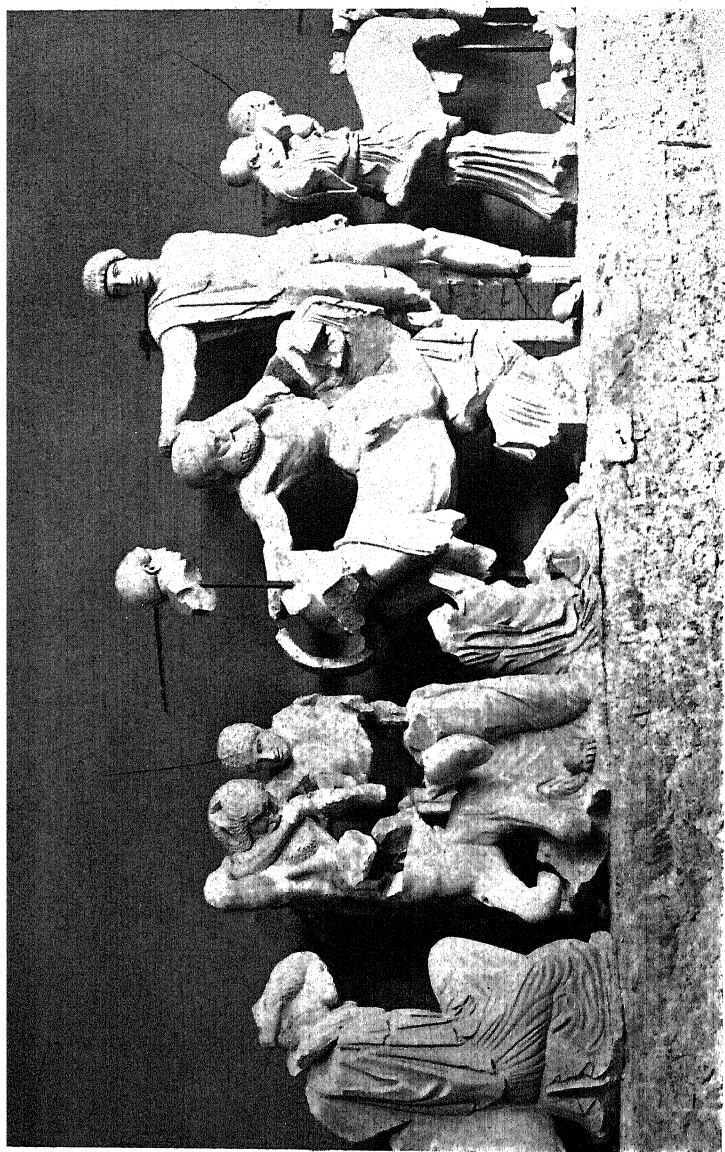
HEAD OF OLD WOMAN FROM 'THRONE' (BOSTON).



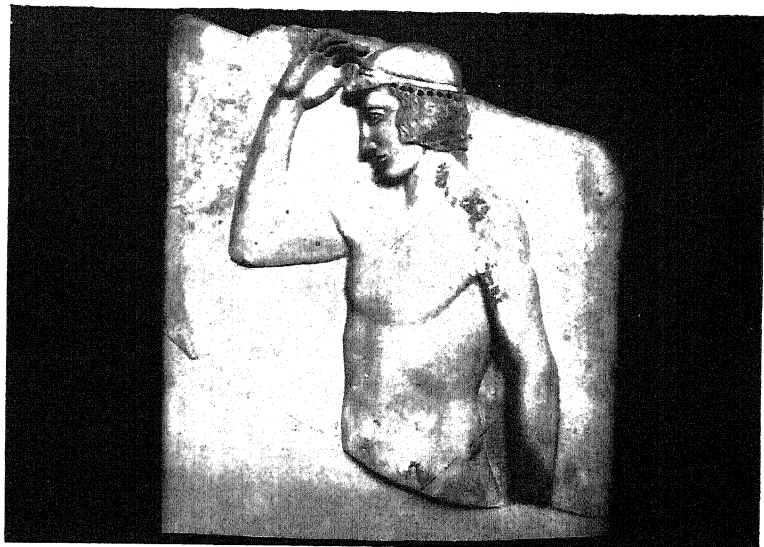
(a)  
THE 'HUMPHREY WARD' HEAD  
(LOUVRE).



FIGURES FROM EAST PEDIMENT (OLYMPIA).



FIGURES FROM WEST PEDIMENT (OLYMPIA).

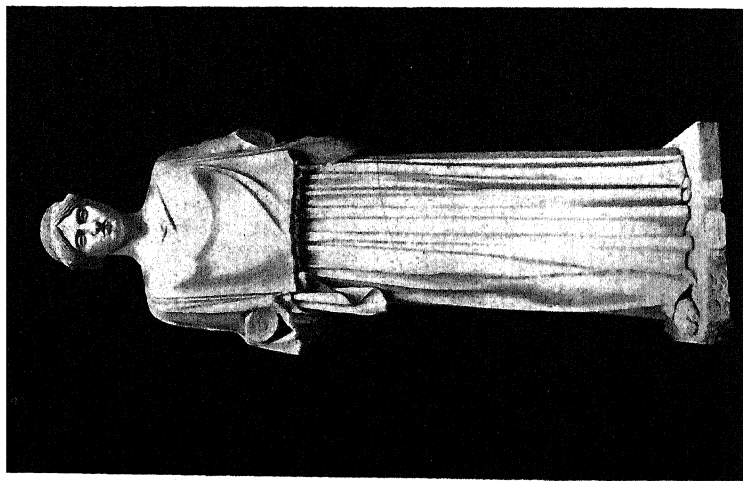


(a)

STELA OF BOY FROM SUNIUM (ATHENS).



(b)

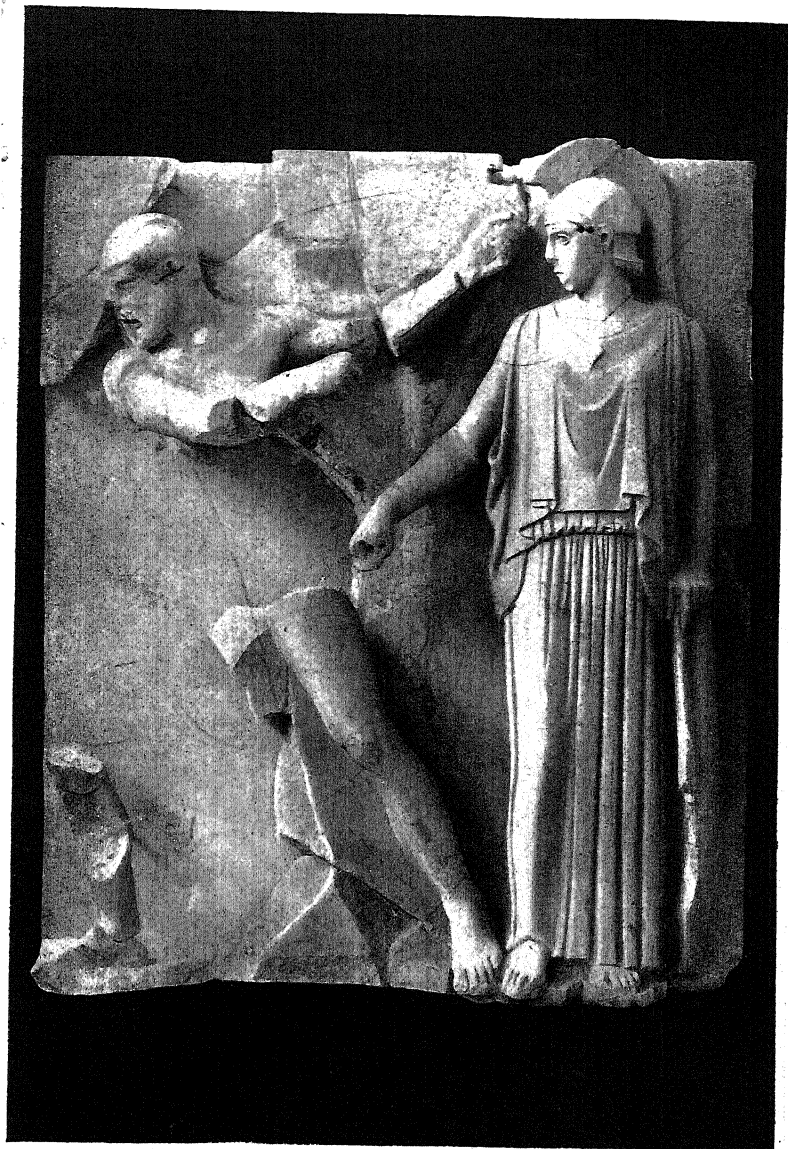


(a)  
FEMALE STATUE WEARING PEPLOS (TERNAIE).

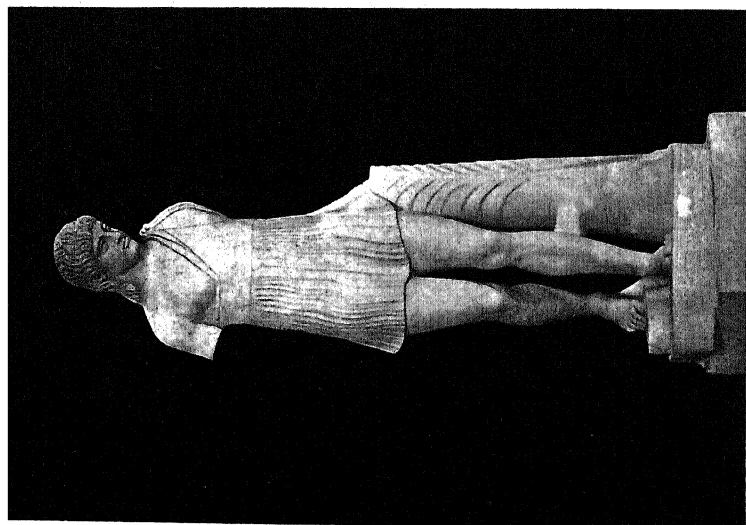


(b)  
METOPE OF STYMPHALIAN BIRDS (COUVRE AND OLYMPIA).

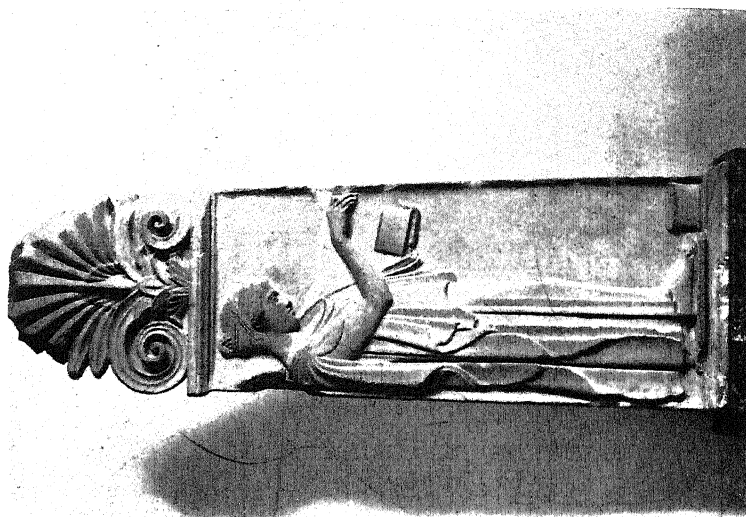




METOPÉ OF AEGEAN STABLES (OLYMPIA).

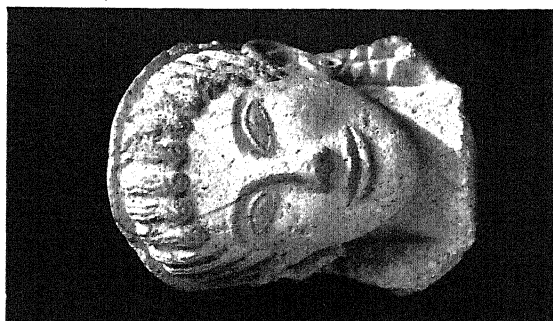


(c)  
GIRL RUNNING (ATHLETE).

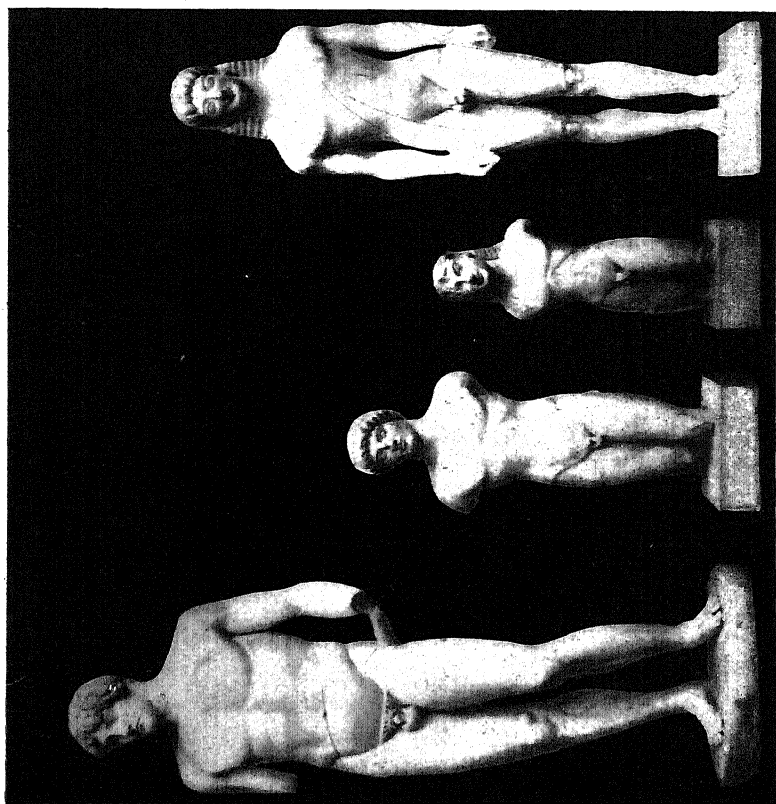


(b)  
STELA OF GIRL FROM VENICE.





(b)  
FEMALE HEAD FROM SICILY  
(GROTON).



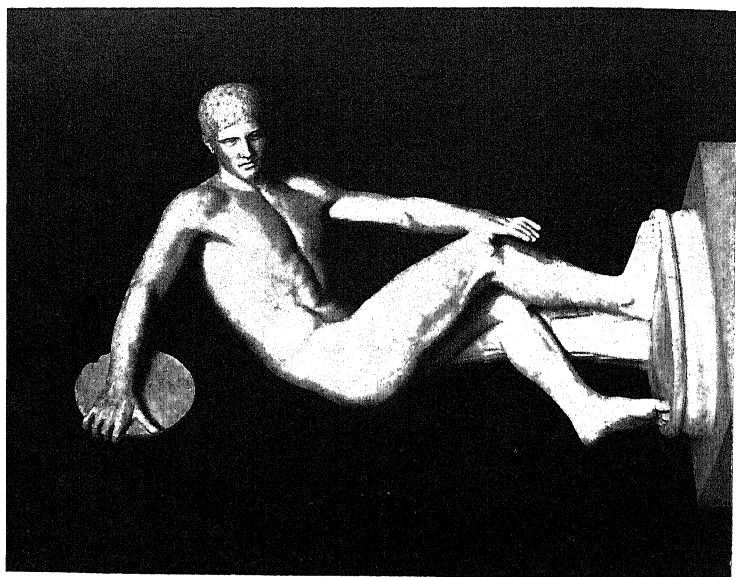
(a)



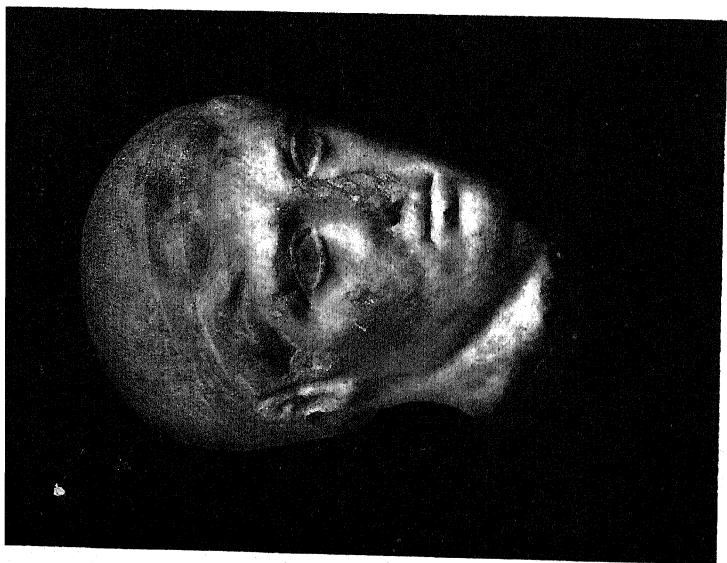
THE 'SATRAP' SARCOPHAGUS (CONSTANTINOPLE).



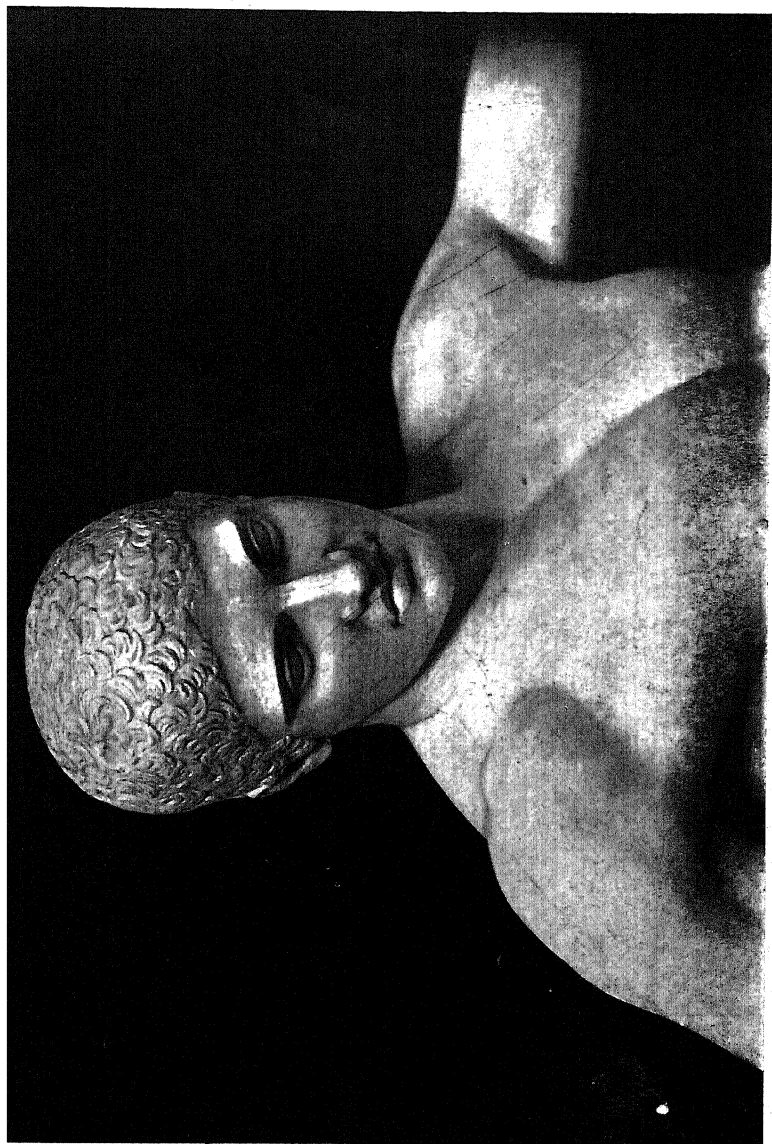
THE 'SATRAP' SARCOPHAGUS (CONSTANTINOPEL).



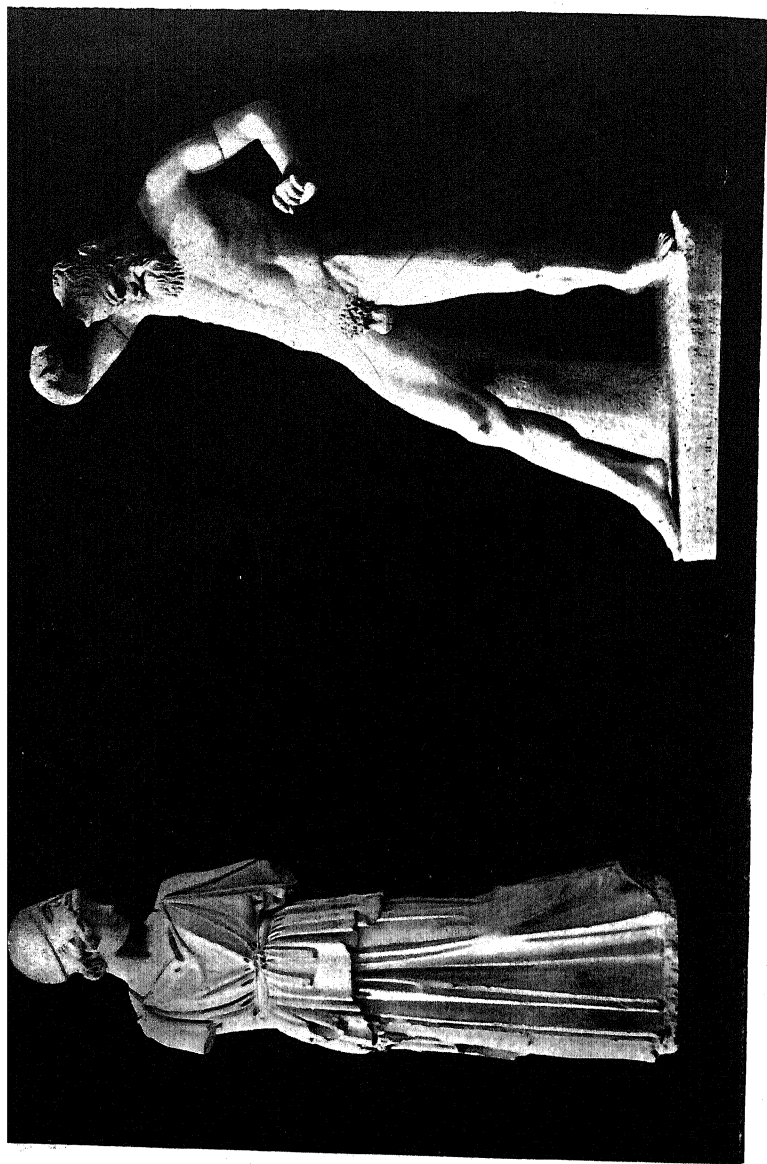
(b) RESTORATION OF DISCOBOLUS



(a) HEAD OF YOUTH (ACROPOLIS MUSEUM)



RESTORATION OF DISCOBOLUS.

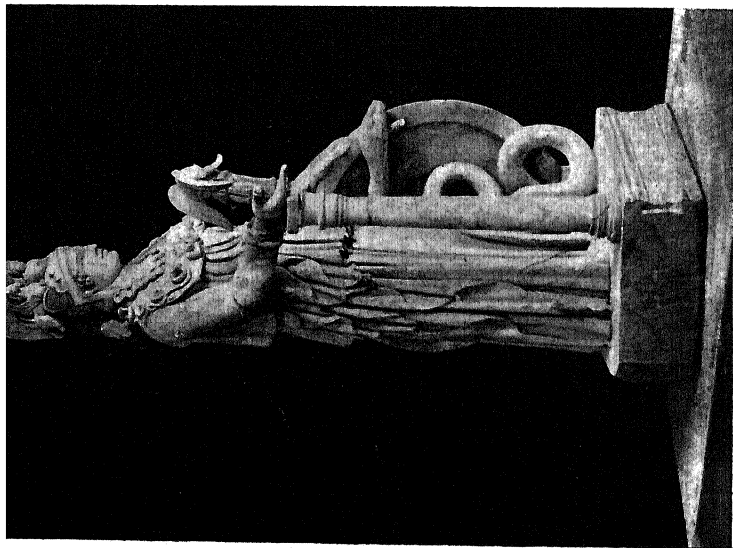


ATHENA (FRANKFURT) AND MARSYAS (LATERAN)



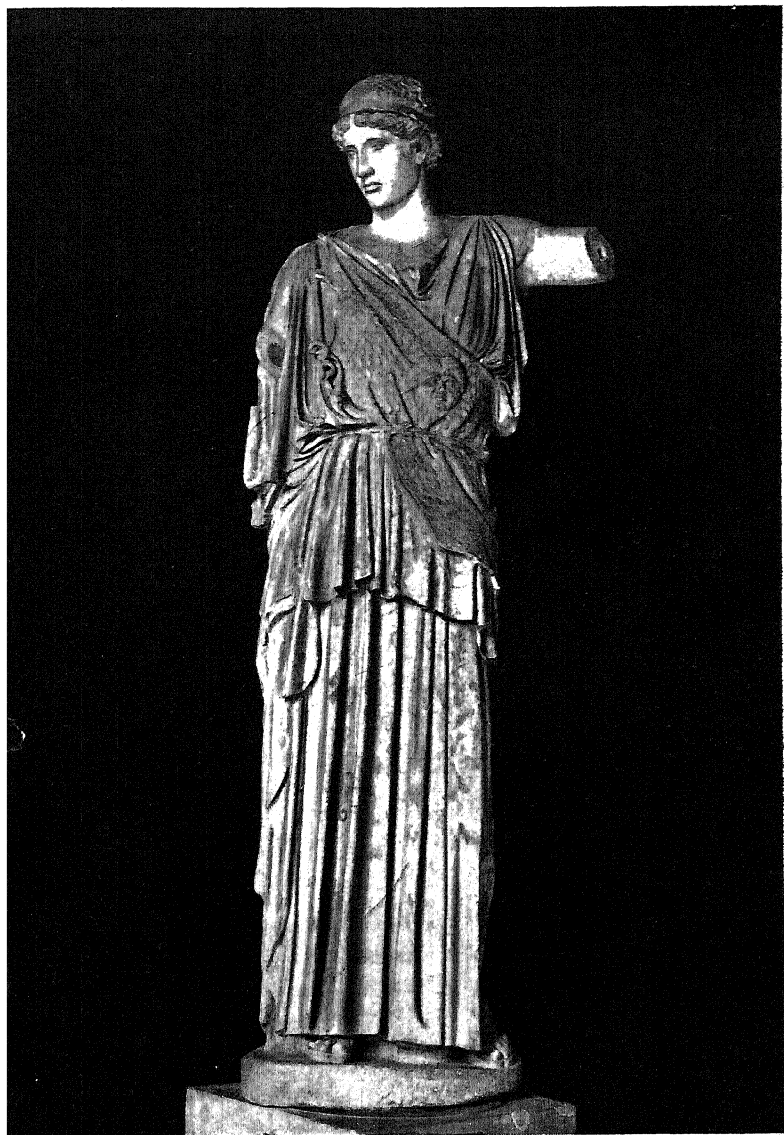
WOUNDED HERO (VILLA ALBANI).



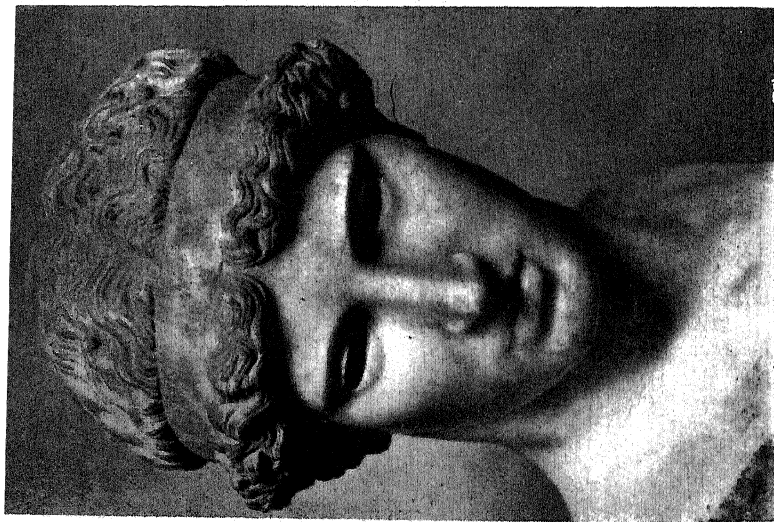


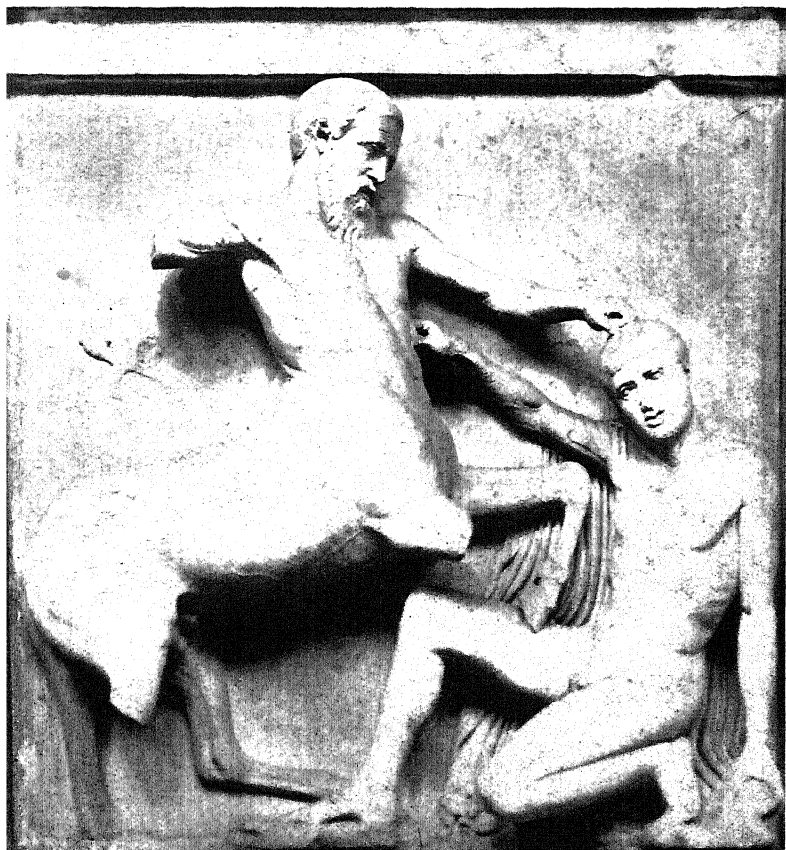
COPIES OF ATHENA PARTHENOS (ATHENS AND BERLIN).



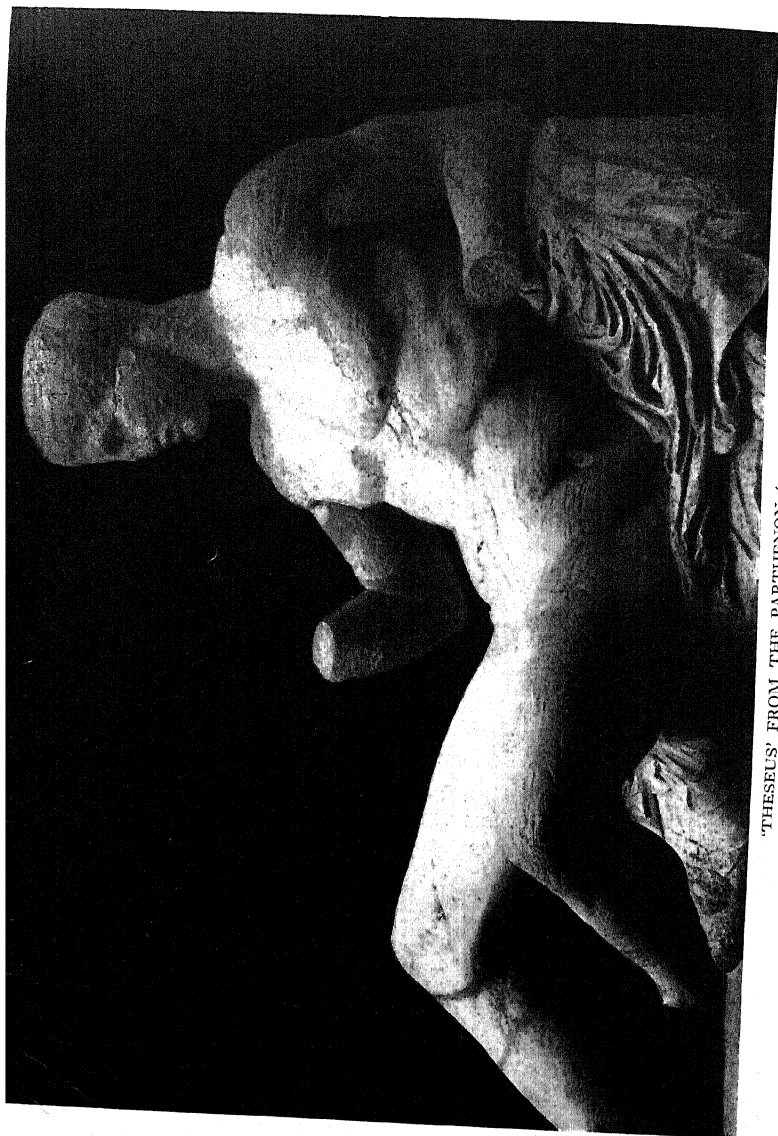


'LEMNIAN' ATHENA (DRESDEN).





METOPÉ FROM THE PARTHENON (BRITISH MUSEUM).



'THESEUS' FROM THE PARTHENON (BRITISH MUSEUM).



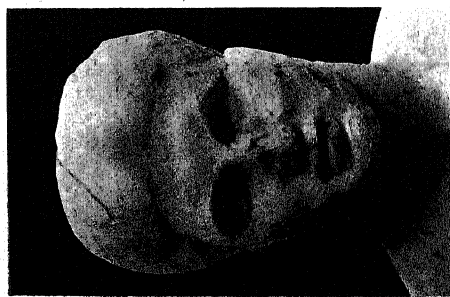


GODS FROM EAST FRIEZE OF THE PARTHENON (ACROPOLIS MUSEUM);



ARRANGING THE PROCESSION, WEST FRIEZE OF THE PARTHENON (CAST IN BRITISH MUSEUM).





(a)

HEAD OF "THESEUS"  
(BRITISH MUSEUM).



(b)

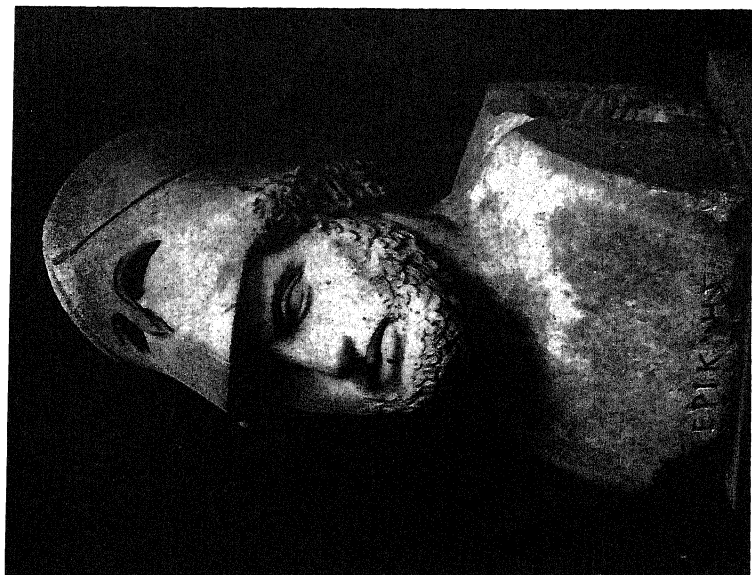
HEAD OF YOUTH FROM FRIEZE OF THE PARTHENON (LOUVRE).

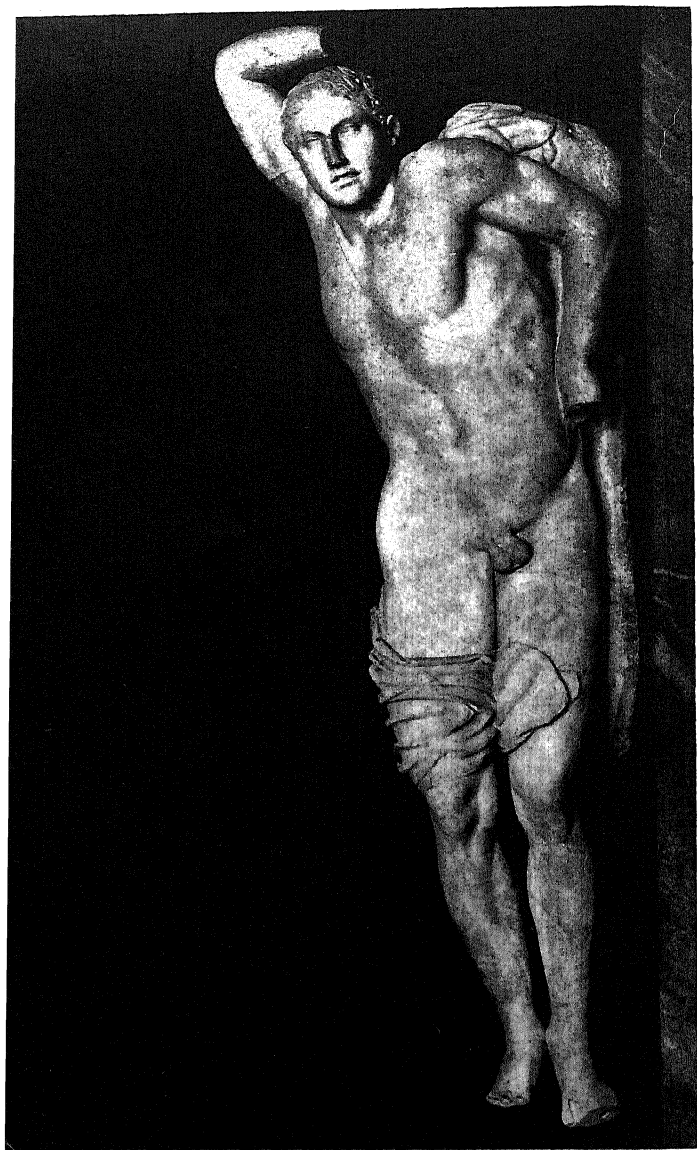


(c)

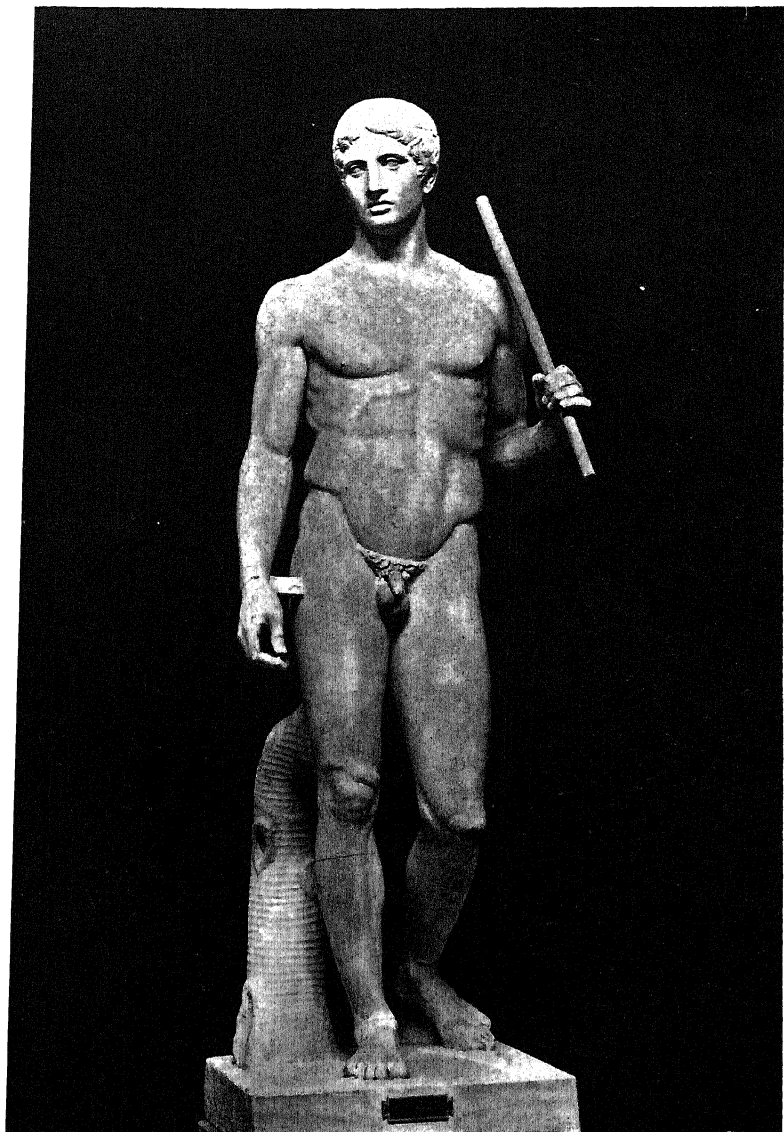
HEAD OF AMAZON  
(CONSERVATORI).







SON OF NIOBE (COPENHAGEN).



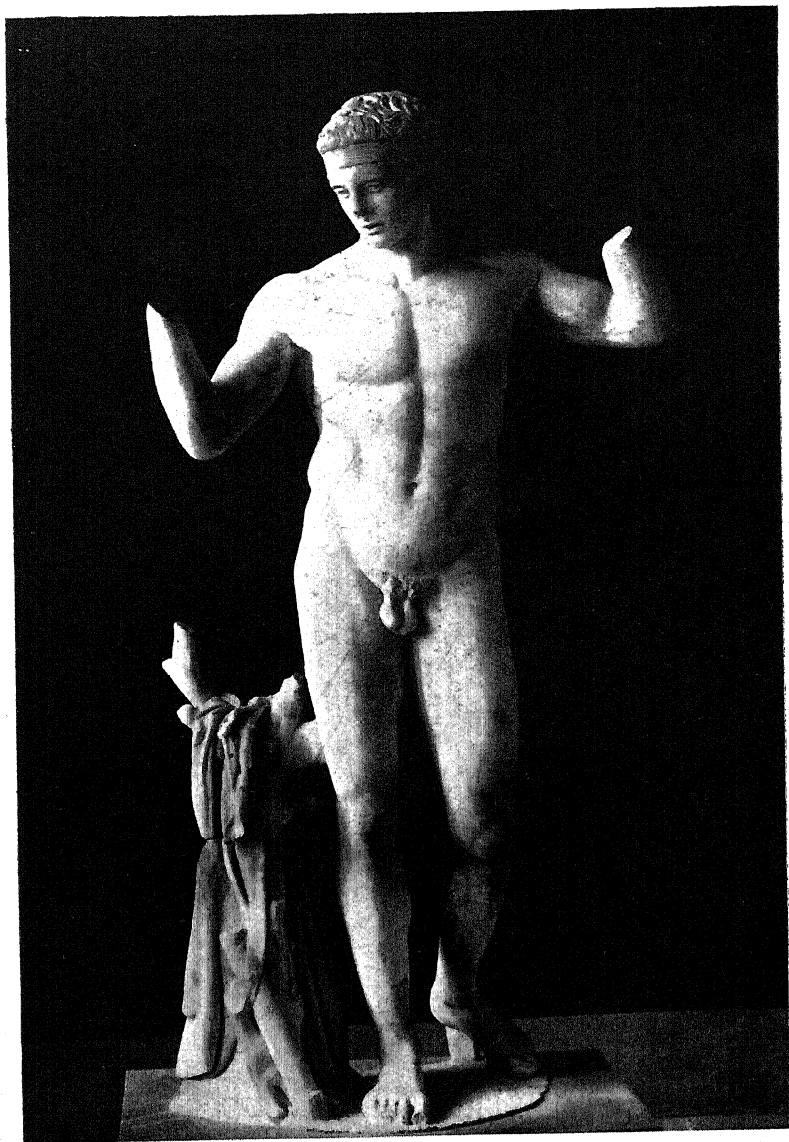
DORYPHORUS (NAPLES)

[BROGI Photo.]



HERM OF DORYPHORUS (NAPLES).

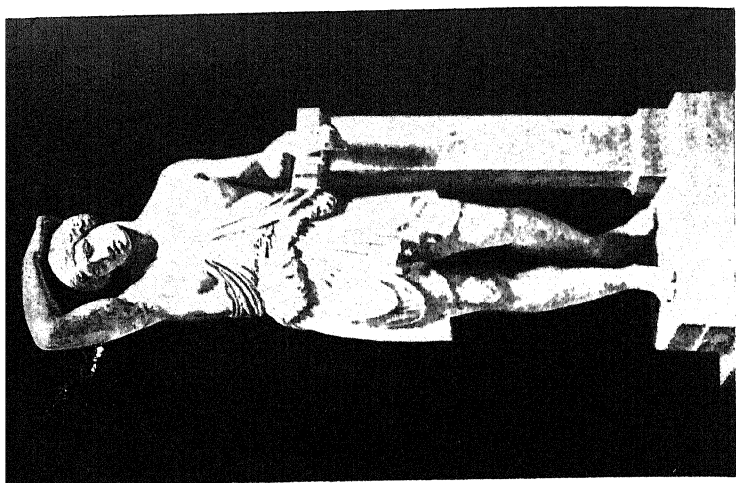
[BROGI Photo.]



DIADUMENUS FROM DELOS (ATHENS).



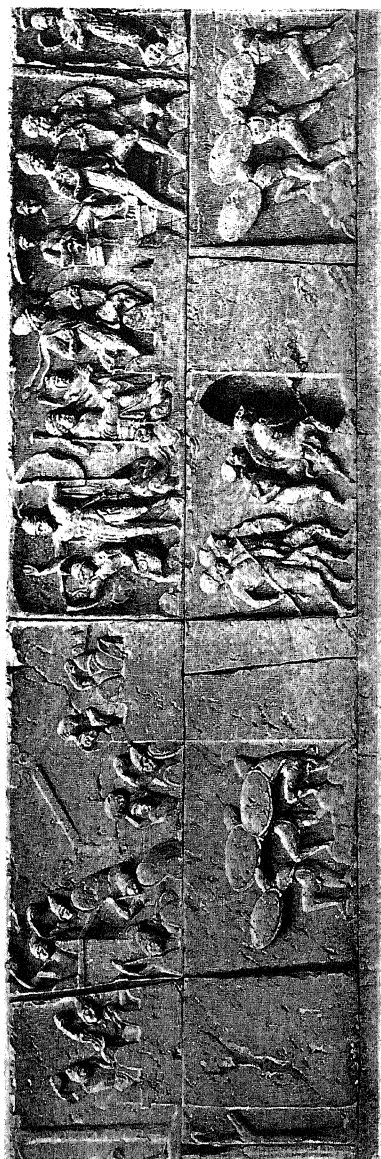
(a)  
HEAD OF DIADUMENUS (DRESDEN).



(b)  
WOUNDED AMAZON (BERLIN).

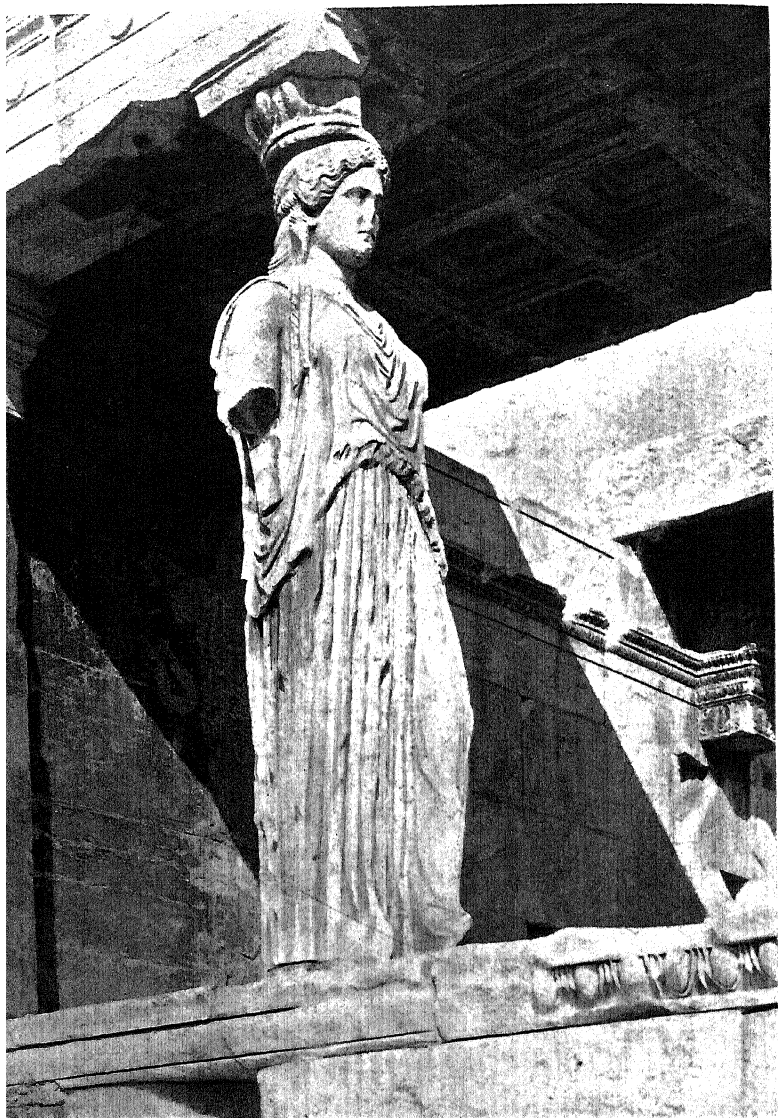


(a) FRIEZE FROM NIKE TEMPLE (BRITISH MUSEUM).



(b) FRIEZE FROM GJOLBASCHI (VIENNA).





CARYATID PORCH (ERECHEUM, ATHENS).

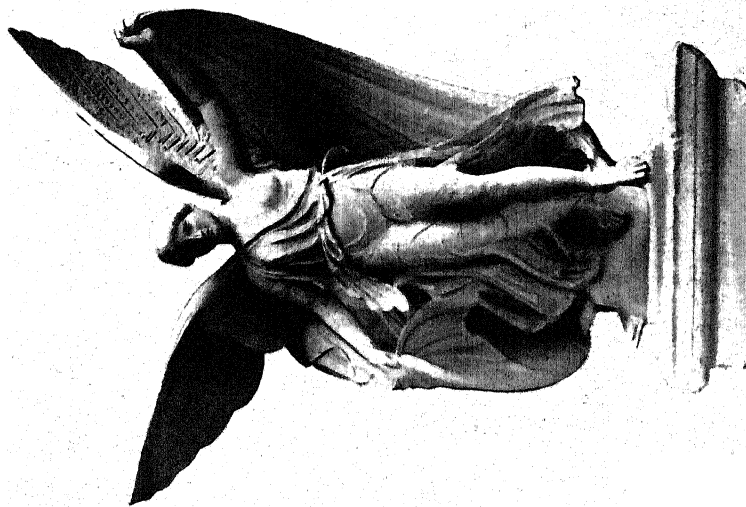




FRIEZE FROM TEMPLE AT BASÆ (BRITISH MUSEUM).



VICTORY BY PÆONIUS (OLYMPIA).



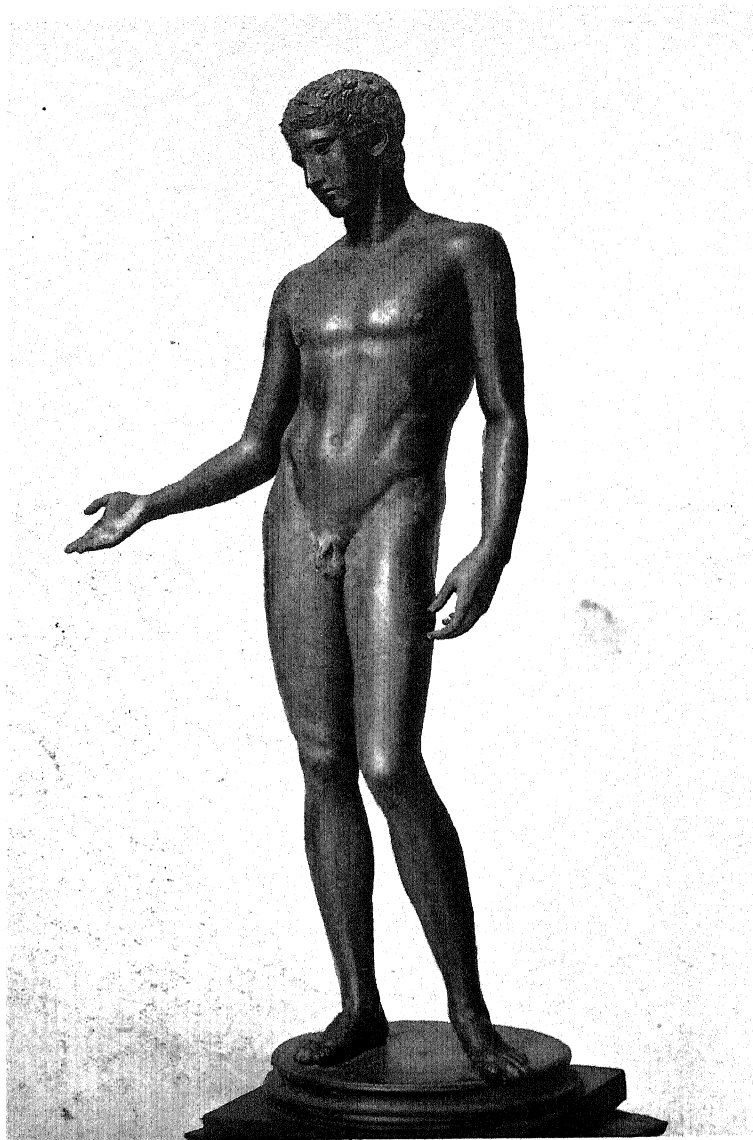
(a)

RESTORATION OF VICTORY BY PEONILIS



(b)

ARES OF 'BORGHESÉ' TYPE (DRESDEN)





(a) BRONZE HEAD OF BOY (MUNICH).



(b) FEMALE HEAD FROM ARGIVE HERAEUM (ATHENS).



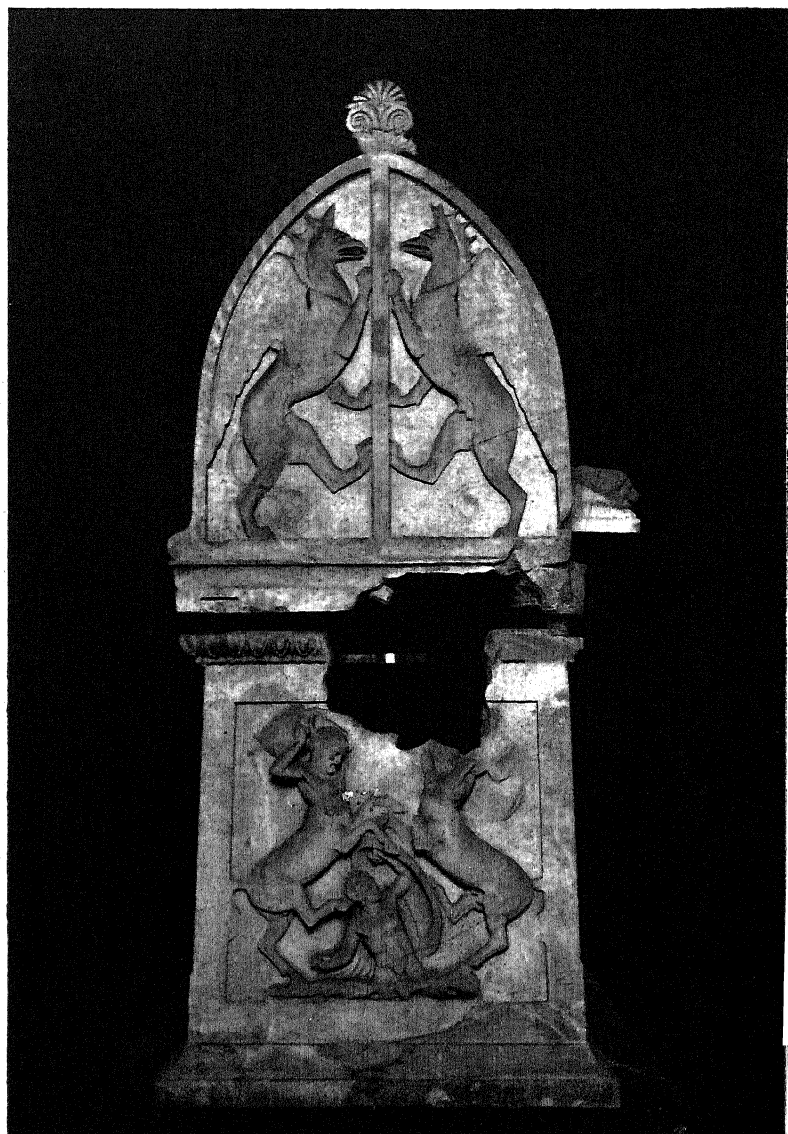
(a)

VICTORY FASTENING HER SANDAL (ACROPOLIS MUSEUM).



(b)

TORSO OF 'GENETRIX' TYPE.

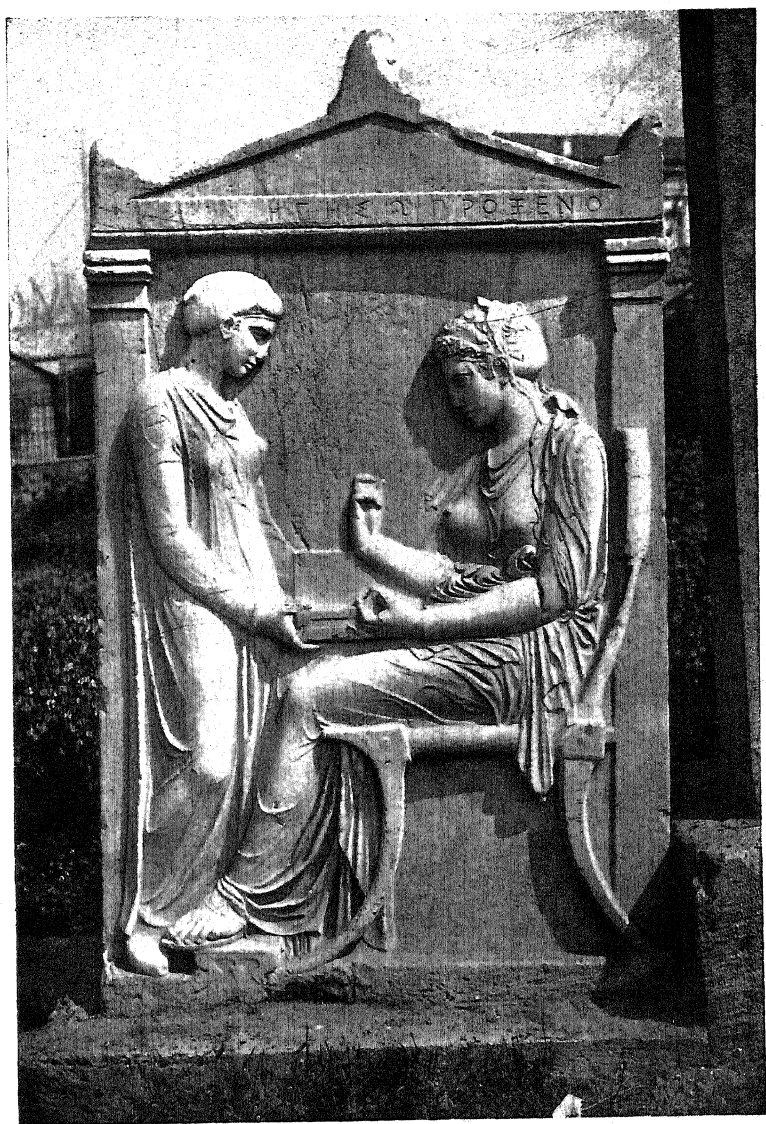


THE 'LYCIAN' SARCOPHAGUS (CONSTANTINOPLE).



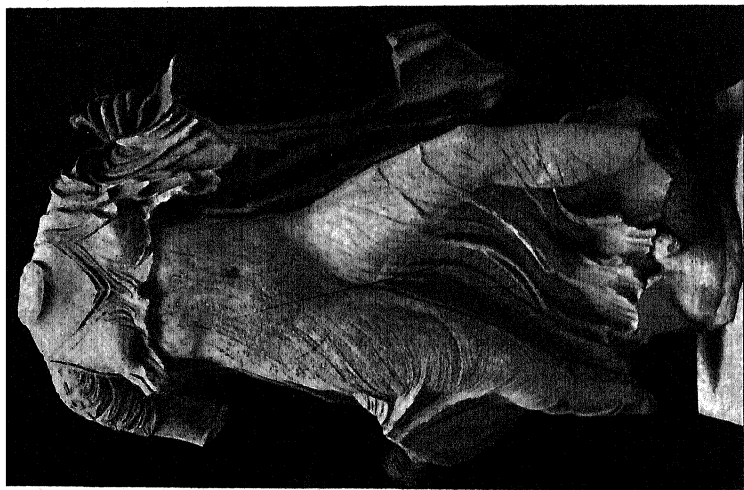
THE 'LYCIAN' SARCOPHAGUS (CONSTANTINOPLE).



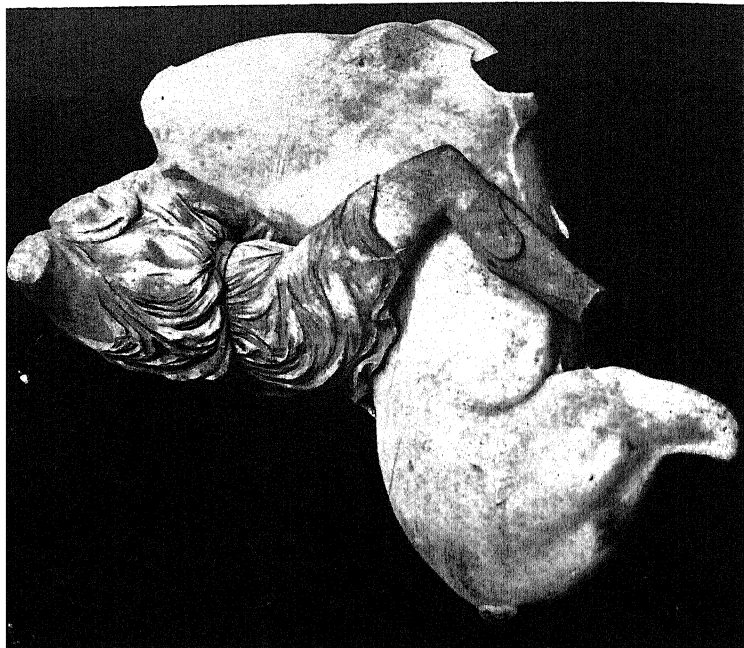


STELA OF HEGESO (CERAMEICUS, ATHENS)

[ALINARI *Photo.*



(a)  
'NEREID' FROM NAXOS (BRITISH MUSEUM).



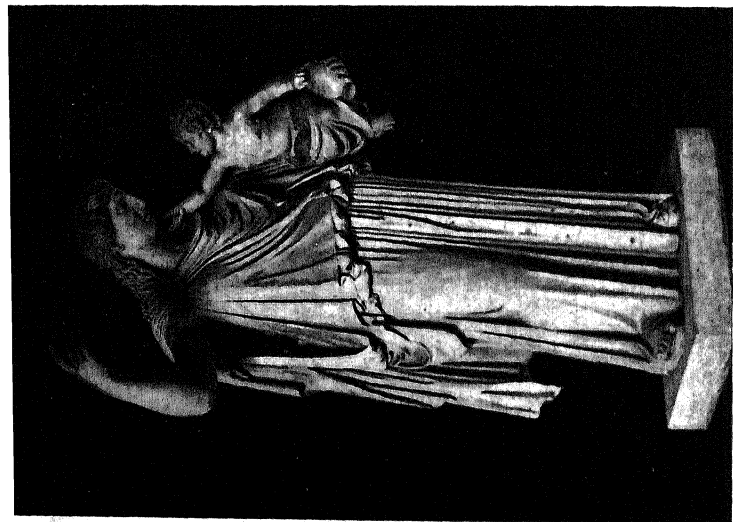
(b)  
AMAZON FROM EPIDAUROS (ATHENS).



(b)



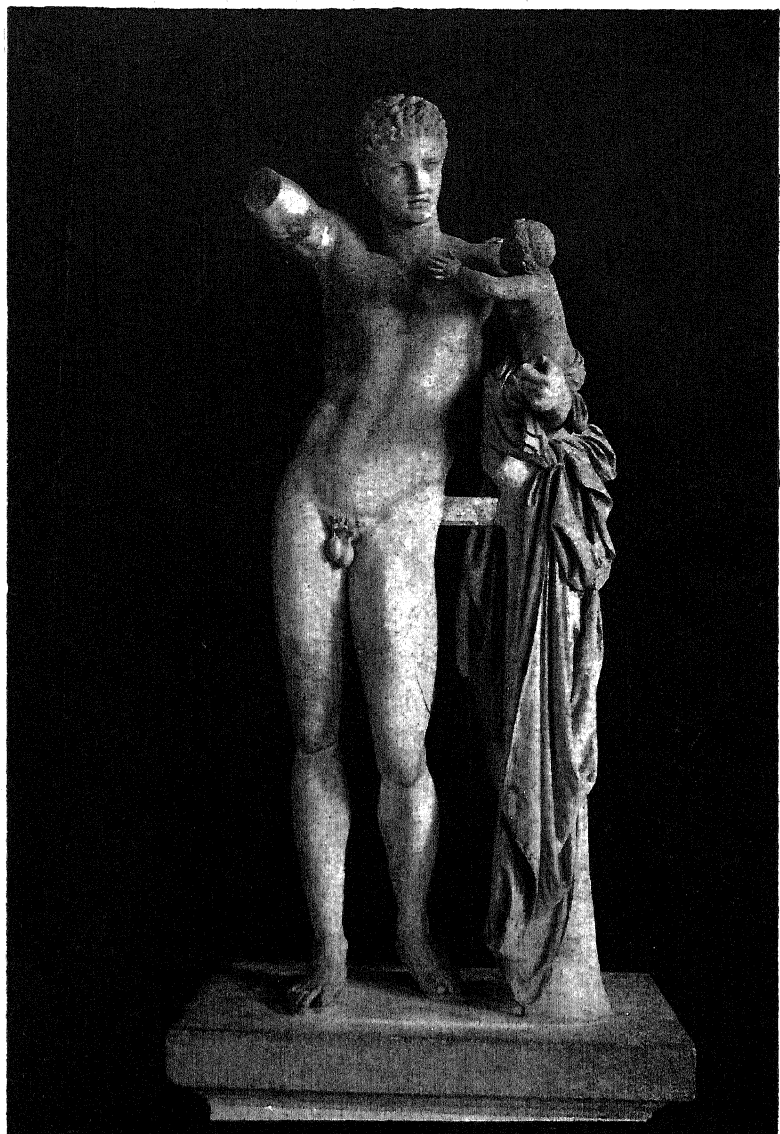
(a)



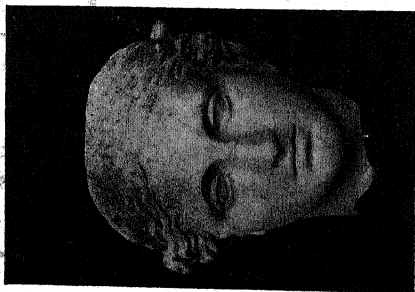
(a).  
EIRENE AND PLUTUS (MUNICH).



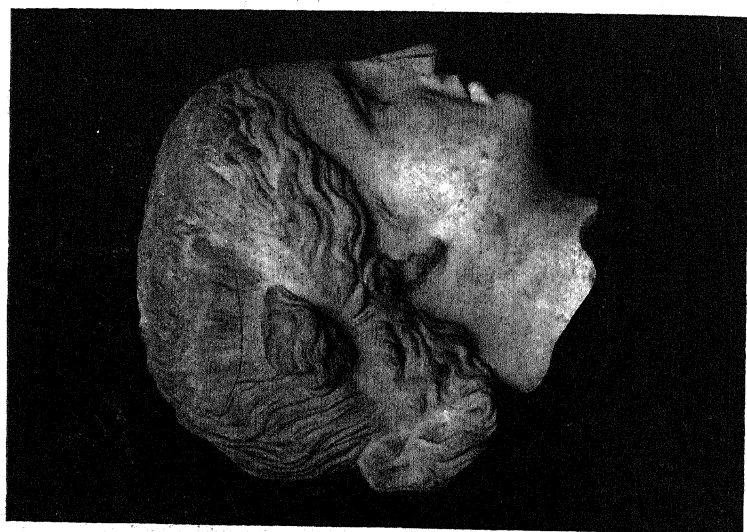
(b)  
HEAD OF YOUTH (FOGG MUSEUM PHOTO).  
[Fogg Museum Photo.]



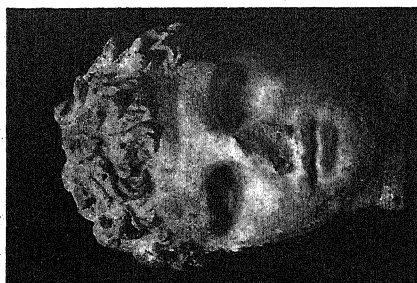
HERMES BY PRAXITELES (OLYMPIA)



(a)



(b)



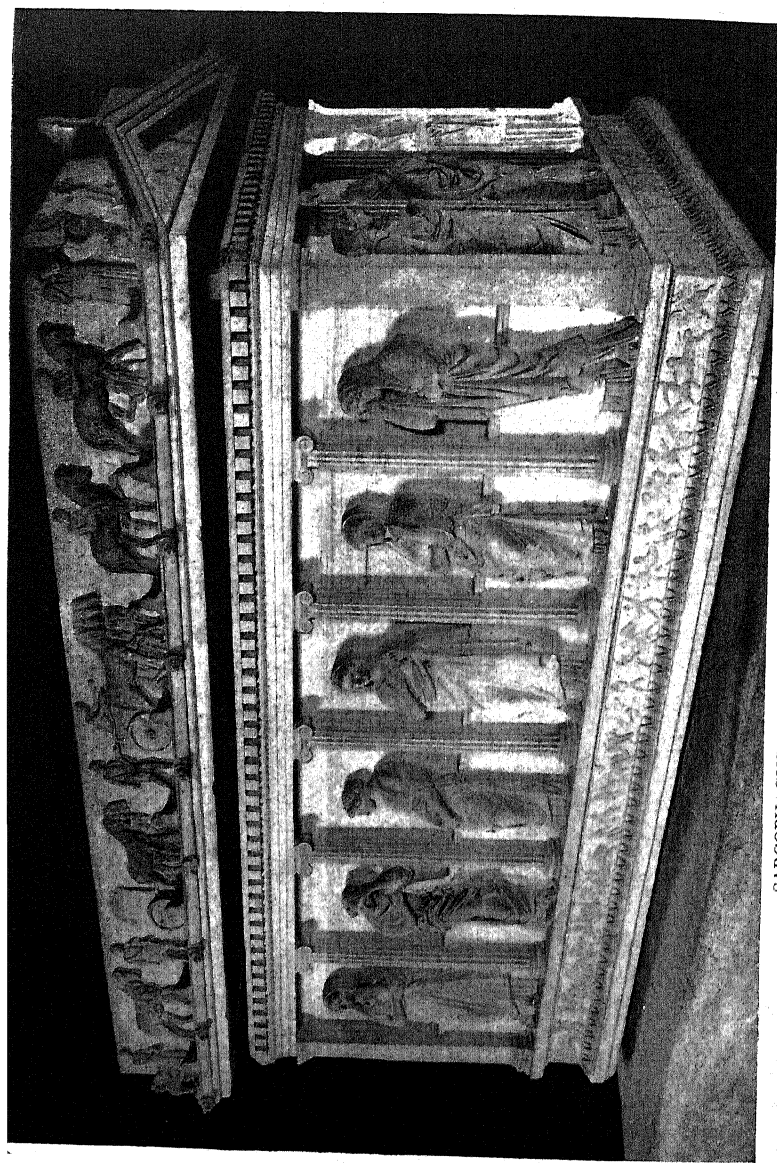
(c)

HEAD OF APOLLO, SAUROCTONUS (GROENINGA). THE BARBICEN HEAD.



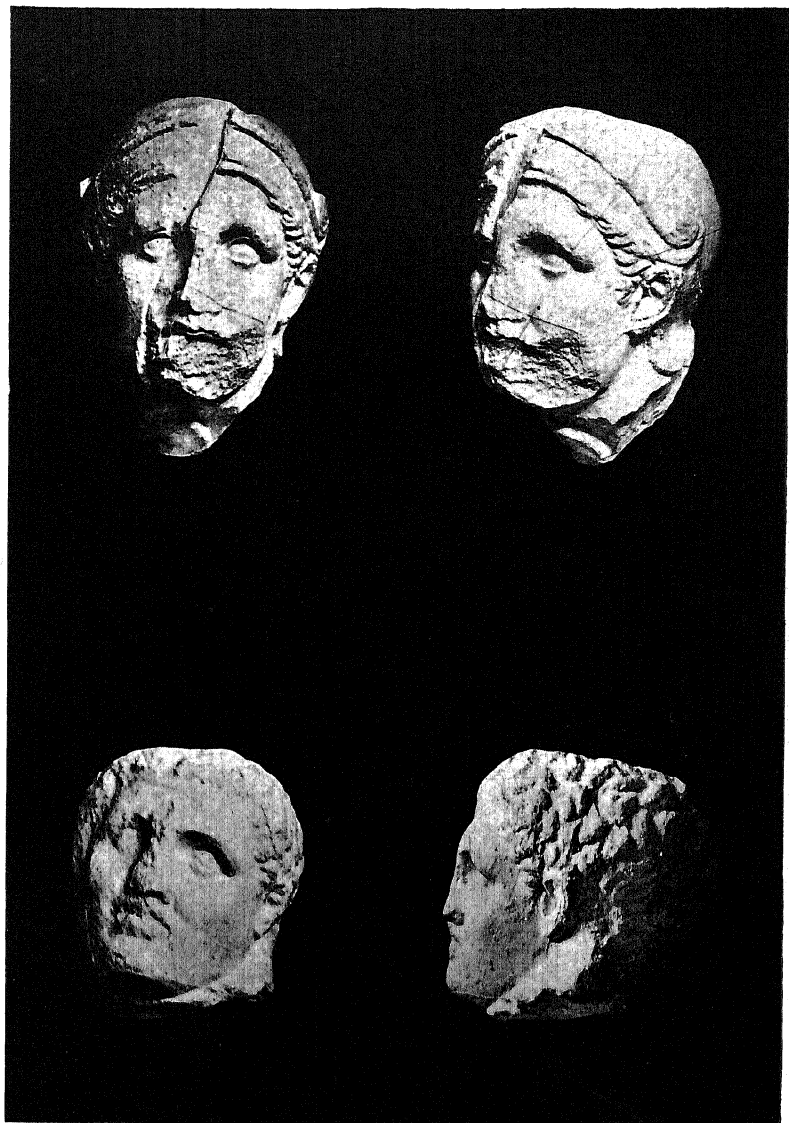
HEAD OF APHRODITE (LECONFIELD COLLECTION).





SARCOPHAGUS OF THE MOTHER OF WOMEN (CON-  
\*OPLE).

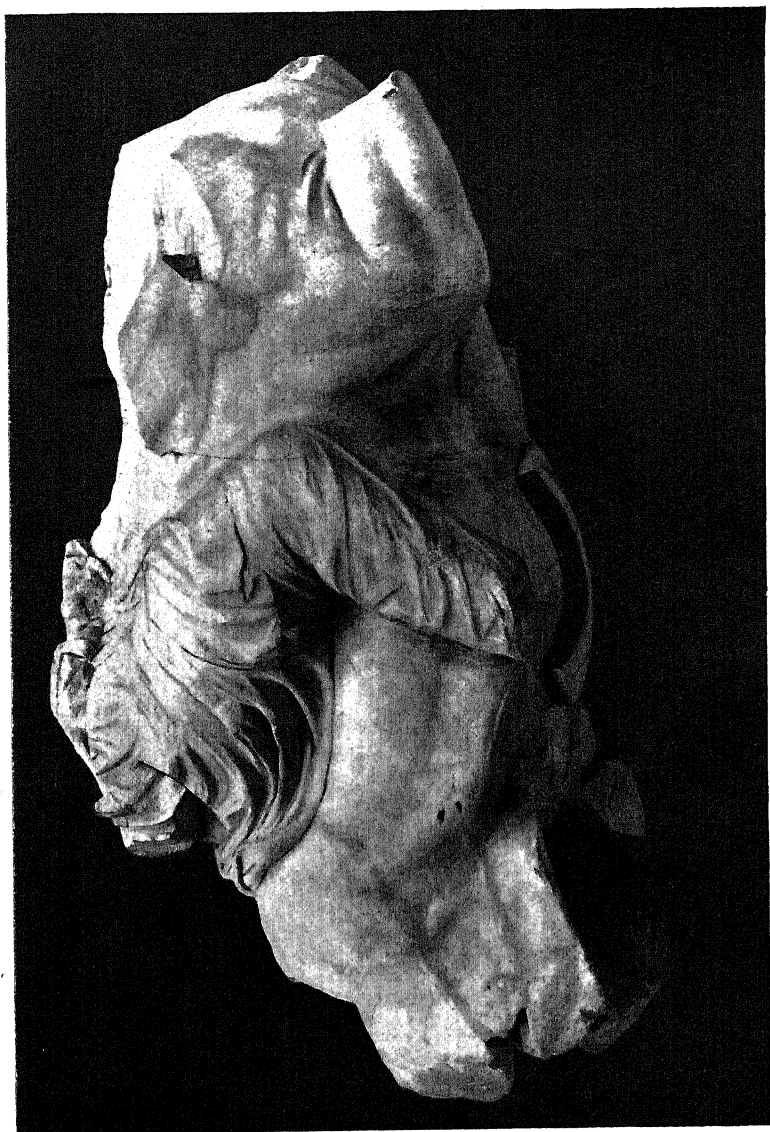




HEADS OF TWO HEROES FROM TEGEA (ATHENS). [From *Antike Denkmäler*.]



PORTRAIT STATUES FROM THE MAUSOLEUM (BRITISH MUSEUM).



ASIATIC HORSEMAN FROM THE MAUSOLEUM (BRITISH MUSEUM).



BATTLE FRIEZE FROM THE MAUSOLEUM (BRITISH MUSEUM).



(b)  
HEAD OF THEA CLAUDIA



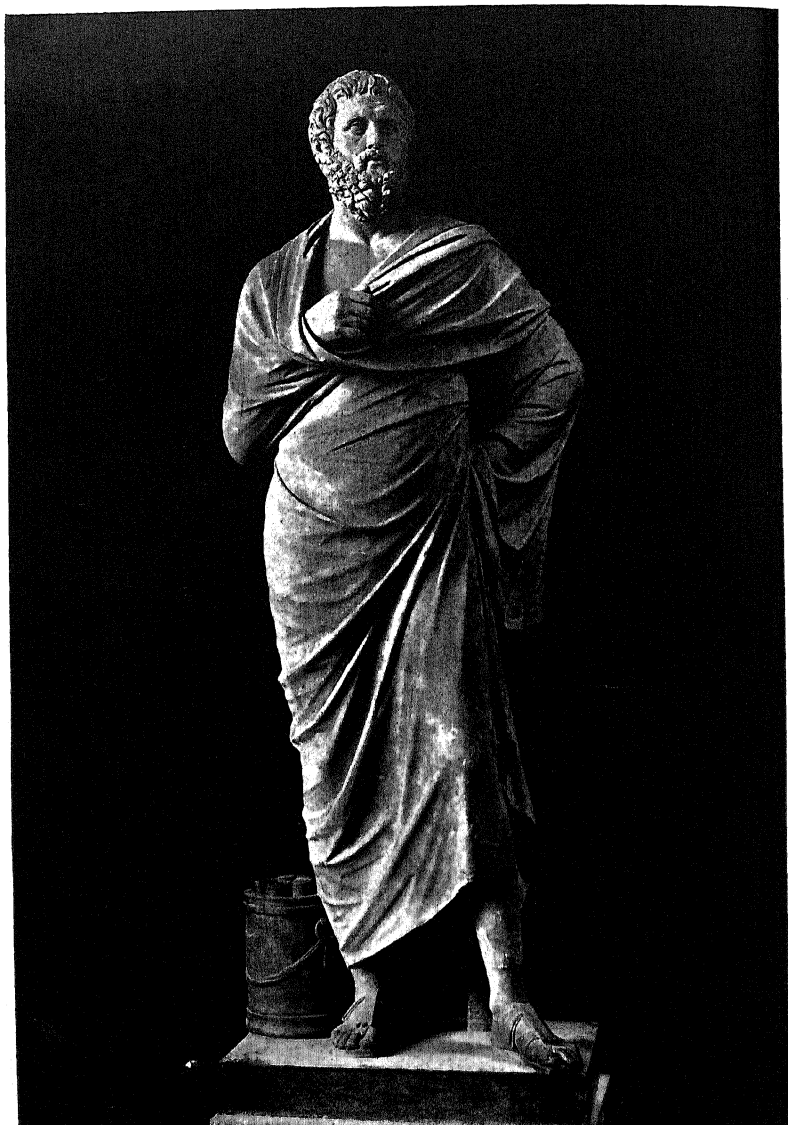
(a)  
CHARIOTEER FROM FRIEZE OF THE MAUSOLEUM  
(BRITISH MUSEUM).



SCENE IN HADES (MUNICH).



DEMETER FROM CNIDUS (BRITISH MUSEUM).



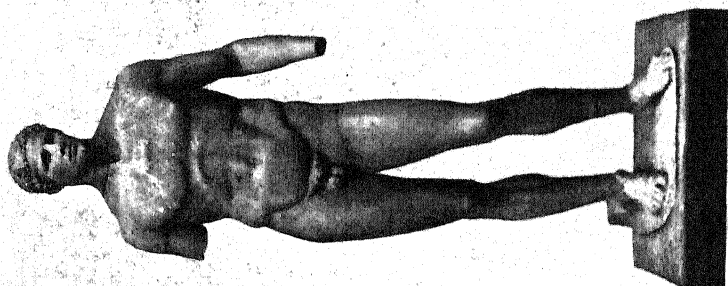
SOPHOCLES (LATERAN).

[ANDERSON *Photo.*



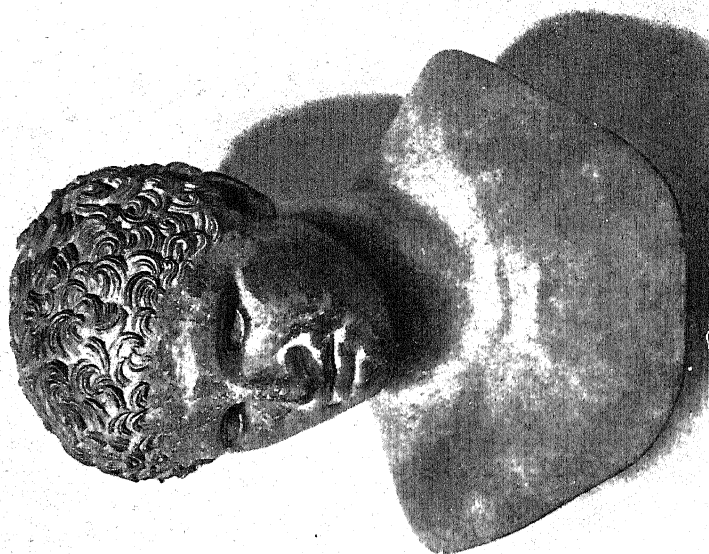


COLUMN-DRUM FROM EPHEBUS (BRITISH MUSEUM).



(a)

AGIAS (DELPHI).

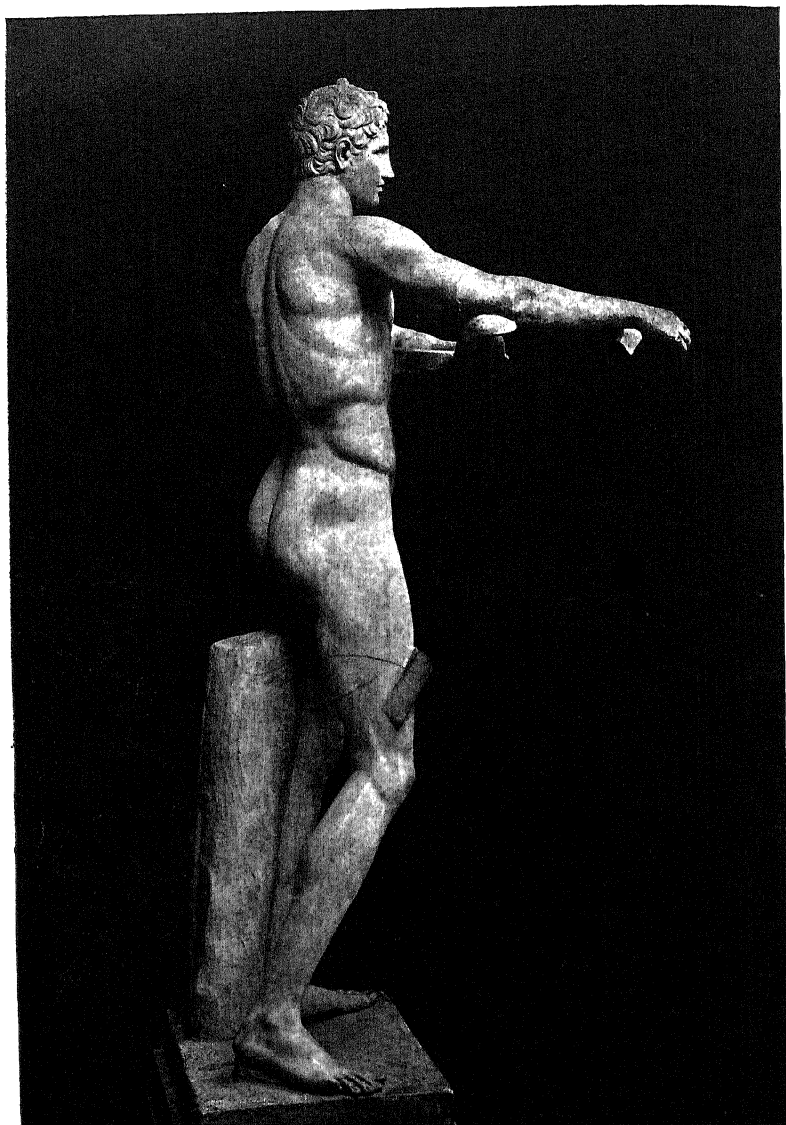


(b)

BRONZE BUST FROM HERCULANEUM (NAPLES).

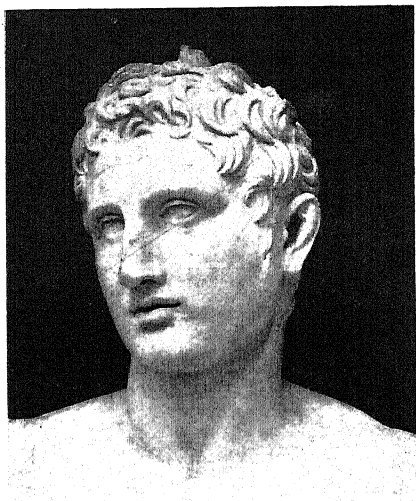


STELA FROM THE ILISSUS (ATHENS).

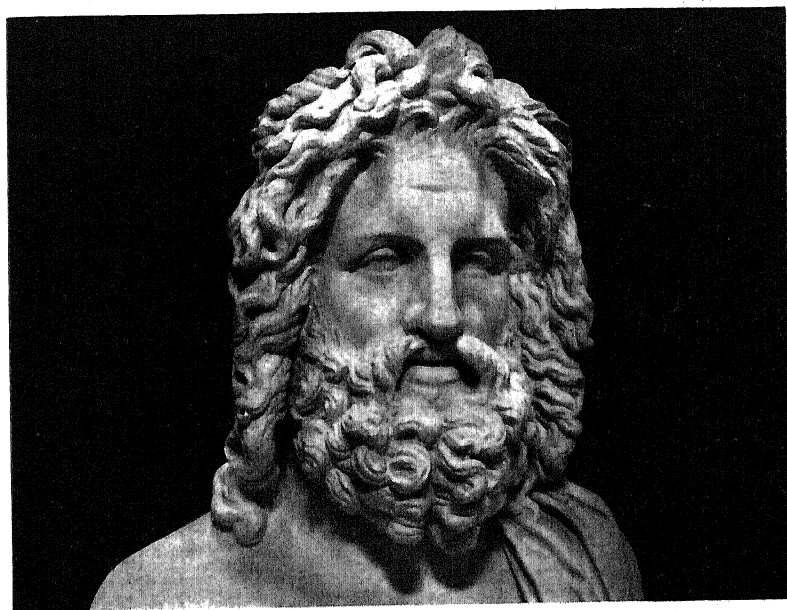


APOXYOMENUS (VATICAN).

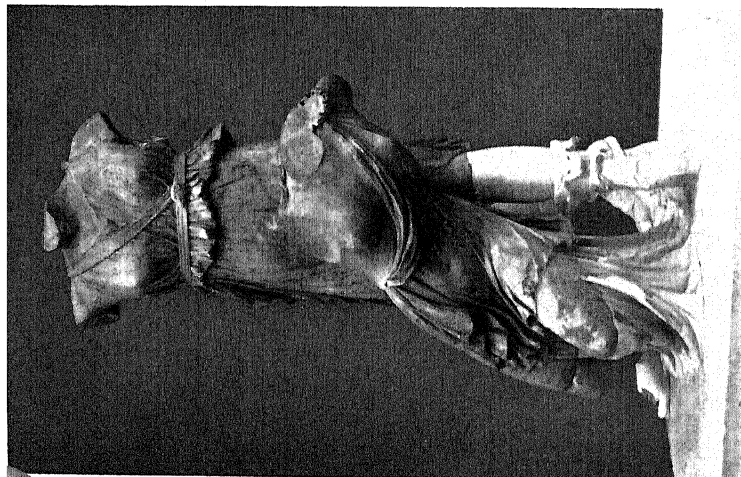
[ANDERSON *Photo.*



(a) HEAD OF APOXYOMENUS (VATICAN).

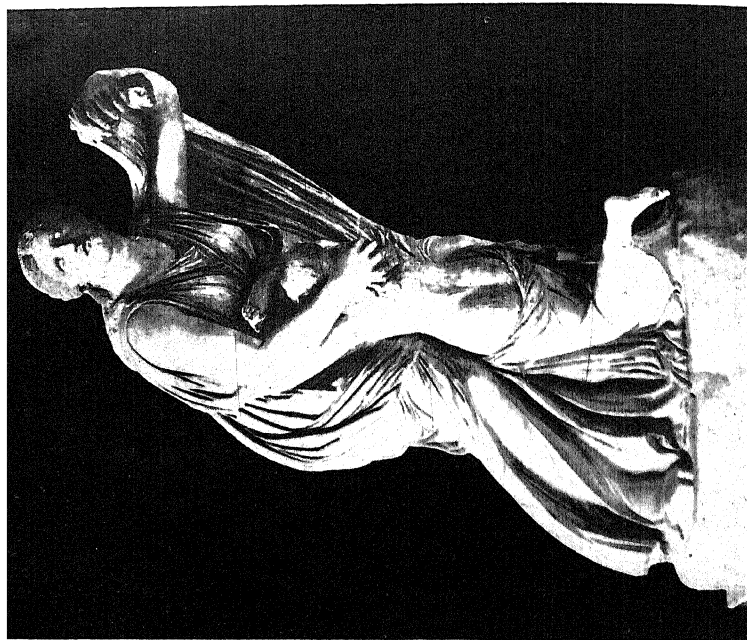


THE MARBLE BUSTS OF APOXYOMENUS AND POSEIDON



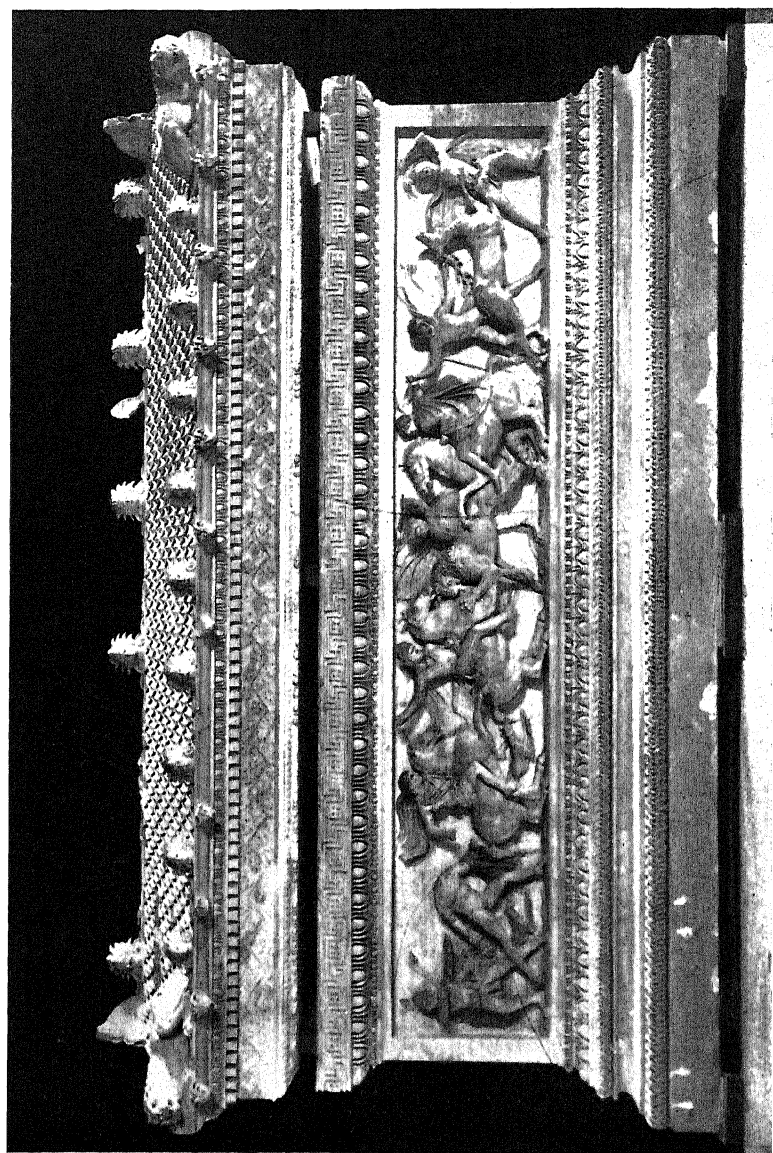
(a)

ARTEMIS AND IPHIGENIA (COPENHAGEN).



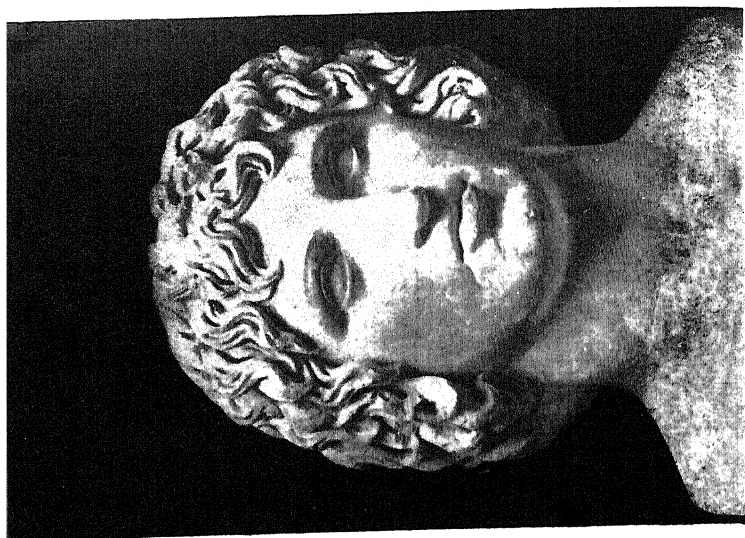
(b)

NIOBE AND DAUGHTER (FLORENCE).

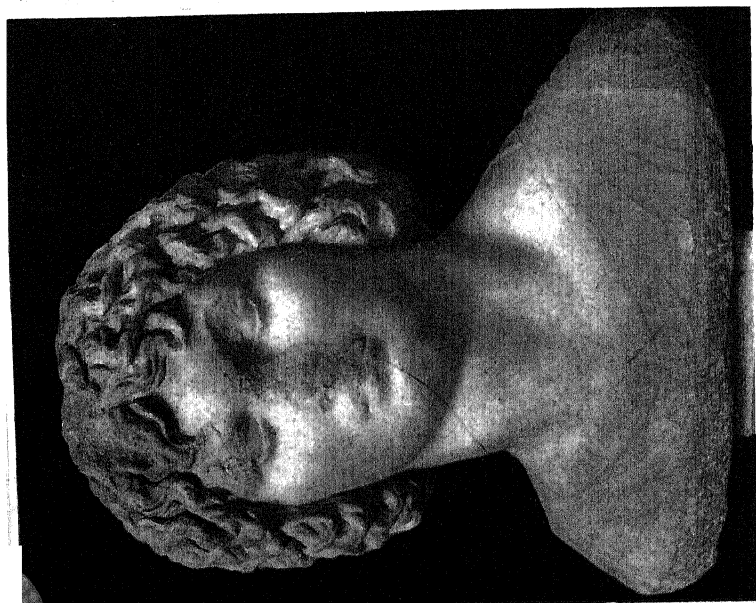


THE 'ALEXANDER' SARCOPHAGUS (CONSTANTINOPLE).





(b)  
COPY OF 'TUBULEUS' (CAPITOLINE).



(a)  
'TUBULEUS' BUST (ATHENS).

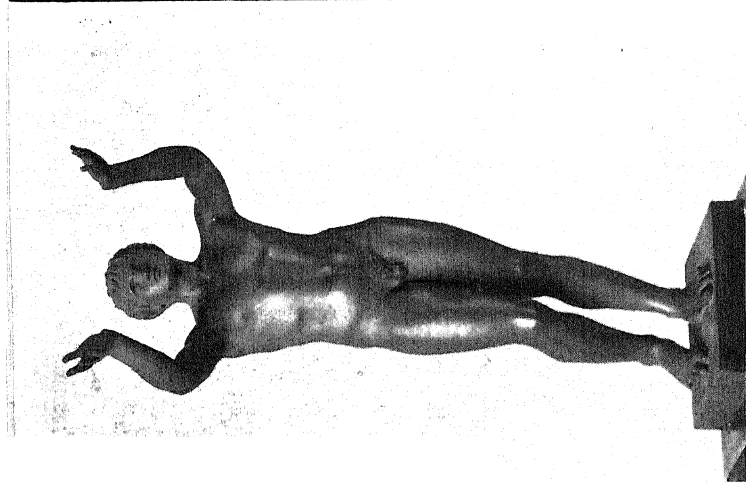




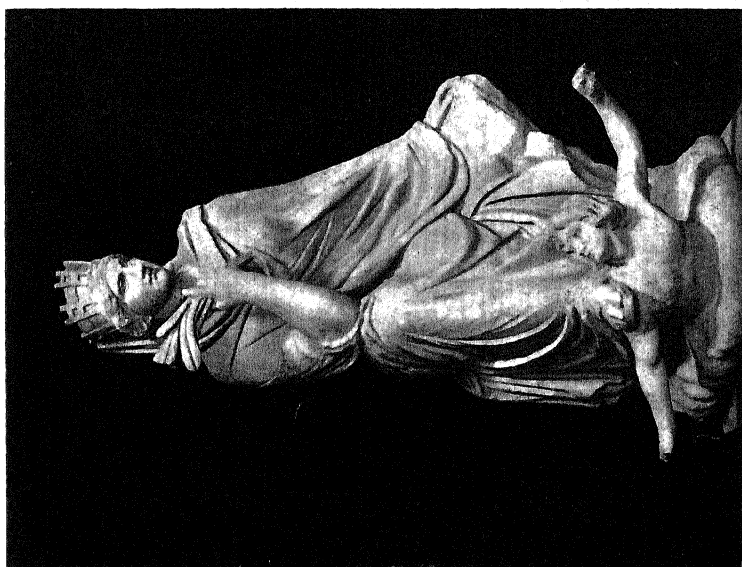
VICTORY FROM SAMOTHRACE (LOUVRE).



(b)  
MENANDER (PHILADELPHIA).



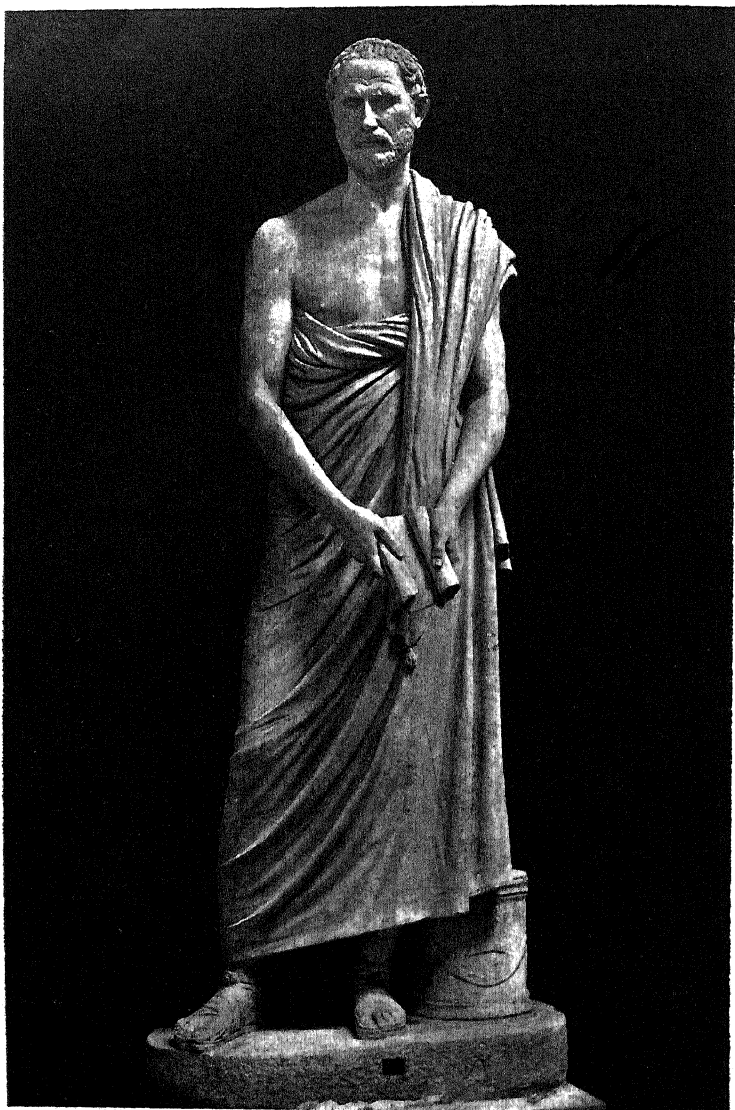
(a)  
PRAYING BOY (BERLIN).



(a) SEATED QUEEN (COPENHAGEN)



(b) SEATED POET (COPENHAGEN)



DEMOSTHENES (VATICAN).

[ANDERSON Photo.]



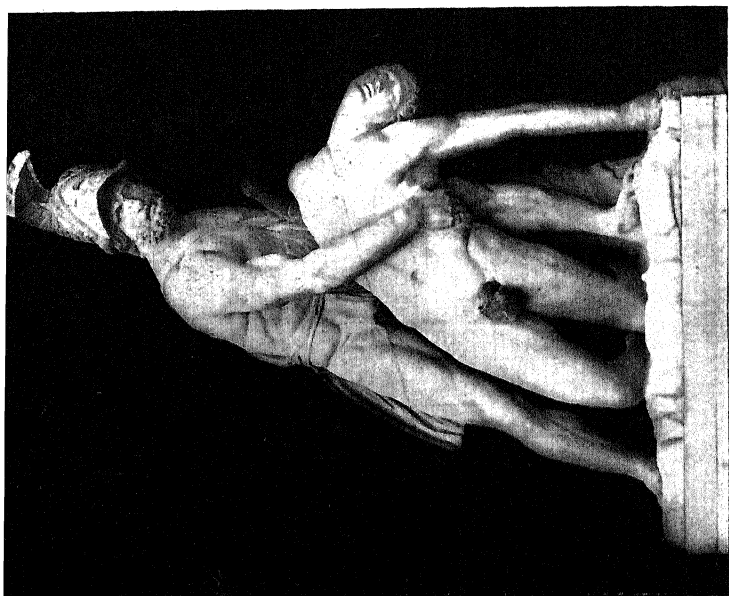
(a)

HEAD OF DEMOSTHENES (OXFORD)



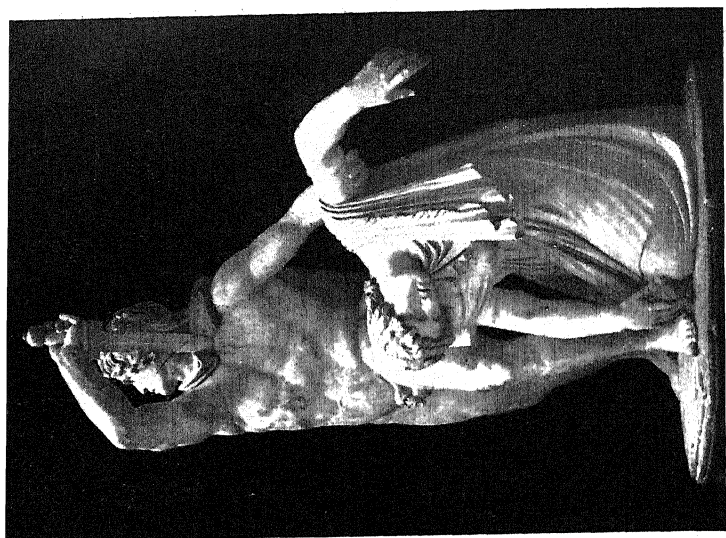
(b)

THE MUSE THALIA (VATICAN)



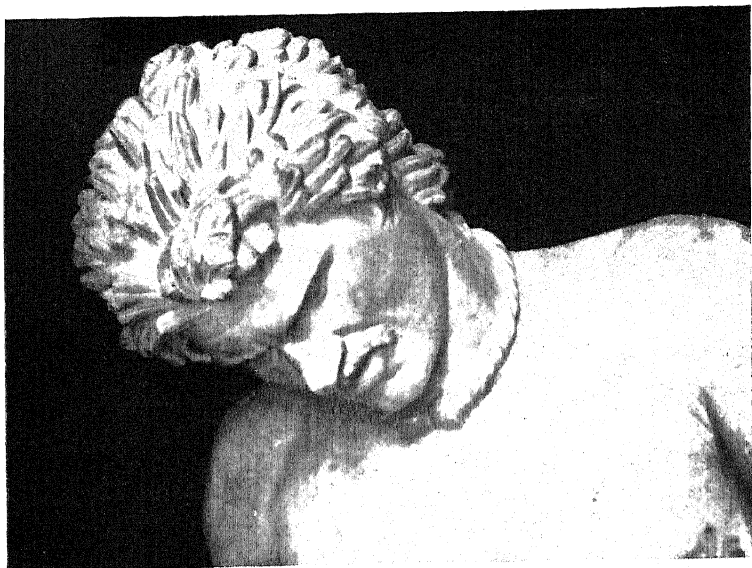
(a)

MENEALUS AND PATROCLUS (LOGGIA DEI LANZI, FLORENCE).

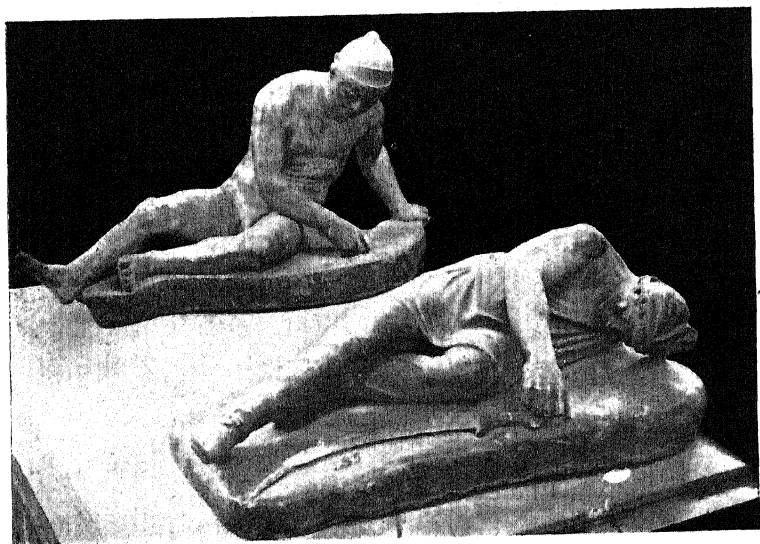


(b)

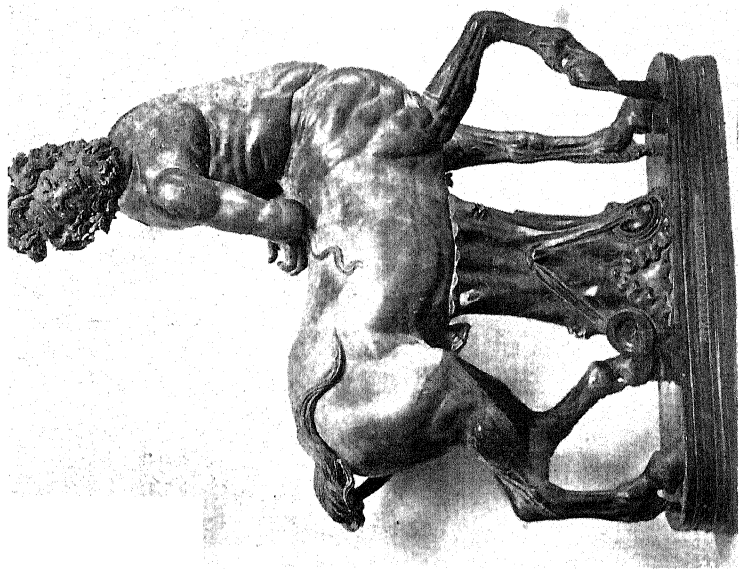
LUDOVISI GROUP OF GAULS (TERNI).



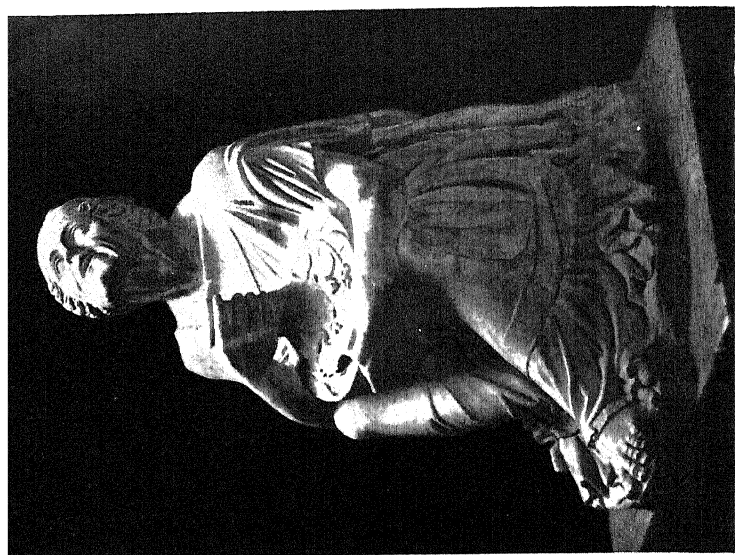
(a) HEAD OF DYING GAUL (CAPITOLINE).



(b) DYING GAUL AND DEAD ASIATIC (NAPLES).



(a)  
OLD CENTAUR (CAPITOLINE).



(b)  
DRUNKEN OLD WOMAN (CAPITOLINE).





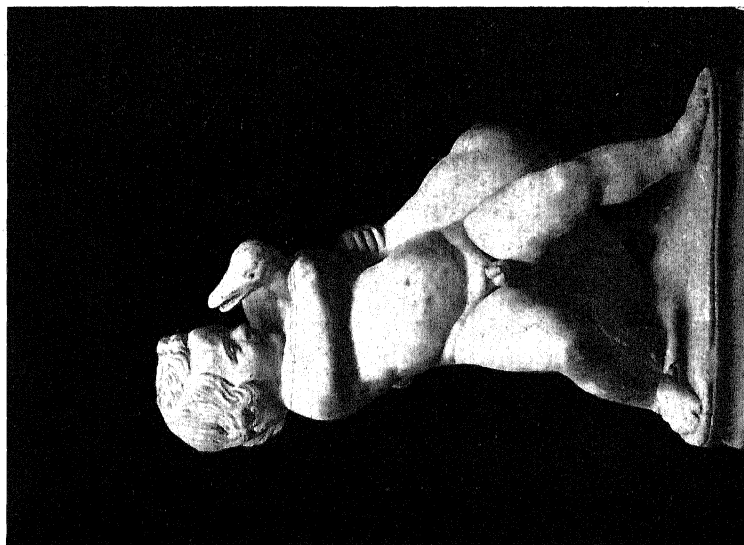
GIGANTOMACHY FROM PERGAMON (BERLIN).



(a)  
DETAIL OF GIGANTOMACHY (BERLIN).

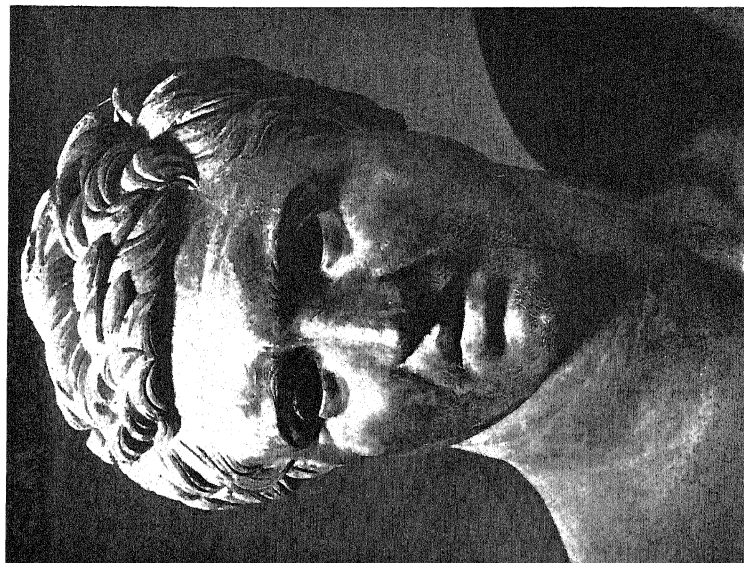


(b)  
FEMALE HEAD FROM PERGAMON (BERLIN).



(a)

BOY AND GOOSE (CARIACULUS).



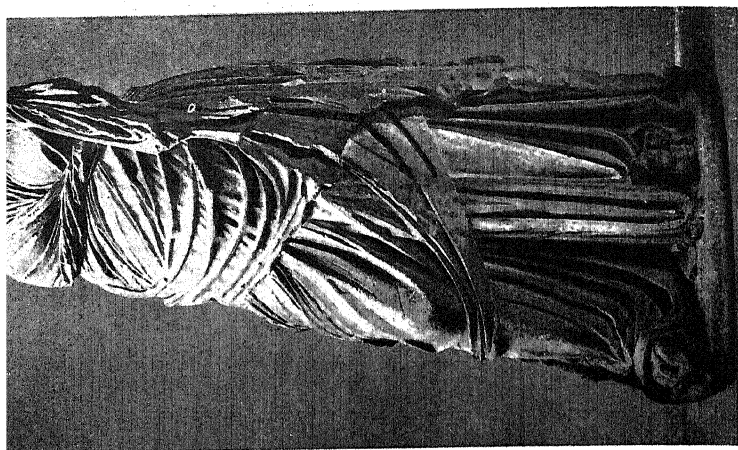
(b)

HEAD OF BRONZE STATUE, SUPPOSED DEMETRIUS II.



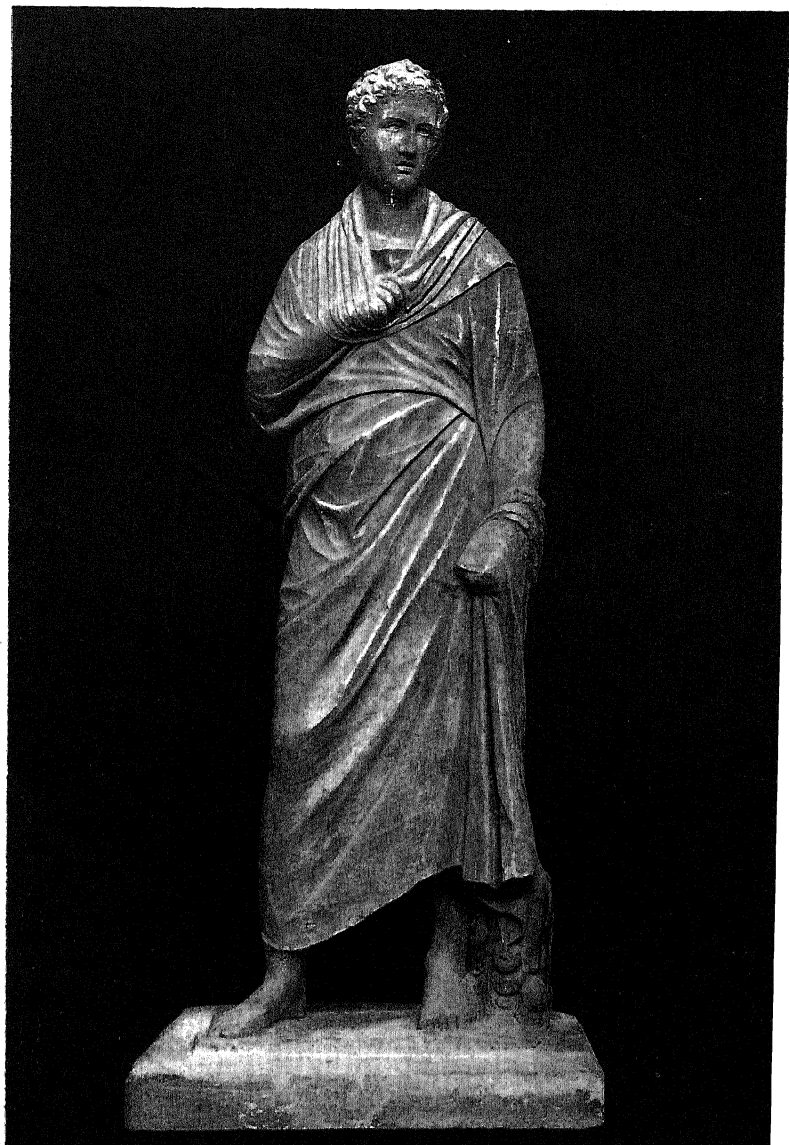
(a)

APHRODITE FROM MELOS (LOUVRE).



(b)

FEMALE STATUE FROM ERYTHRAE (BRITISH MUSEUM).

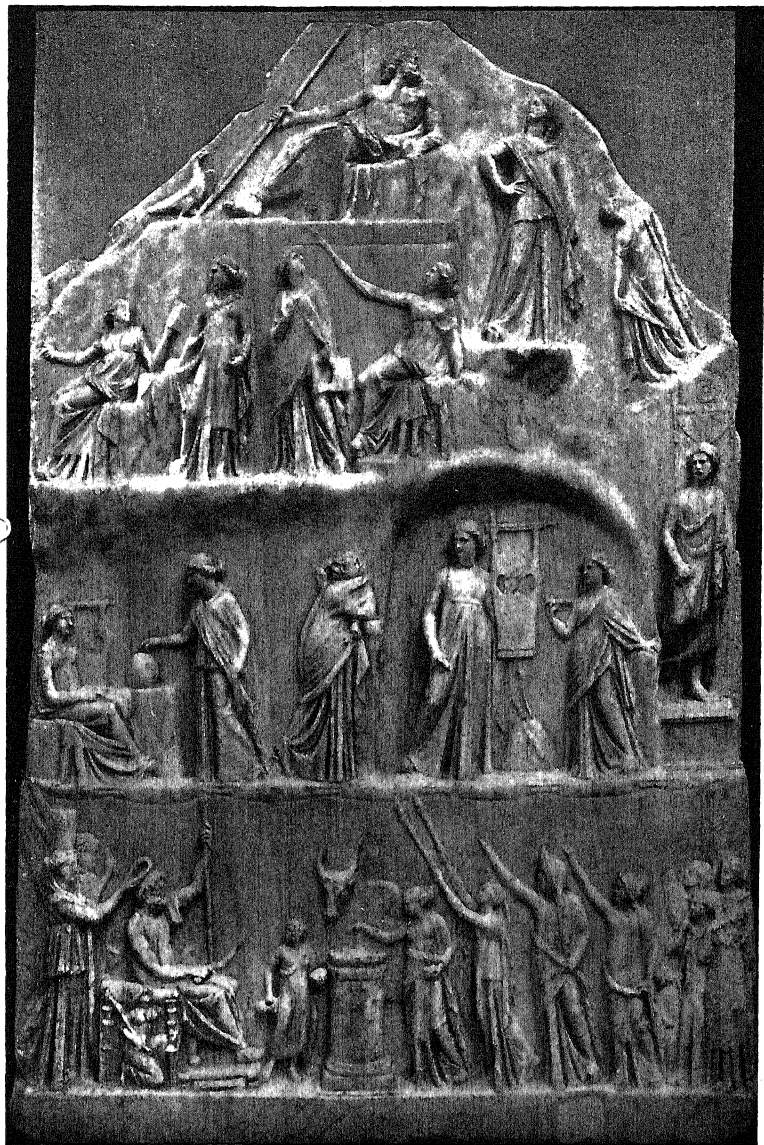


YOUTH FROM ERETRIA (ATHENS).

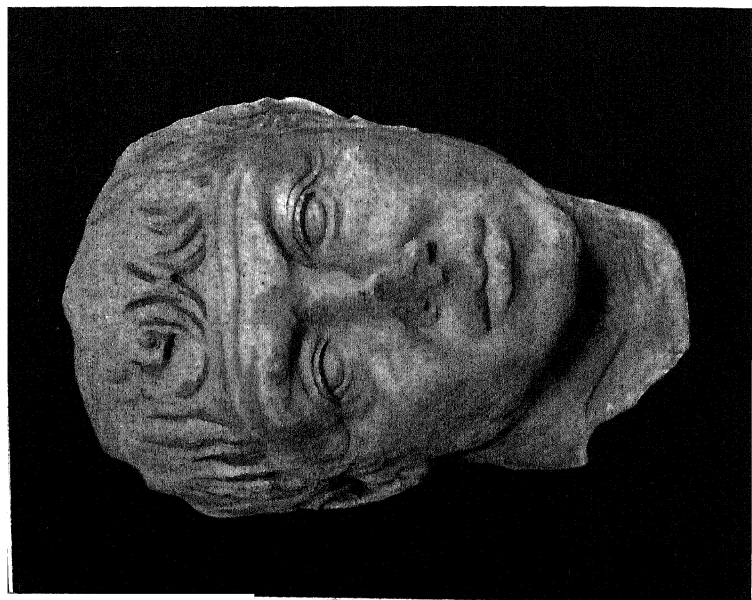


THE 'BORGHESI WARRIOR' (LOUVRE).



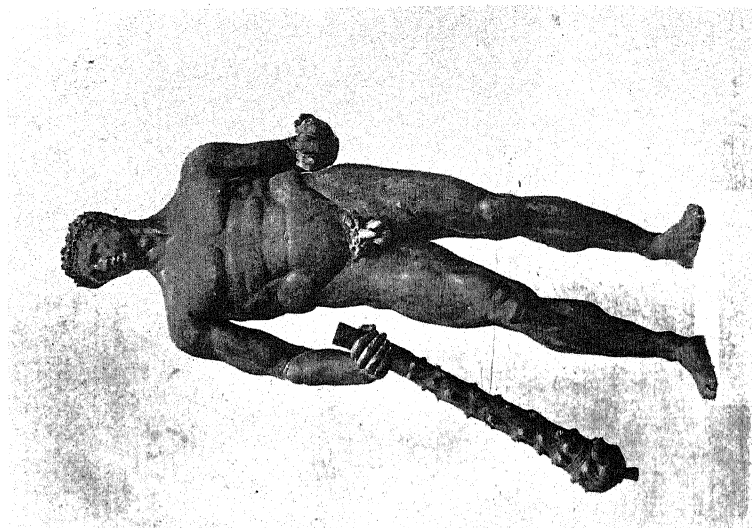


APOTHEOSIS OF HOMER (BRITISH MUSEUM).



(a)

HEAD OF OLD MAN (ATHENS).

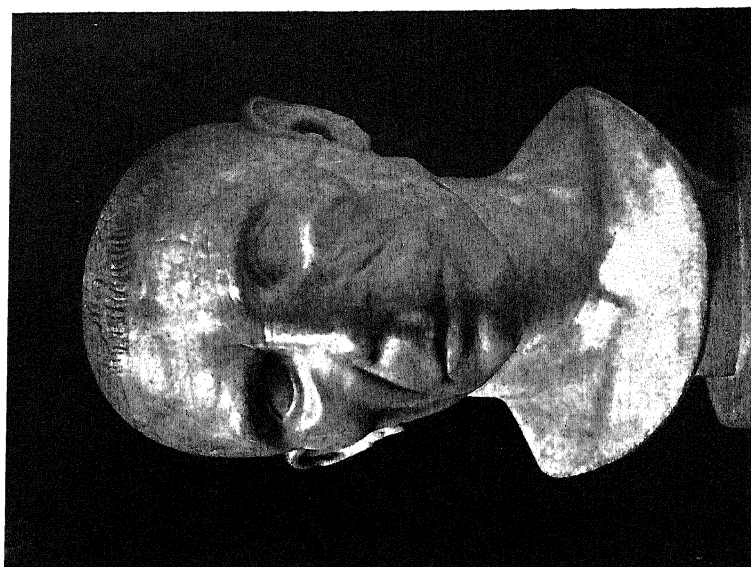


(b)

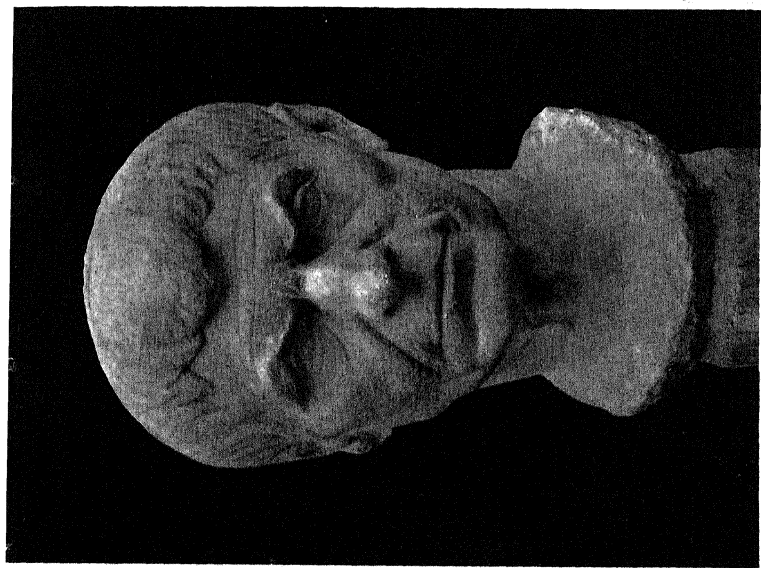
BRONZE COLOSSUS OF HERACLES (CONSERVATORY).

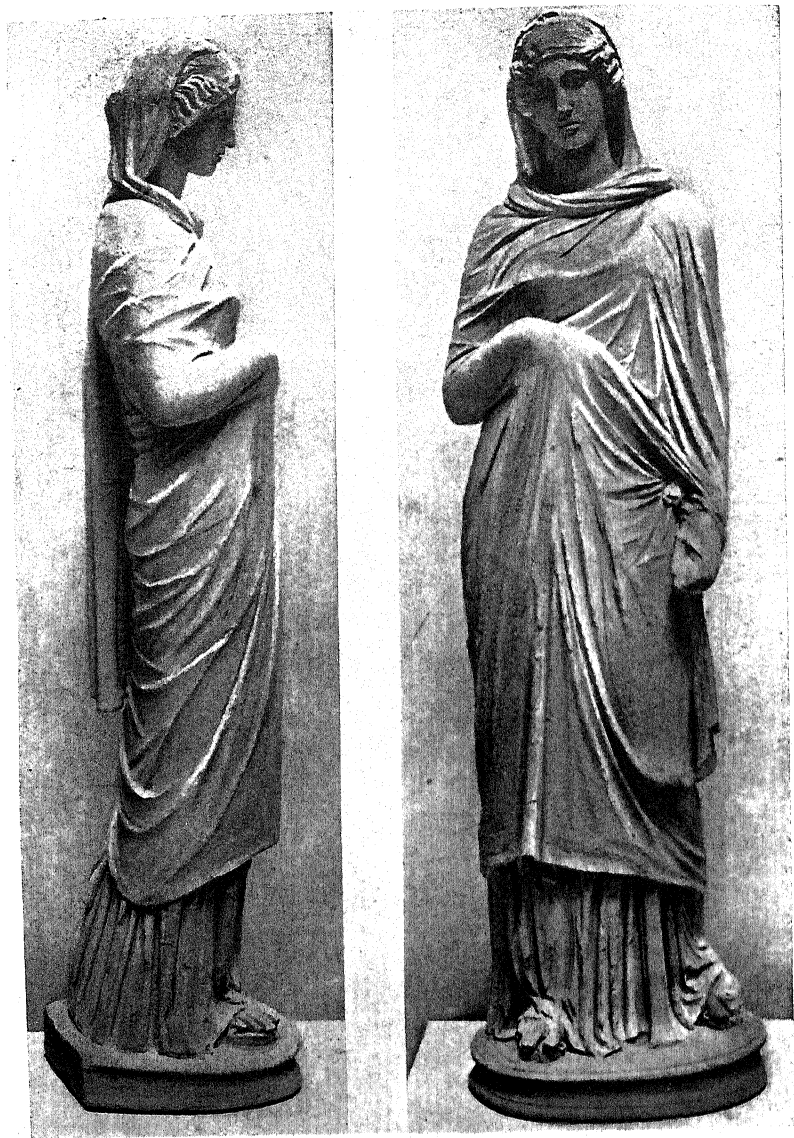


(b)



(a)

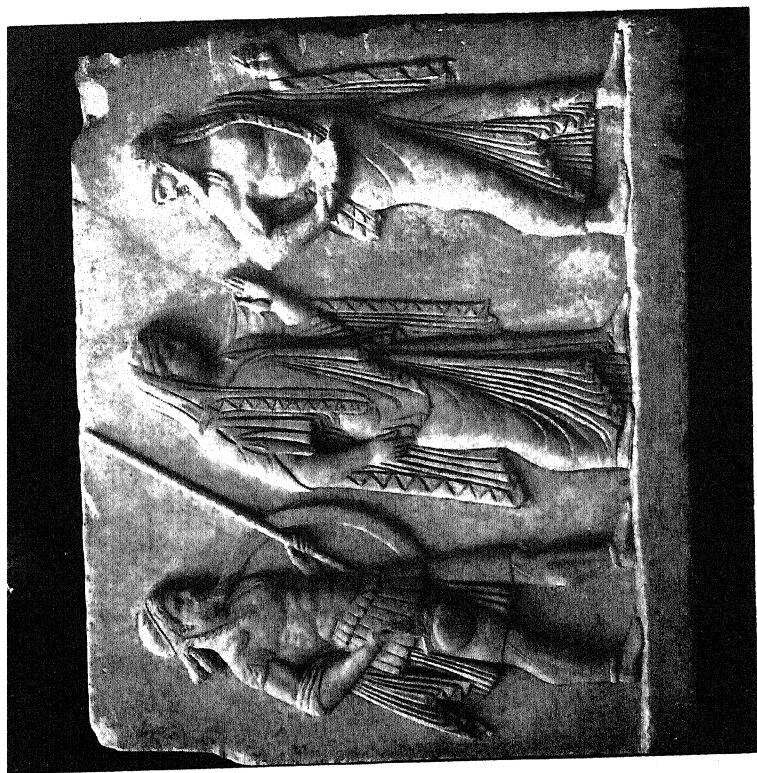




FEMALE STATUE FROM TRENTHAM HALL. (BRITISH MUSEUM).



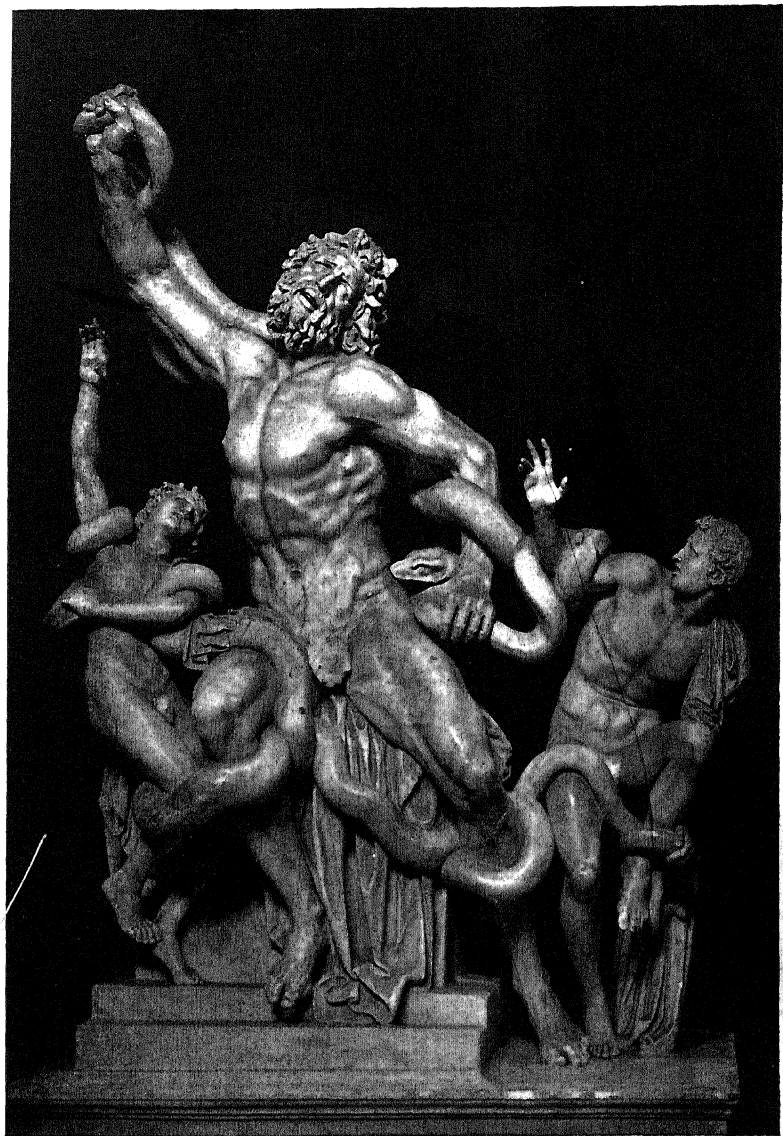
(a)  
BOY PULLING A THORN FROM  
HIS FOOT (CAPITOLINE).



(b)  
ARCHAISTIC RELIEF (COPENHAGEN).

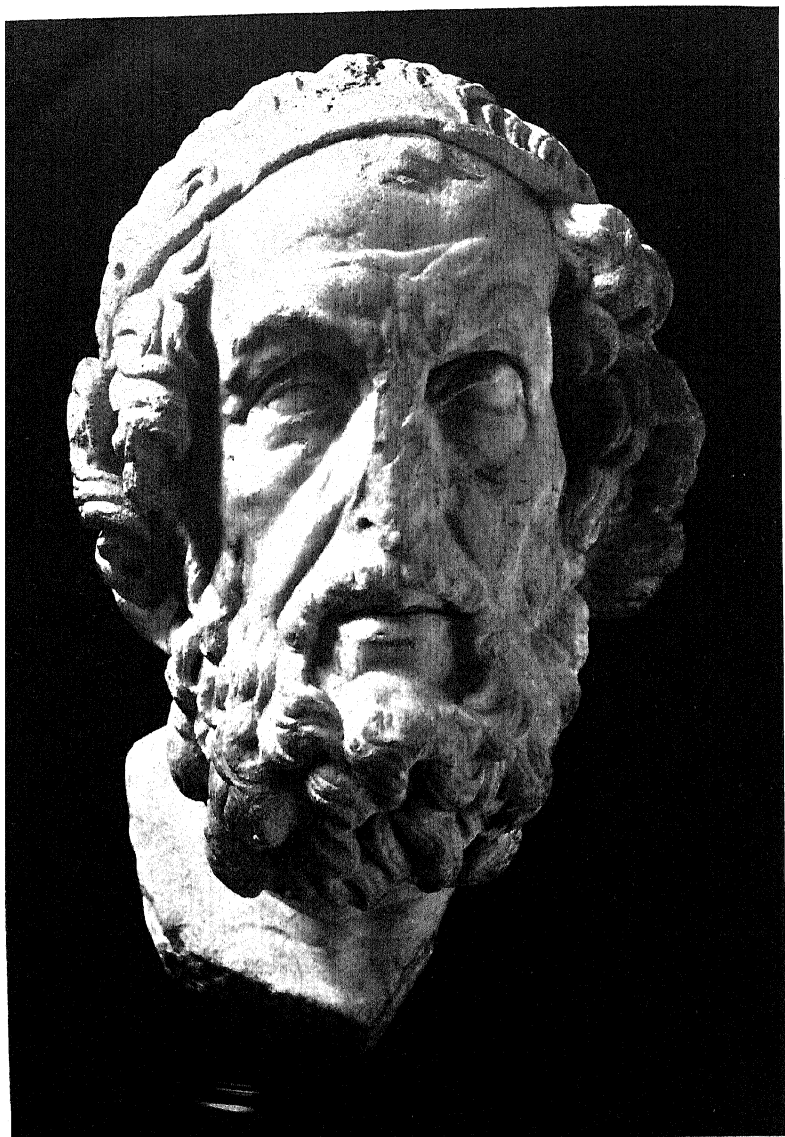


RESTING HERMES (NAPLES).

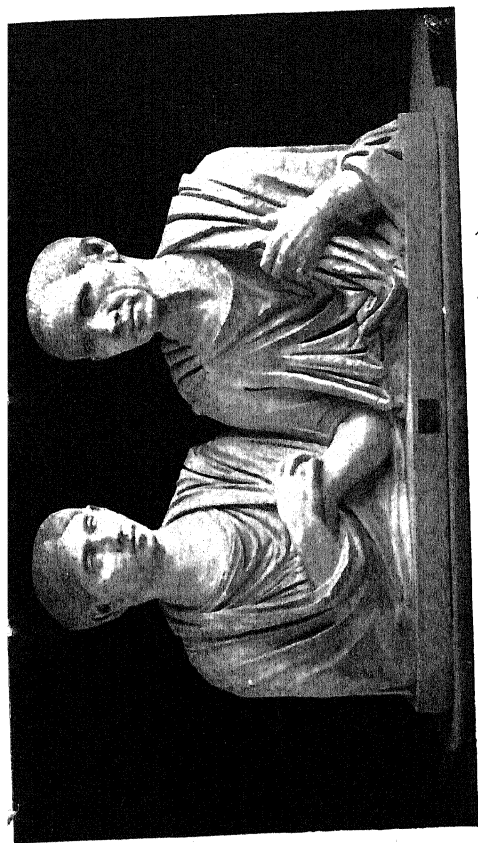


LAOCOON GROUP (VATICAN).

[ANDERSON *Photo.*



HEAD OF HOMER (BOSTON)



(a) BUSTS OF MAN AND WIFE (VATICAN).



(b) RELIEF OF MARINE DEITIES (MUNICH).



AUGUSTUS FROM PRIMA PORTA (VATICAN).

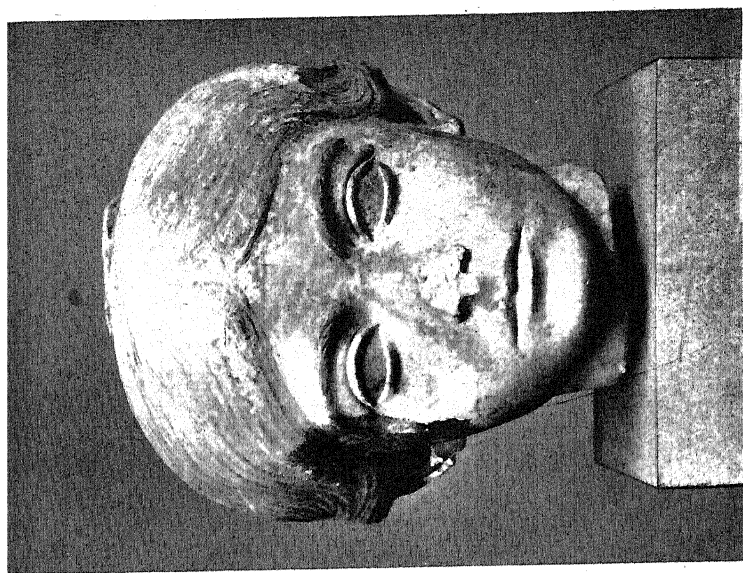
[ALINARI Photo.]





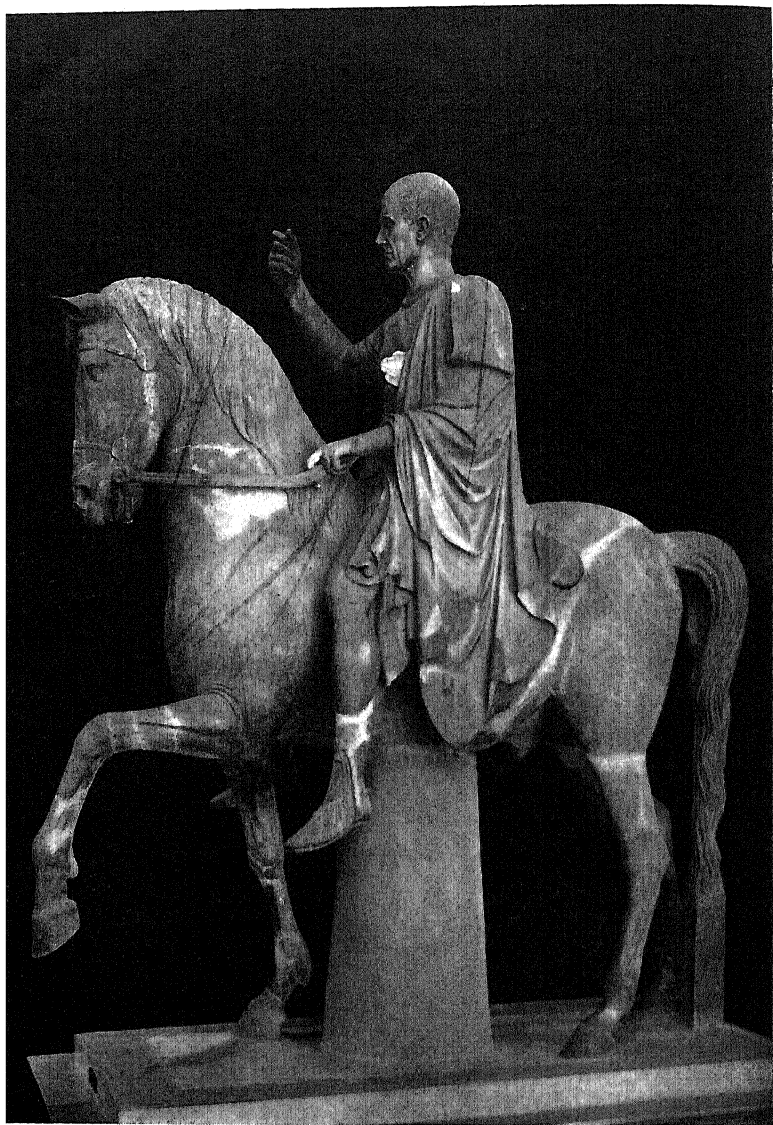
(a)

HEAD OF LIVIA (COPENHAGEN).

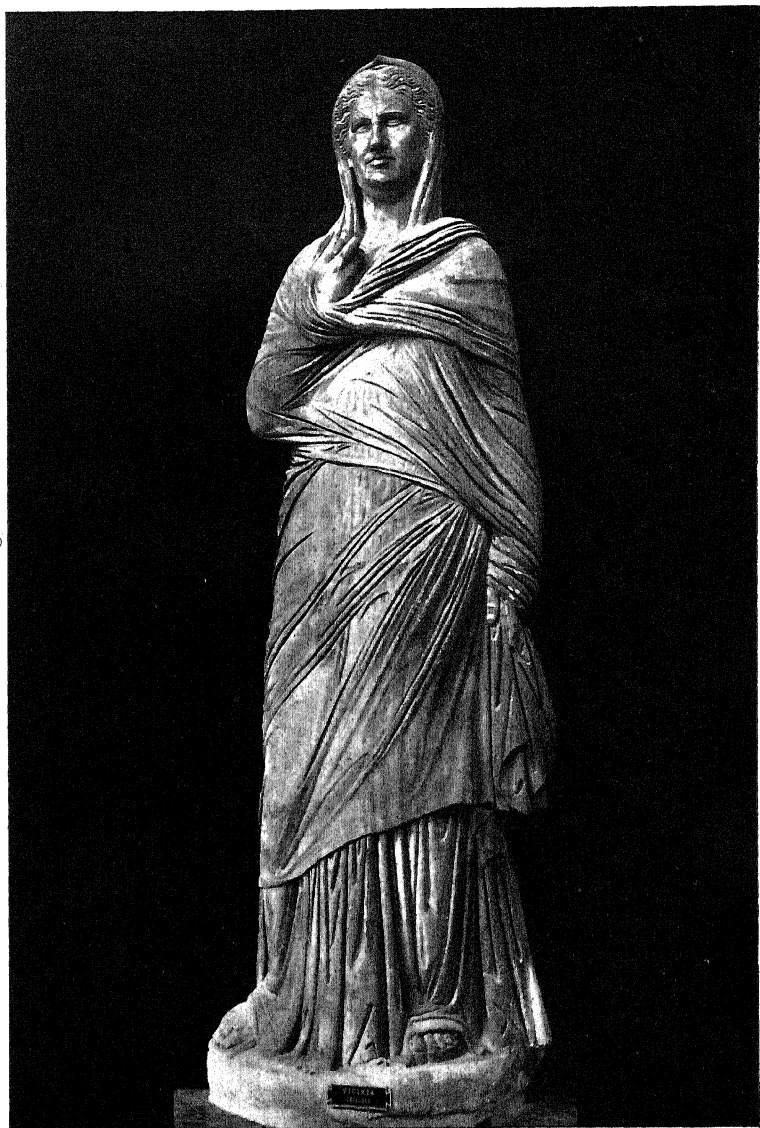


(b)

HEAD OF A GIRL (NEW YORK).



BALBUS ON HORSEBACK (NAPLES).



PORTRAIT OF VICIRIA (NAPLES).

[Broct Photo.]

PROCESSION FROM THE ARA PACIS (UFFIZI, FLORENCE).





ALLEGORICAL PANEL FROM THE ARA PACIS (UFFIZI, FLORENCE).

[Brogi Photo.]



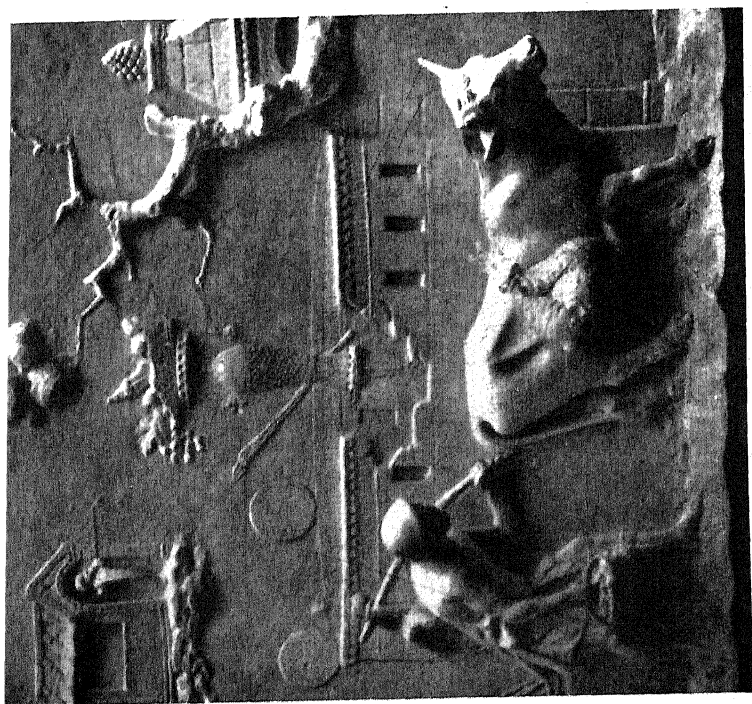
(a)

STATUE OF FUNDILIUS (COPENHAGEN).



(b)

HEAD OF A WOMAN, 'AGRIPPINA' (COPENHAGEN).

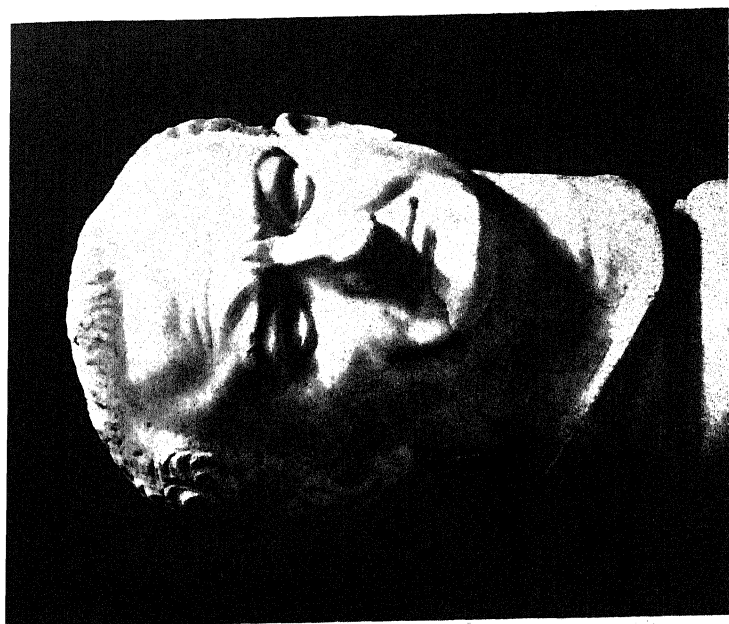




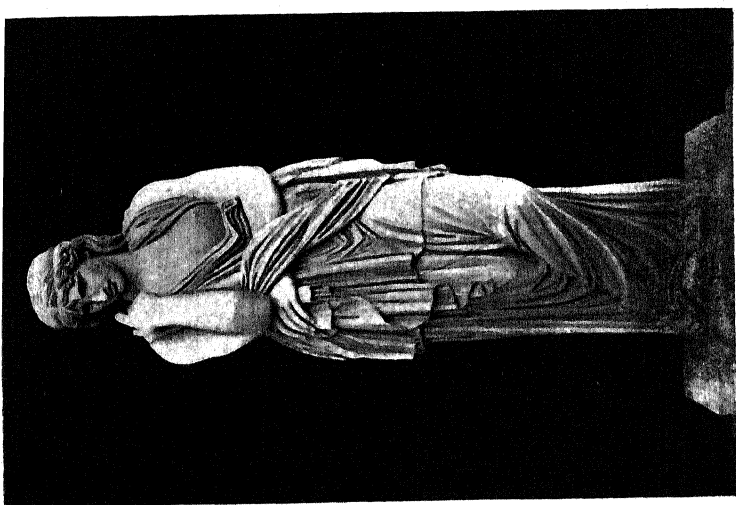


(a) TABLE-SUPPORT (ART INSTITUTE, CHICAGO).  
(b) HEAD OF SPHINX ON ARNI-CHAIR (COPENHAGEN).

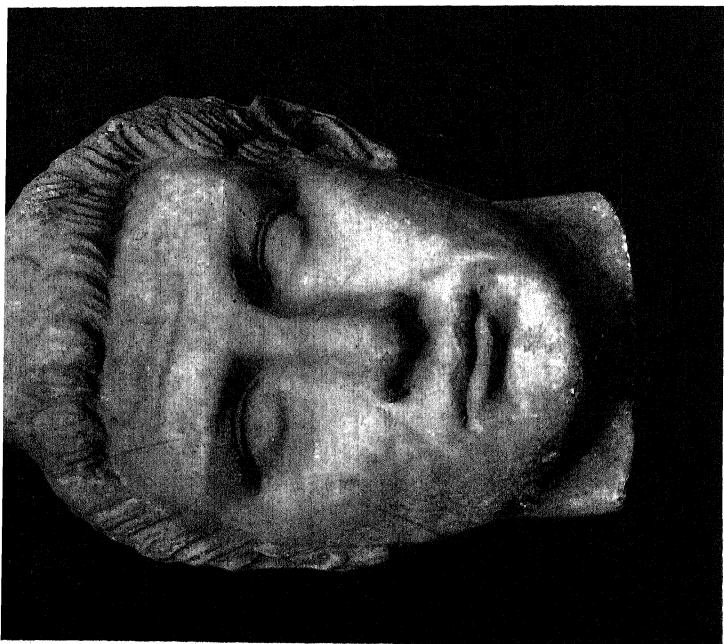




(b)



(a)



(a)

HEAD OF A MAN (ATHENS)



(b)

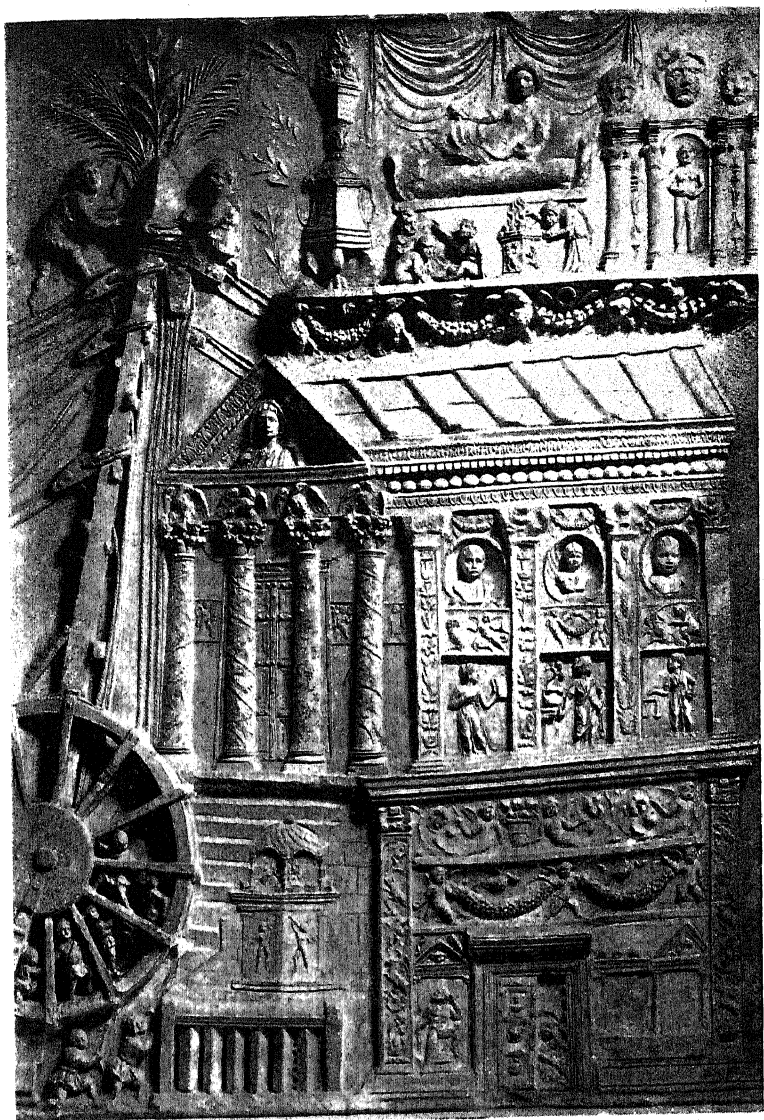
ROMAN LADY AS VENUS (COPENHAGEN)



OLD WOMAN MARKETING (NEW YORK).



CERES, ON CANDELABRUM-STAND (TERMÆ).



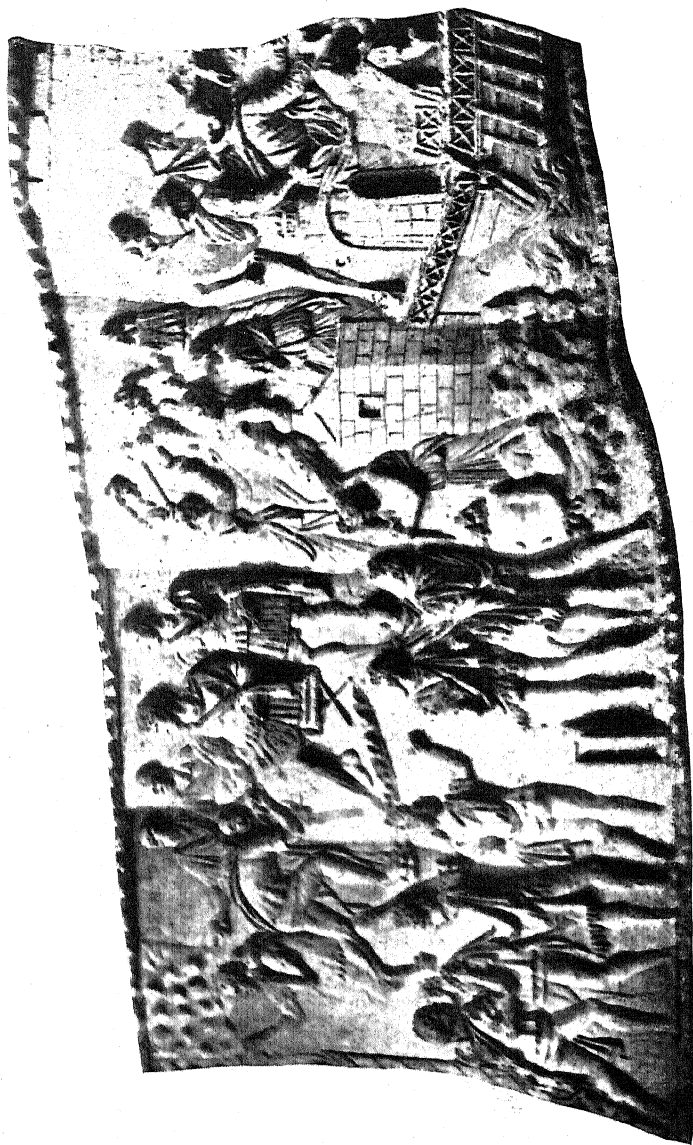
RELIEF FROM TOMB OF HATERII (LATERAN).



(a)  
NERVA (COPENHAGEN)

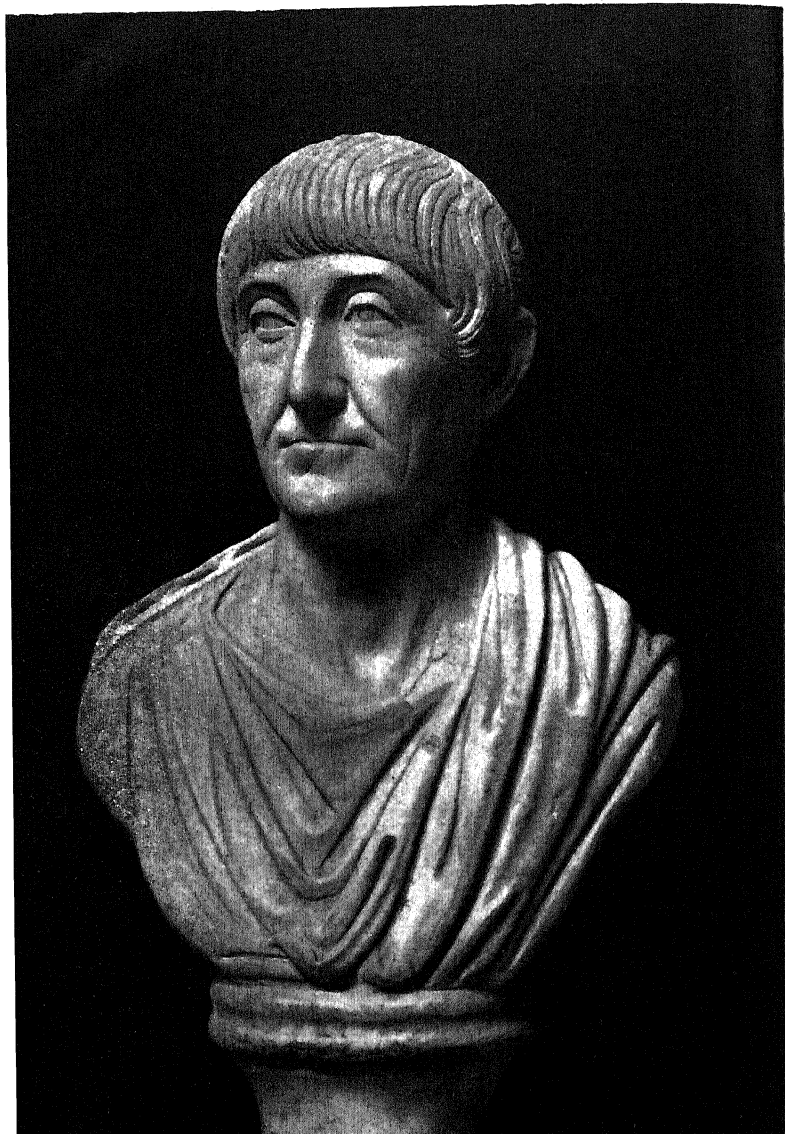


(b)  
HEAD OF A DACIAN (BRUNNEN)



SCENES FROM THE DACIAN WAR (CAST FROM TRAJAN'S COLUMN).





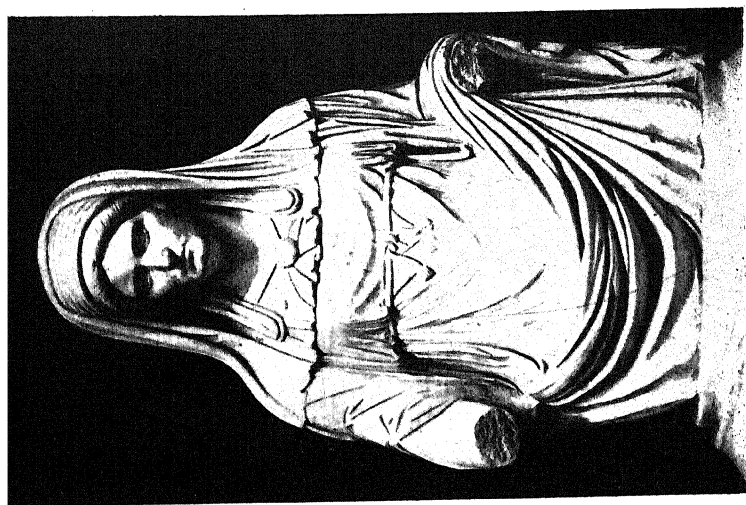
MALE PORTRAIT BUST (NAPLES).

[ALINARI *Photo.*

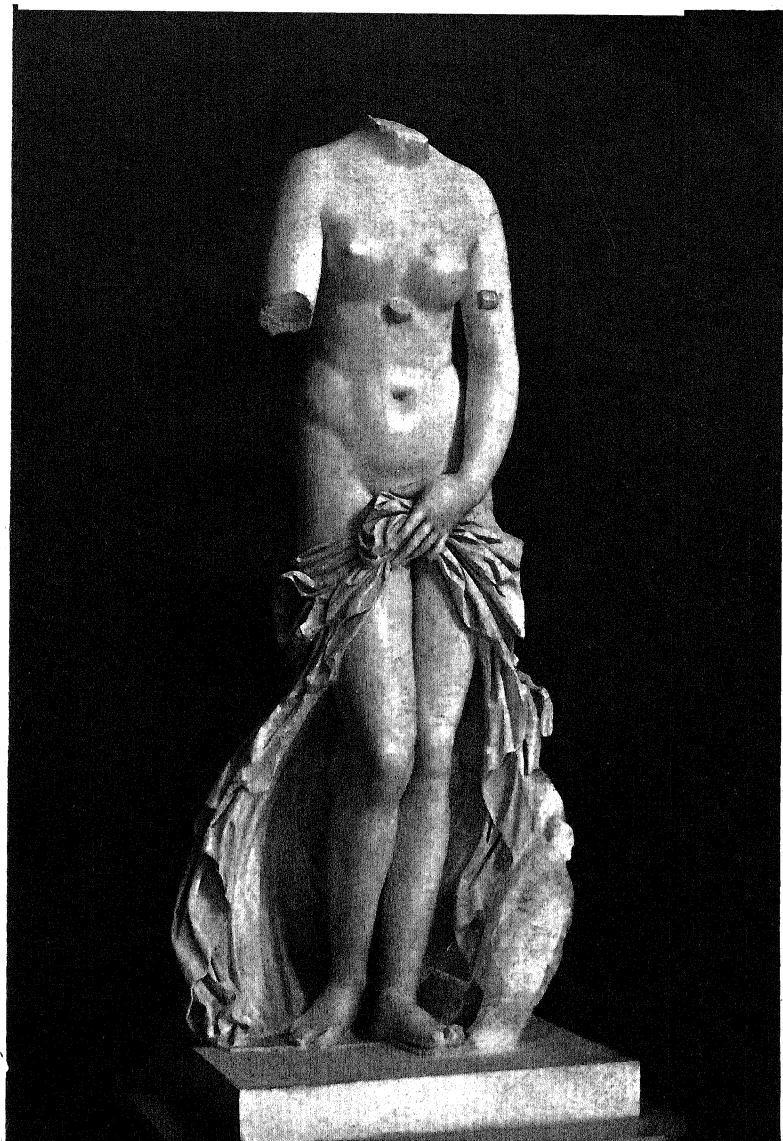




(a)  
GODS AND GODDESSES (ARCH OF BENEVENTO).

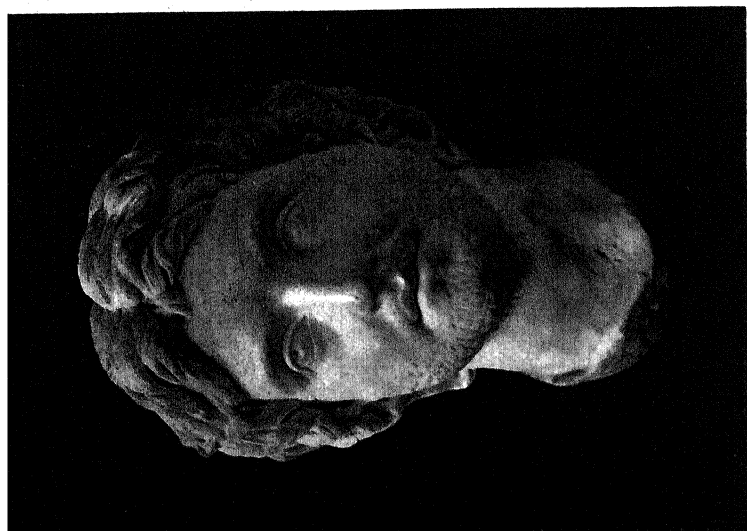


(b)  
VESTAL VIRGIN (TERME).

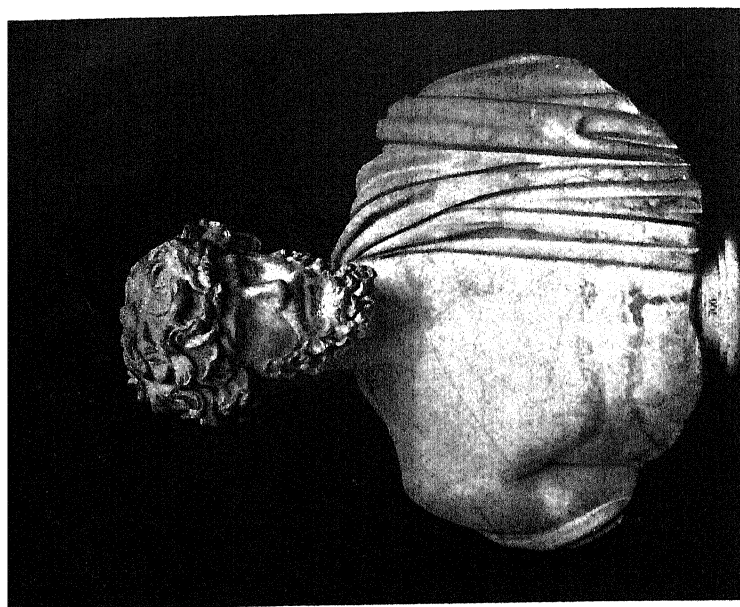


VENUS RISING FROM THE SEA (SYRACUSE)

[BROGI Photo.]



(a)  
HEAD OF A MAN (GRIESES)



(b)  
BUST OF A MAN (GRIESES)



OLD FISHERMAN (LOUVRE)

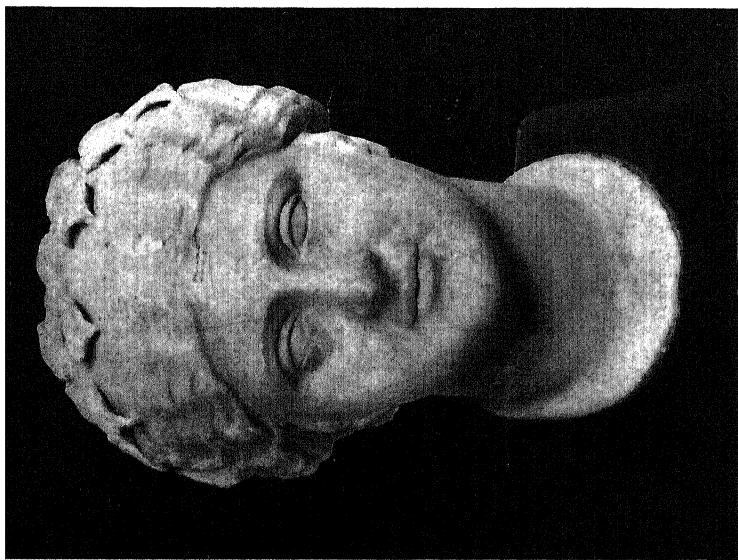
[ALINARI Photo.]



(a) HEAD OF AN AFRICAN (DRESDEN).

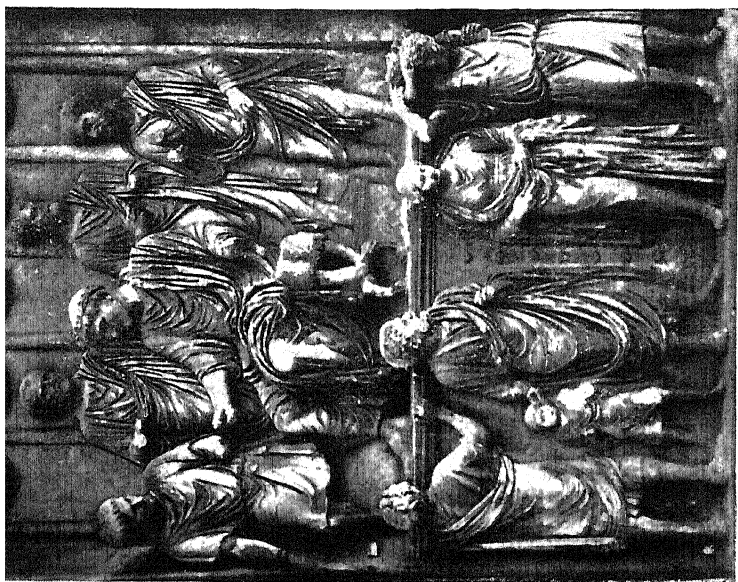


(b) SARCOPHAGUS WITH CUPIDS HUNTING (PROVIDENCE).



(a)

HEAD OF A WOMAN FROM AMORGOS (ATHENS).



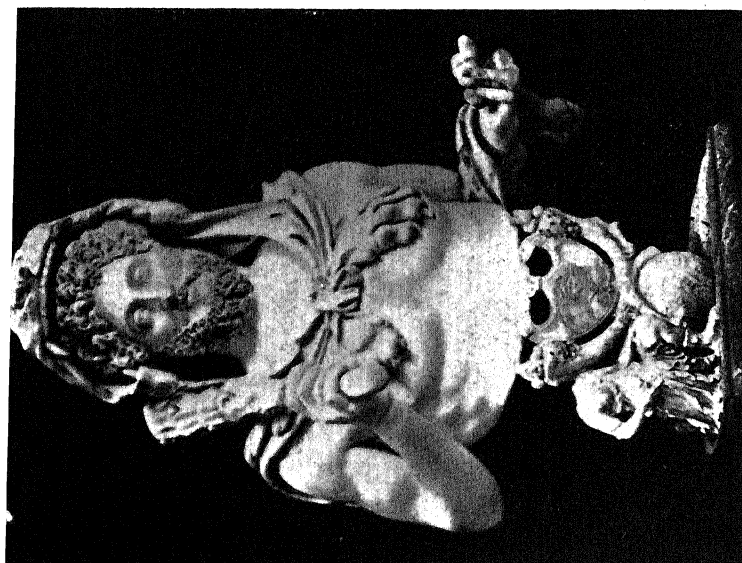
(b)

LIBERATION OF MARCUS AURELIUS



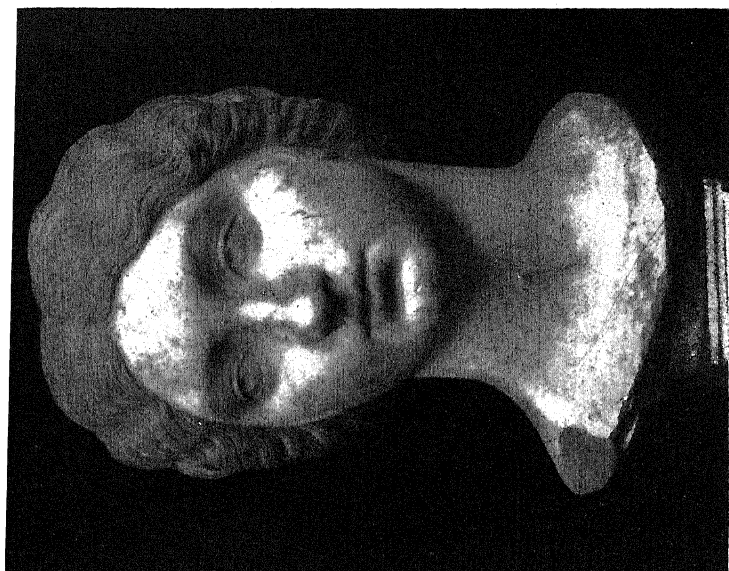
THE 'CASALI' SARCOPHAGUS (COPENHAGEN).





(a)

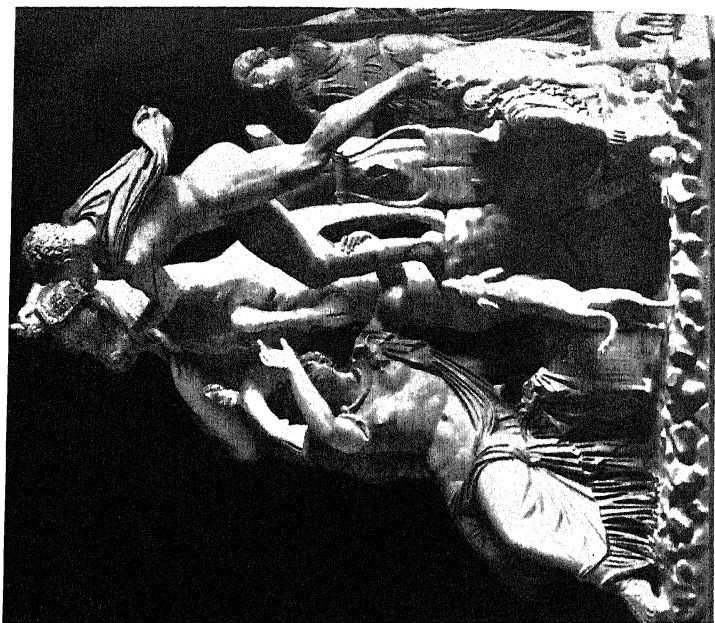
COMMODUS AS HERCULES (CONSERVATORY).



(b)

HEAD OF A WOMAN (COPENHAGEN)





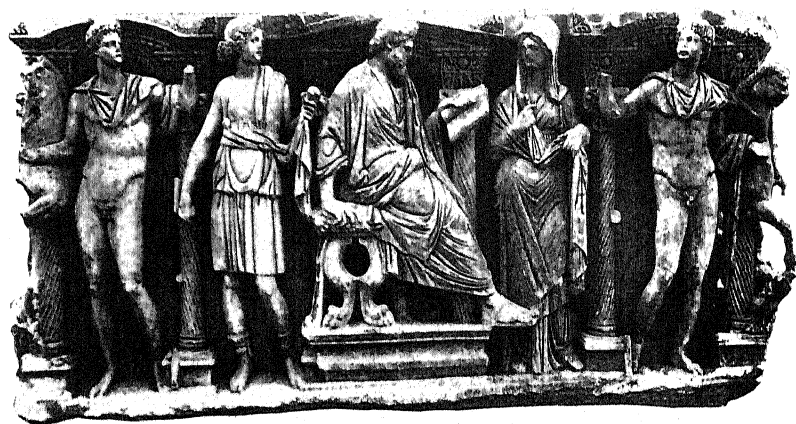
(b)  
THE 'FARNESE BULL' (NAPLES).



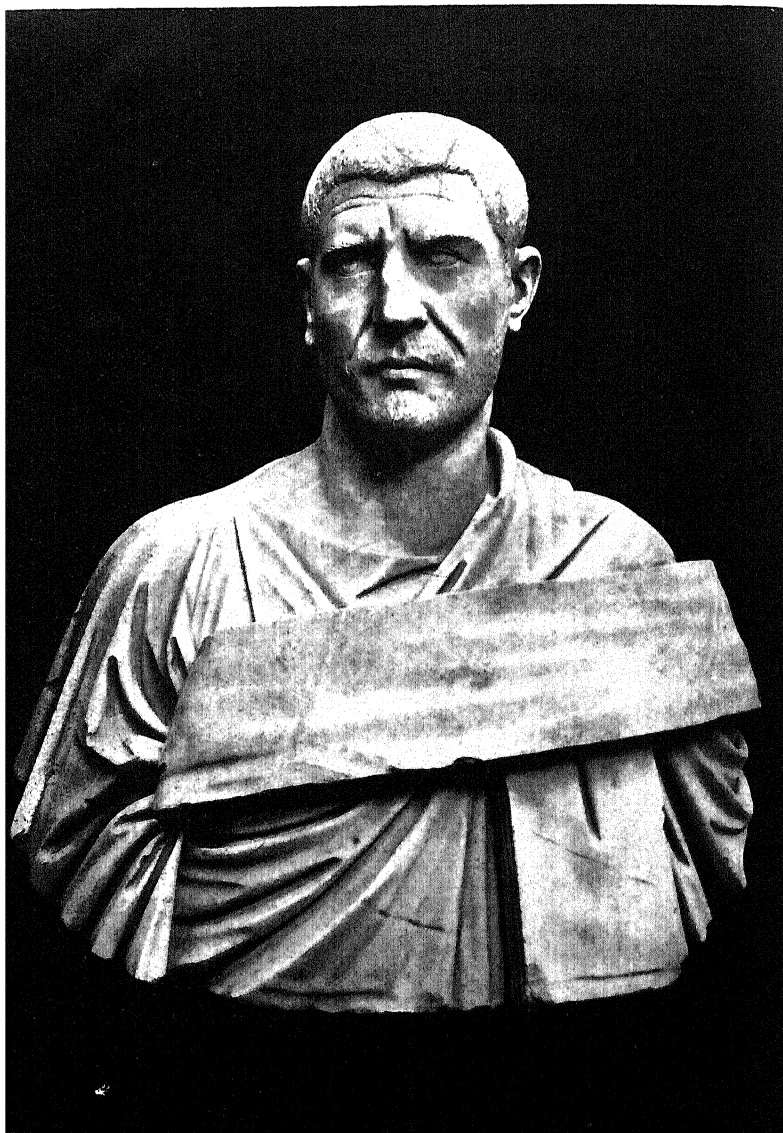
(a)  
[Brogi Photo.]  
BUST OF CARACALLA (NAPLES).



(a) PANEL OF SEA-MONSTERS (BAALBEK).

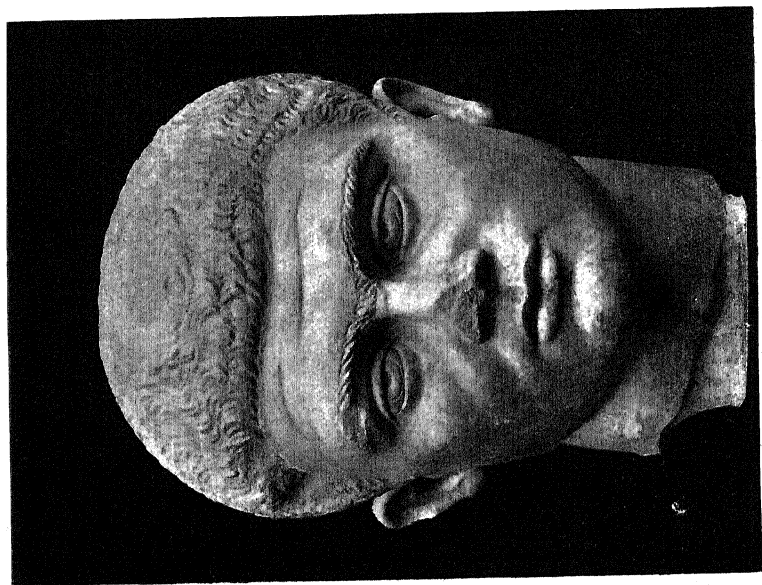


(b) SARCOPHAGUS FROM SIDAMARA (CONSTANTINOPLE).



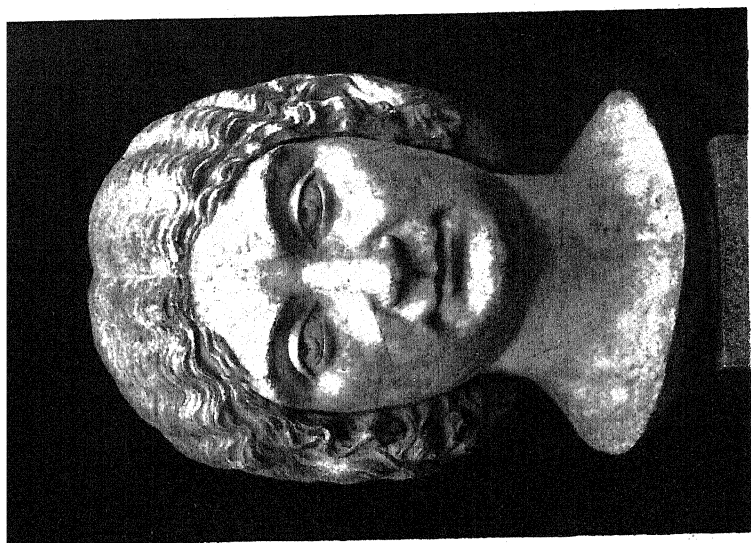
BUST OF PHILIP THE ARABIAN (VATICAN).

[ANDERSON Photo.]



(a)

HEAD OF AN ATHLETE. (COPENHAGEN).



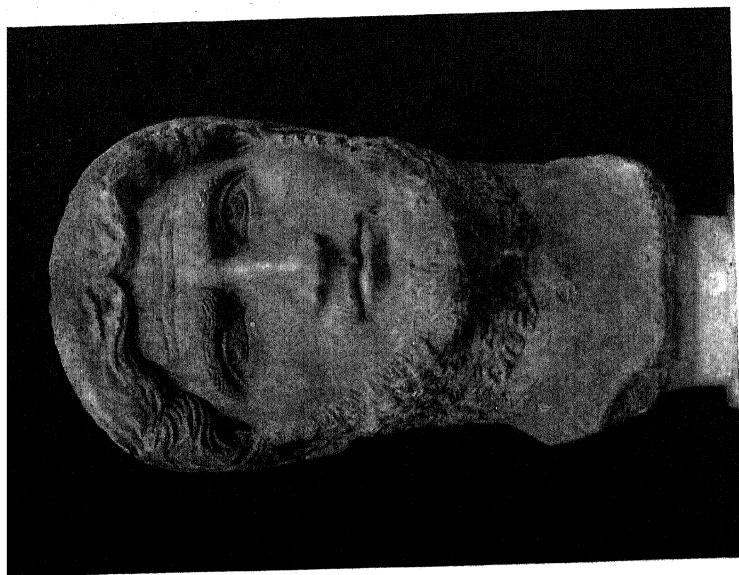
(b)

HEAD OF A WOMAN. (COPENHAGEN).



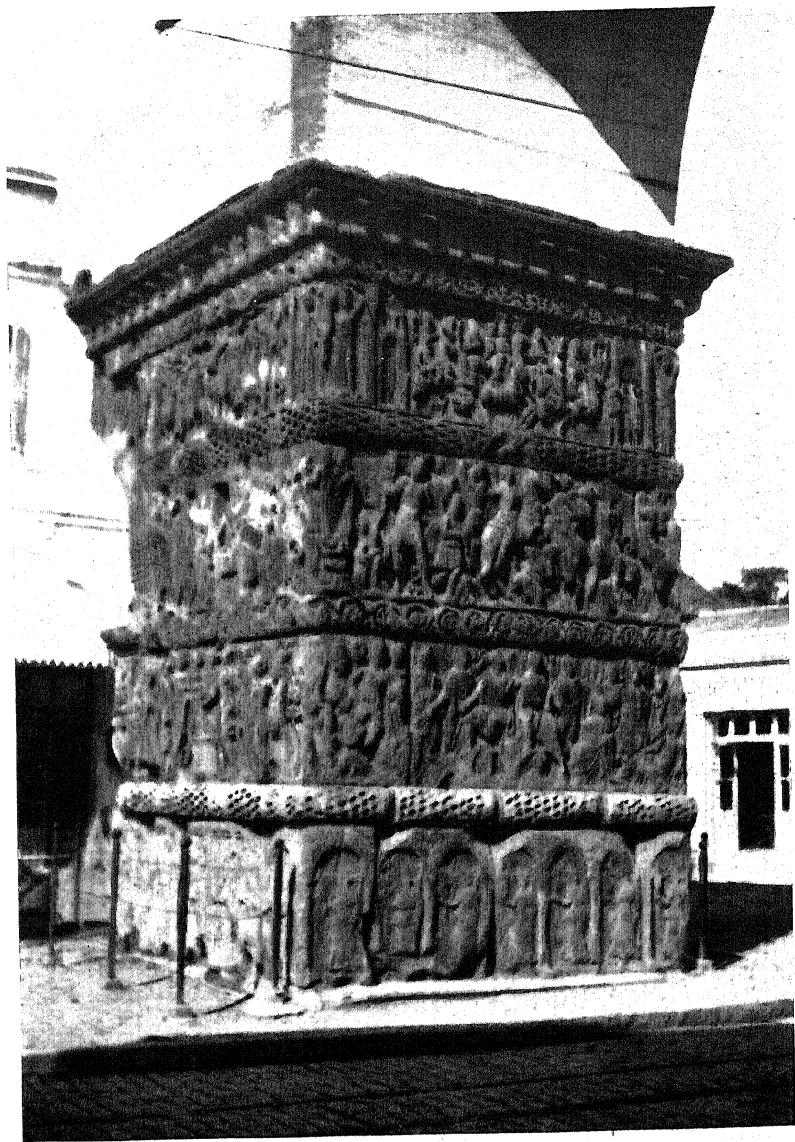
(b)

WEDDING-SCENE ON A SARCOPHAGUS (COPENHAGEN).



(a)

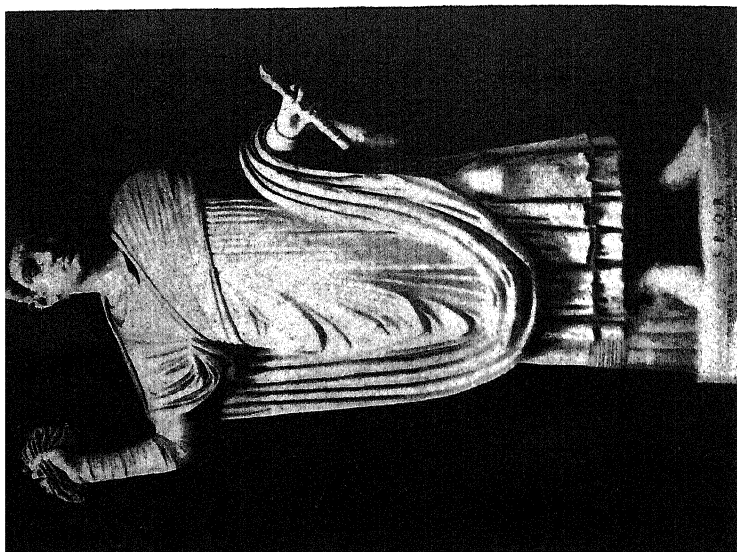
HEAD OF GALLIENUS (COPENHAGEN).



THE PERSIAN WAR (ARCH OF GALERIUS SALONICA).

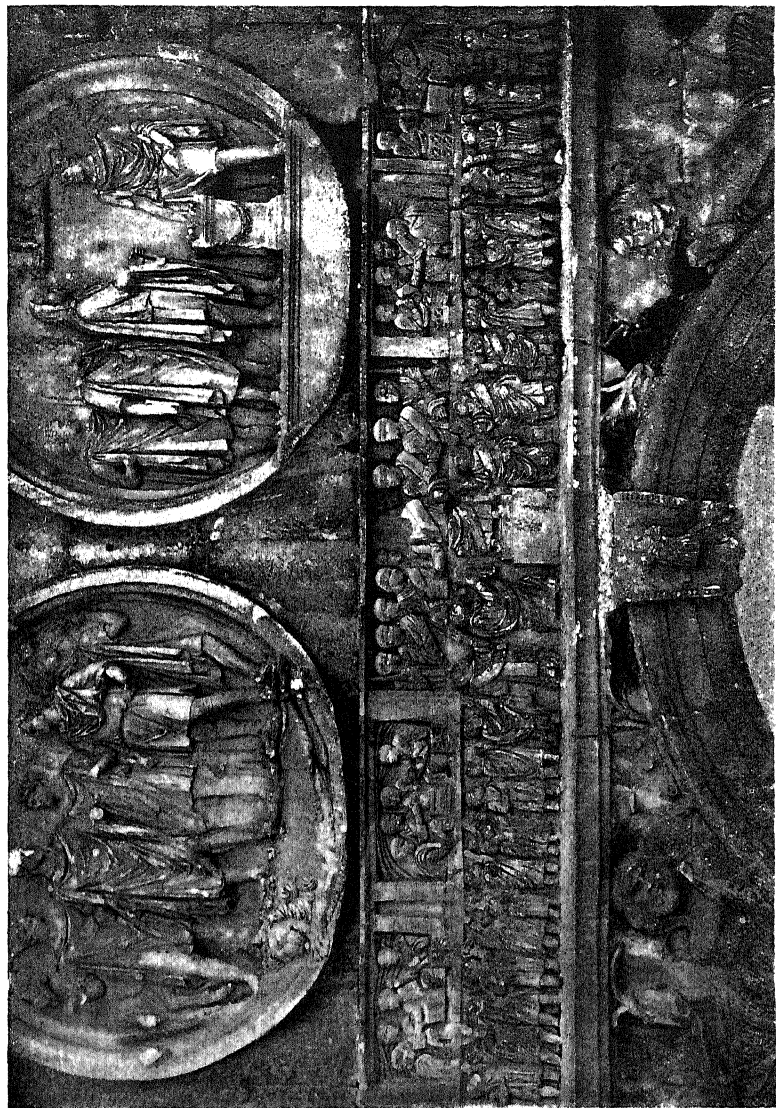


(a)  
BUST OF PALMYRENE LADY (LOUVRE).



(b)  
MAGISTRATE (CONSERVATOR).





[ANDERSON Photo.]





(a)  
HEAD OF A WOMAN, 'ST. HELENA' (COPENHAGEN).



(b)  
BRONZE HEAD OF AN EMPEROR (CONSERVATORI).

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